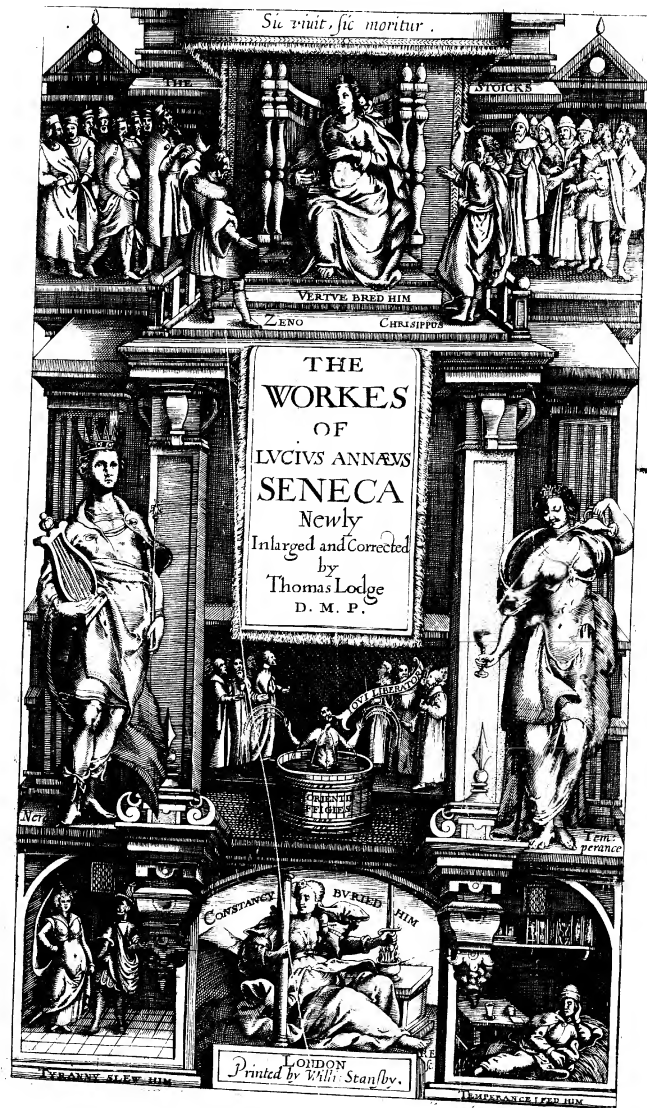


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TO THE MOST
NOBLE AND MY
HONOVABLE
GOOD LORD,
Thomas,
EARLE OF
SVEFOLKE.



Right Honourable, it is not
your Greatnesse that I ad-
mire, nor the vaine applause
of the multitude (which may
bewitch men, but not per-
fect them) that makes mee
name you Patron of these
my Labours. I neither de-
dicate this famous Worke
vnto you for the benefits I hope, or the reputation
I may get, or vpon the error of custome, that pre-
tends

THE EPISTLE

tends more then Nature intended. I will not flatter your Greatnesse in reckoning vp your Titles, nor embrace your iudgement, that can distinguish times, Men, Fortunes; both apparantly as they seeme, and really as they are. It is your vertue, your goodnesse, your Noble nature, to which I consecrate my endeauours: your Honour, (which is the reward of vertue.) These and nought else tye me to respect, reuerence, and esteeme both your Noble selfe and your Honourable family, to whose seruice I haue inseparably consecrated my best Labours. In times past it was the custome of the greatest Monarchies, to bestow fained Deities vpon their mortall Emperours: Of famous Cities to erect Statues to their well deseruing Senatours; Of good children to raise Monuments in Honour of their Parents. Yet whatsoeuer Monarchies haue foolishly attempted, Cities haue Dedicated, Children haue erected, their Memories, times, place, and (welny) names are extinguished. If Antiquity performed any thing, it is either blasted by flatterie, or concealed by feare.

This my Present is a richer, more lasting and happier Iewell; that in many Ages, and thorow manie fires and combustions, hath continued their fames to whome it was Dedicated, and shall make you liue in the Reading thereof, and my loue proue signall and famous thereby, when haply your worthie deserts shall be obscured or detracted, or your greatest Titles buried in the bosome of Obluion. Thus hoping that this poore Nestling of my Labour, shall

DEDICATORIE.

shall be as graciously accepted, as it is honestly and vnfaignedly intended, I commit your Honour, and your whole Family, to his protection, who onely searcheth mens hearts, and knoweth how vnfaignedly, I respect both you, your Honour, and Family.

Your Honours most

denoted,

THOM. LODGE.



To the Reader.



Entle Reader, I present thee once more with Senecaes Translation, if not so fully and exactly censed from his former misprisions and errours, as I wish; yet I hope, in such sort examined and perused, that the iudicious Reader shall find lesse matter to except against; and the indifferent, better light to vnderstand him. My businesse being great, and my distractions many; the Authour being seriously succinct, and full of L. aconisme, no wonder if in somthings my omisions may seeme such, as some whose iudgement is mounted aboue the Epicycle of Mercurie, will find matter enough to carpe at, though not to condemne. Let me intreat this fauour at thy hands, curteous Reader, to pretend this Translation to bee a Garden, wherein though thou maiest find many bolesome Herbes, goodly Flowers, and rich Medicines; yet can it not be but some weedes may vancly shoote out, which may smother or obscure the light and lustre of the better. Play the good Gardener I pray thee, and pulling up the weedes, make thy profit of the flowers. If thou wilt Correct, bee considerate before thou attempt, lest in pretending to roote out one, thou commit many errors. What a Stoicke hath written, Reade thou like a Christian. If any
b doubts

The Epistle to the Reader.

doubts entangle thy iudgement, haue recourse to the sacred Synod of learned and pious Diuines; whose iudgement will select thee out that which is for thy Soules profit, and dissuade thee from admitting that, which may either deprave thy iudgement, or corrupt thy Soule. The fruit I expect for my Labour at thy hands, is onely this, to interpret mine actions to the best, and to Correct with thy pen, that which other men lesse aduised, haue omitted by ouer bastie labour.

Farewell, and enioy the fruits which I haue planted for thy profit; which though these times may haply neglect, the future may both applaude and allow.

Vale.

Thine in all vertuous
endeuour,

Thom. Lodge.



TO HIS LEARNED,
IUDICIOVS, AND HO-
NOVRD FRIEND, M^r.
DOCTOR LODGE.



Orthy Sir. Hauing perused your selected Translation of SENECA, I cannot but ingenuously approue it. Nor is my Iudgement single. More learned ones confirm it. Wherein, (had you done no more) you haue taught me, how not to lose

my time; and others to employ theirs profitably.

It is a rare Iewell, our Land was too long debarred of; which now may bee worne vpon any brest, with comlineesse, ease and honour. No Constellated signall can marrie more happinesse to the wearer; then this, to the vnderstanding Reader; more truely effectuell, and lesse superstitious.

You haue vncovered the Veile of that sacred Temple, and opened the mysteries thereof to euerie eye; that before lay hidden (saue to a few) in the maske of a forraine Language. You are his profitable Tutor, and haue instructed him to walke and talke in

An Epistle to the Translatour.

perfect English. If his matter held not still the Roman Maestie, I should mistake him one of Ours; he deliuer his mind so significantly and fitly. Surely, had hee chosen any other Tongue to write in, my affection thinks, it had bene English. And in English, as you haue taught him in your Translation; you expresse him so liuely, being still the same Man in other garments. He hath onely changed his habit, like a discreete Trauellour, to the fashion of the Countrie he is in: retaining still the native grauitie of his countenance, and naturall, gracious comportment. For you haue not suited him so lightly, to lose them. You would not: you could not. For his Genius prompted you to write, as himselfe would haue spoken. His spirit breathed in you: Ouer-ruled you.

That you haue not Parot-like, spoken his owne words; and lost your selfe literally in a Latine Echo, rendering him precisely verbatim, as if tied to his tongue, but retaining his Sence, haue expressed his meaning in our proper English Elegancies and Phrase; is in a Translatour a discretion, that, not onely, I commend, but HORACE also commendeth:

Nec verbum verbo curabit reddere fidus
Interpres.

Yea, the contrarie, were a tyrannie: And oftentimes either impossible to be performed, or absurd. And who should vndertake it, should proue *Cicero's* INTERPRETS, which, hee said, the *Gracians* could neuer aptly render.

He that should literally construe: *Dabit mihi poenas: Male audit: famosum hominem: Filium naturalem*, and such

An Epistle to the Translatour.

such like, according to the *Latinisme*; should, rarely no doubt, instruct his Reader, expresse his Author, and discharge the duetie of a Translatour. Such an one, must be forced to find a Blew Mare in Wales, or a Staffe with two heads (*ipse baculo dignus*) if he should Translate *Tali essen*: and turne, an Alle-great, after all other Languages; being properly a great Ass in English.

For all Languages haue their peculiar Idioms and Properties. And to play the Phrased-ape in Translating, is no lesse absurd and mockable, then a returned Trauellour, still to weare his *Spanish* habit, *Turkish* Torbant, *Irish* Mantle, or *Switzer* Slop, amongst vs, as amongst them not to vse them, were not onely ridiculous, but sometimes dangerous; as in *Switzer* land, where the want of a Cod-peece, may endanger his head-peece.

If this Pædanticall precisenesse should passe for currant, and obtaine the power of a Law; wee should shordly (without a Dictionary) scarce vnderstand or know our owne Language; the Leprosie of *Hebraismes*, *Gracismes*, *Latinismes* and such like, would so fully and foully infect it: and a more confusion of Tongues, would bee gallimaufreyd in our Nation, then at the tower of *Babel*.

Yet, all be it be true, that a Translatour, as *Horace* saith, needs not *Verbum verbo reddere*: He ought neuertheless, on the other side, to bee *fidus* Interpres. And what is that, but to be as you are? and doe as you haue done? Like a faithfull *Truchman*, rendring and deliuering the intire and whole Sence of your Reuerend Authour, if not precisely to the letter; yet so significantly

An Epistle to the Translatour.

nificantly, effectually and expressely to his meaning; as if his Soule had liued in you, or his powerfull and rauishing Spirit possesse you, to bee the *Senec-Sybill* (or rather *Mercurie*) of his oraculous Discourses.

And who so seeketh herein injuriously to taxe you, and still stubburnly persists in this Word-rendring error; let him die in that heresie (for me:) But first liue to commit (if hee dare aduenture it) that grosse fault in a Translation of his owne, which a paire of the best Translatours (I know) in our Language, haue industriously and happily auoided: To wit: that iudicious and worthy Knight Sir *Henrie Sauiil*, in his *Tacitus*: And that learned Doctor *Holland*, in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, whose learned labours and trauels, and iudicious Course therein, if this cynicall Criticke, dare either slight or barke at, let him (if he haue the courage) but take in hand the last of those mentioned Authors, *Marcelline*, and trie his facultie (for Art I thinke he hath not) vpon him. I doe but me (vnlesse he trace in the same path, and Plow with his Heighfer) he will make but a rugged peece of worke on't:

Nec dignum tanto ferat is Promissor hiatus.

But I thinke, hee dares sooner pull a Lyon by the beard, a Rhinocerot by the nose, or swallow a quicke Armadillio. A liue Porcupine were easilier chewed, then that rough peece, and, I beleeeue, sooner digested.

But Sir, I grow too tediously your trouble. I therefore conclude, with many: many thankfull allowances of your painfull, industrious and iudicious Translation of your *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*. VVhereby,

An Epistle to the Translatour.

in my iudgement, you haue (as it were) recalled him to life againe, and infused new English blood and spirit into his once emptied Veines and Arteries; that hee may now at last, liue an allowed Counsellour in our Monarchie, as he once did in the Romane: But with more fauour, and fairer entertainment.

With whome also liue your fame, and
with you, my loue. Thus with 1620.

Commendations vnto you:
this 15. of September,
I rest

The vnfained louer of your

Ingenious endeuours:

W. R.



THE LIFE OF L V C I V S A N N A E V S SENECA.

Described by IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

C H A P. I. Of his Country and Parents.



There hath bene an olde custome to publish the Lives of worthy Men : and those whose Wisedomes, Writings and Actions wee admire, it doth not a little content vs to know such other things as concerne or appertaine vnto them. I will therefore speake of Seneca as farre as may be, and will collect and dispose all those things that concerne this matter, both out of himselfe and diuers other Writers. It appeareth that hee was borne in Corduba, an old and flourishing Colonie in Andalouzie in Spaine, and besides that, the chiefeest in those Regions. This doth Strabo testifie in these wordes : Amongst all other Cities of Hispania, Bætica, or Andalouzie, Corduba is enlarged both in Glorie and Power by Marcellus meanes : as also the Citie of Gaditana, the one by reason of Navigations, and the Societies of the Romanes : the other because of the goodnesse and greatnesse of the Countrey ; the Riuer Bætis likewise conferring much hereunto. They

Lib. 3.

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*.

Lib. 43.

Lib. 3. cap. 1

praise it, and therewithall proue it to be ancient, because it was Marcellus Worke: which of them, was it, his that was Pretour, or the other that was Consul? For Marcus Marcellus the Pretor governed Spaine, as Plinie testifieth, in the yeare of the Citie D LXXXV. although, as it seemeth, in peace and quietnesse; by which meanes the rather suppose I that this Colonie of his Countreimen was drawne thither, and happily the Citie both increased and adorned. For that it was not built anew, as it appears by Siluius, who euen in Hannibals time called it Corduba. I had rather therefore ascribe it to him, then to the Consul Marcellus, who in the yeare D C I. gouerned the higher part of Spaine, as it appears in the Epitome, and thou mayest gather out of Appian; and hauing worthily executed his charge in that place, triumphed ouer the Celibers. Hee had therefore at that time nothing to doe with Betica, or our Corduba, which is in the farther part of Spaine. But Strabo addeth more, The most chosen Romanes and Spaniards inhabited this Corduba from the beginning, and into these places did the Romanes send their first Colonie. Note this word Chosen; for it was so indeed: and thereupon afterwards, as I suppose, it obtained this Priuiledge, that it was called Colonia Patricia. Pliny testifieth it most plainly; Corduba (sayth hee) named the Patrician Colonie, and in Augustus shunpe of Money, Permissu Caesaris Augusti, with his Head on the one side, and then on the other side, Colonia Patricia. The cause of which Title, in my opinion, is, because that beeing both a faire and a rich Citie, it supplied the Romane Commonwealth with Fathers and Senatours. For now in Augustus Age they made choice of men out of euerie Prouince to make vp the Senate. Furthermore, Strabo sayth, That the first Colonie was sent thither, which readeth thou with circumspection. For Carteia in the same Countrey of Betica, before this time had a Colonie planted in it by Lucius Canuleius Pretor: but because they were not of the better sort, it was called Colonia Libertinorum, or the Colonie of the Libertines. Thou shalt readeth in Liuius, in the beginning of his three and fortieth Booke: yet mayest thou, and happily oughtest thou to defend Strabo, that those Inhabitants were not sent from Rome to Italie, but that they were begotten by the Romane Souldiers vpon the Spanisb Women; and by the permission of the Senate the Bastards had their libertie giuen them and were planted in a Colonie. But Strabo expressly writeth, that a Colonie was sent thither. Enough of Corduba, and this was his Countrey; but who were his Parents? It appeareth that they were of the *Annaean Race*, which Name seemeth to bee giuen them in way of good fortune, ab Annis. The

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*.

Lib. 14

The surname of Seneca likewise was fortunate. For the first, in my iudgement, who had this name giuen him, (although I hidore thinke, that hee was at the first so called,) was borne grey-headed. Undoubtedly Seneca, or as the Ancients write, Seneca: (for Seneceus is deuined a Sene) signified *maritus*, as Senecio doth. Let Nonius be seen in Seneca. Hereunto adde that in another kindred also I find this surname; as in Accia in an ancient stone, M. Accio Seneca, Manlio Plauta 11. Virg. Quinq. But whether those of the Race of Anneca were of the Spanisb Race, or were sent out of Italie in a Colonie, I dare not affirme. This onely I say, that they were of the Order of Knights: for so Seneca himselfe speaketh of himselfe in Tacitus: Am I he that sprung from the Order of Knight, and in a Prouinciall place, numbred amongst the chiefeſt Peeres of the Citie? Can it be amongst the Nobles that boast themselves of their long Worthinesse and Antiquitie, that my noueltie should shine? His Father therefore, and baply his Grandfather were Knights, and not aboue. For he presently maketh mention of his noueltie; which hee would not haue done, if any of his Ancestors had attained vnto Honours. But his Father was knowne both by himselfe and his Writings, to be *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*, whom for the most part, they distinguish from the sonne by the title of Declaymer, in which kind he excelled. Diuers Declamations are extant, which were not his owne but another mans, digested by him, which he distinguished by some Titles and Annotations, and by this meanes sufficiently expressed his milde and happie wit. He had to Wife, one Helbia a Spanisb Lady, a woman of great Constancy and Wisdome, as her sonne sufficiently describeth her in his Consolatory Book vnto her. The Father came in Augustus time, and presently after, his Wife with her Children followed him; amongst which was this our Seneca, as yet but very yong. In that place liued he long, and followed his affaires with the fauour and good report of all men, and I thinke he liued till about the later time of Tiberius; and hereunto am I perswaded, because he maketh mention of Scianus Conspiracie in his Bookes, and of other things that appertaine hereunto. I let him passe, and returne vnto his sonne, of whom I haue intended to speake.

The Life of Lucius Annæus Seneca.

CHAP. II.

Of Lucius Annæus Seneca himselfe and his Brethren, where he was borne, and when he was brought to Rome.

Conf. ad
Hel. cap. 16.

IN Corduba was he borne, and was carried from thence to Rome when he was a child; which he himselfe testifieth thus, where he praised his Aunt: By her hands was I brought into the City, by her pious and motherly nursing I recovered my selfe after my long sicknesse. If he were carryed in her armes, it must needs be that he was but an Infant; and thou seest that he was sicke at that time likewise, and was recomforted by her care and diligence. This thinke I hapned in the fifteenth yeare or thereabouts, before Augustus death, the argument whereof is Senecaes yong yeares in Tiberius time, whereof I must speake hereafter. The father therefore not long before that time came to Rome: he had two brothers, and no sisters; which appeareth by his words vnto his Mother; Thou buriedst thy dearest Husband, by whom thou wert the Mother of three Children. And these three were M. Annæus Nouatus, L. Annæus Seneca, L. Annæus Mela; all borne in such order as I haue set them downe. This appeareth by the Inscriptions of the Controuersies, where they are so set downe, although by their surnames. But the eldest of these brethren presently changed his name, and was called Iunius Gallo, because hee was adopted by him. Which Gallio is oftentimes named by Seneca the father in his Declamations, and is called ours, either by reason of their common Country Spaine, or of that friendship which was betwene them. Were they not likewise allyed and akinne? I know not, yet suspect I it, by reason of this adoption. And this Gallio it is, who is called Father by Quintilian, and Tacitus likewise, in the sixth of his Chronicles. But this our adopted Gallio in the Eusebium Chronicle is called Iunius Annæus Gallio, Senecaes brother, and a worthy Declamer. Was it by the name of both the Families (which was rare amongst the Ancients; nay more, neuer heard of) that it might appeare into what Family hee was entered by adoption, and in what hee was borne by nature? It appeareth manifestly, if the name and title be true. Hee it is to whom our Seneca both sent and wrote his booke of Wraib, in which he calleth him Nouatus: yet the same man in his title of blessed Life calleth hee his brother Gallio, and likewise in his Epistles his Lord Gallio, and that honestly, as him that was his elder brother. Obserue this therefore, that hee seemed

Ad Hel. ca. 2

The Life of Lucius Annæus Seneca.

med not to bee adopted at such time as his Bookes of Anger were written, that is, when Caius was alive, but afterwarde, and that then he changed his surname: but his yongest Brother was Annæus Mela, so called by Tacitus, Dion, and Eusebius, who was only a Romane Knight (for he that was elder was a Senatour) who began Lucan, a great access to his greatnesse, as Tacitus saith. These therefore were the three Brothers, of whom Martiall witnesseth,

And Learned Senecaes House,
That is thrice to be numbred.

He calleth him Learned, (I meane, the Orator;) his treble-house, his three Sonnes called his Families.

CHAP. III.

Of his Youth, his Masters and Studies.



He came therefore to Rome when hee was a Child, and in that place ripened hee his excellent wit in the best Studies: his Youth happened in the beginning of Tiberius Government, as hee himselfe confesseth, and about that time, when forreine Sacrifices were remooued and abolished. This was in the fift yeere of Tiberius, and of that of the Citie, DCCCLXXII. which appeareth manifestly by Tacitus, who writeth, that the Sacrifices of the Egyptians and Iewes were abolished. Seneca therefore about that time grew to mans estate, and was about some twentie or two and twentie yeares olde. For that hee was well spent in yeares in Augustus time, hereby it appeareth; because hee observed a Comet or a Flame before his departure; of which hee saith: Wee saw before the death of Augustus such a kinde of Prodige, which Children could not so curiously obserue. His Father in my opinion, was hee that first instructed him in Eloquence: and this doe his Bookes of Controuersies and their Prefaces testifie. For why should not this wortheie olde man, who both directed and taught others, direct and instruct his owne Children in that kind? Hee did it, and left two of them most excellent and exercised in Eloquence, Gallio, and this our Seneca; for I haue read nothing of Mela. This is that Gallio whom Statius commendeth for his sweet Discourse.

Epit. 113.

Lith. Annual.
14. in fine.

Quell. 1. c. 1

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca.*

And thus much more, that from his happie Line,
He blest the World with *Seneca* Diuine,
And brought to light that *Gallio*, whose grace
And fluent speech the Commons did embrace.

Hee that was the Author of the Booke, Of the causes of corrupted Eloquence, said that *hee* had a certaine resounding and pleasing Eloquence, which *hee* calleth the resounding of *Gallio*, meaning it by the Sonne and not by the Father. But our *Seneca*, besides his Eloquence, addicted himselfe to Philosophie with earnest endeavour, and Vertue ranshed his most excellent Wit, although his Father were against it. *Hee* himselfe diuers times saith, that *hee* was withdrawn from Philosophie, and that his Wife was *shee* that dissuaded him; yea, and that *shee* hated it, *hee* openly writeth in another place: yet did the Sonnes desire and forwardnesse get the upper hand, so that *hee* diligently and carefully heard the most famous and serious Philosophers of that Age, and namely, *Attalus the Soicke*, Sotion one of the same sort, although *hee* seemed to follow *Pythagoras* and *Papirius Fabius*, which he names likewise, and prayseth with a gratefull memorie: *hee* was *Sotions* Schooller in his younger yeares; and he writeth, And now, though a Childe, I fate and heard *Sotion*. Moreover, *hee* admired and honoured *Demetrius the Cynique*, conuersing oftentimes with him in his elder dayes, and at such time as *hee* serued in Court, both priuately and publicly. For *hee* made him his Companion both in his walks and trauielles. Such was his forwardnesse in honest Studies, yet his Father broke him off, and in the interim, caused him to follow the Courts and so please Causes: which course, as it appeareth, *hee* continued long, yea, enen in *Caius* time, being greatly fauoured and famed for his Eloquence. Undoubtedly there are no Philosophicall Treatises extant, that were his before that time.

CHAP.

Epist. 49.

Epist. 49.

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca.*

CHAP. IV.

His Honours, and ciuill Life.



His father likewise perswaded him to affect gouernement, and to make suite for honours: he therefore first of all was Treasurer, in obtayning which Office, he acknowledgeth what helpes his Aunt had procured him: *She* (saith he) tried all her friends in my suite for the Treasurership, and *she* that scarcely would endure to be conser'd withall, or publicly saluted, in my behalfe ouercame her modestie by her loue towards me. What woman was this, and what husband *she* had, thou shalt learne by my notes: but when he was Treasurer I doe not certainly know: for his yeares, it might haue beene vnder *Tiberius*, or it might be vnder *Caius*, but I intend not to define the matter. This had I rather say, that by *Agripinaes* meanes presently after his exile, he got and exercised the Praetorship. For thus saith *Tacitus*: *Agripina* got at her husbands hand, not onely a release of *Annaeus Senecaes* banishment, but also the Praetorship, supposing that it would be pleasing to the common sort, by reason of the fame of his studie, and to the end that *Domitius* childhoode might be the better ripened by such a master, and that he might vse his counsailes, vnder hope to attaine the soveraigntie. Thou seest that he was suddenly made Praetor, and hearest what praises and endowments *Tacitus* vsfainedly honoureth him with. The loue of the Commons was gotten by that meanes. Because *Seneca* now was accompanied with euerie mans good words and fauors, by reason of the excellency of his studies, and was desirous that vnder such and so great a Master, that their *Domitius* should be brought vp, and should be addressed (and herein note his ciuill prudence) both to obtaine the Empire, and to gouerne it. He was therefore Praetor the yeare of the Citie DCCII. and was he not afterwards Consul? The Law-bookes as firme the same to S. C. Arebellian, as *Vlpian*. In the time of *Nero*, in the Octaues of the Calends of September, when *Annaeus Seneca* and *Trebellius Maximus* were Consuls, it was made irrenocable. The same is written in the elements of *Iulianus* institutions. But they that made our holy-daies, make these substitute Consuls (for ordinary they were not) the yeare of the Citie DCCCXV. which should be the yeare, and some few moneths before *Senecaes* death. Some men perhaps will doubt of the whole matter, because *Aufonius* in his thankes giuing saith openly, The rich man *Seneca*, but yet not Consul. *Seneca* likewise himselfe neuer maketh mention of this honour, although he wrote many Epistles at that time. I answer, for *Aufonius* it is to be vnderstood, that it seemed to him to be an ordinary Coniulate: for our *Seneca*, that a silence

Conf. ad
Hist. cap. 16.

12. Annals.

is

The Life of Lucius Annæus Seneca.

is no deniall. Furthermore, I adde this likewise, that the Chronicle-makers seeme to haue digested their relations badly; for in that yere undoubtedly he was not. For see here in the very beginning of the yeare, how Tacitus maketh mention of his colde entertainment by Nero, and how his detractors had diuersly iniuried him, and how he himselfe with a confident Oracion came vnto the Prince, and desired a pension, and resigned his substance: but Cæsar permitted it not, and yet Seneca from that time forward (as Cornelius saith) changeth the prescripts of his former power, forbiddeth intercourese of Courtiers, auoydeth attendants, is seldome seene in the Citie, and at fower-tyred with sicknesse, keepeth himselfe at home, intending onely the studie of Wisdome. These are no proper actions of a new made Consull, or a Candidate, and his death that followed presently afterwards, forbiddeth vs to consent hereunto. But what was it that learned men suspected thus? That which Tacitus writeth in that yeare, was done by the consent of the Senate, lest a fayned adoption should in any sort further a publike Office, and lest in vsurping heritages, it should profit. But this appertayneth nothing to that of Trebellian, it hath another reference: if a man doe examine those things likewise that are in Tacitus. I therefore consent that he was Consull, but in another and a former time, the certaintie whereof I will not set downe. But the perpetuall honour of this man, and how he was both the teacher and the governour of a Prince, undoubtedly worthie as long as he addicted himselfe to his counsailes and admonitions, Tacitus concealed not, and nameth two, to whom the Prince was well inclined for his owne profit. Murthers had preuailed, except Afranius Burrus, and Annæus Seneca had withstood them. These were the Governours of the Emperour in his younger yeares, and conformed in that equal societie they had in gouernement, and in diuers sorts they had equal power. Burrus in his charge, in regard of warlike affaires, and severity in manners; Seneca in his precepts of eloquence, and honest affabilitie: assisting one another, whereby they might more easily restraîne the tender yeares of the Prince, if he desisted verine, by granting him pleasures. O laudable endeuour and consent, which is too rare in Court, where euerie one for the most part will desire to be so eminent, that he desireth no second. But to Seneca,

CHAP.

The Life of Lucius Annæus Seneca.

CHAP. V.

His priuate life, his Wife, his Children, his banishment.



Whether he acted any other thing in publike, I know not; but priuately I finde, or at leastwise I collect, that during his younger yeares he was in Egypt vpon this occasion; because his Vncle was Prefect there: for hee writeth of his Aunt to his Mother, She will shew thee her example, whereof I was an eye-witnesse. What, an eye-witnesse? he therefore associated his Aunt in that Nauigation (of which he speaketh in that place) when as his Aunt returned from Egypt. And how could this be, except he himselfe likewise had bene in Egypt? undoubtedly it was thus: and this is the cause why he curiously intermixeth many things of Egypt and Nilus, especially in his bookes of Naturall Questions. Perchance he trauielled out of Egypt into India by the red Sea, and therefore would he comment vpon India, vpon that which was written by Plinie. But now he married a Wife at Rome, which though it be vncertaine to be so, yet the reason he had children doth approue it: for he maketh mention of Marcus a wanton lad, with much praise and affection to his Mother Heluia: neither is it to be doubted but that he was his sonne, at leastwise his owne Verses will approue it, where amongst his verses,

So may young Marcus, who with pleasing prate
Contents vs now, in eloquent debate,
Prouoke his Vncles, though in being young
In wit, in wisdome, and in fluent tong.

For should I giue way to those who attribute this to Marcus Lucanus? I finde no reason for it; yet makes he no mention of his former Wife: nor in these bookes, I confesse; What then? nor of his brother Annæus Melia by name, had he not therefore a brother? Notwithstanding thou art to consider, whether thou vnderstand not this by his first Wife: Thou knowest that Harpastes, my Wines foole, remained as an hereditary burthen in my Family: What wife? his first wife? for the bookes of Anger seeme to be written in a place well knowne to vs. But he married Paulina after his exile, a woman of great Nobility, which, as I tell thee, married him when he was olde, and powerful in the Court: which very thing Dio likewise, or whatsoeuer he were in Dion, thought good to obiect against Dion; which is, that being steep in yeares he had married a yong wench. Such were both of them, and Seneca himselfe testifieth it. This said I to my Paulina, which commends my health vnto me: it came

Consolat. ad
Helu. am.
cap. 21.

Lib. 6. c. 17.

3. de Ira. c. 1.

Epist. 104.

into

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca.*

into my mind, that in this olde man there is a young one that is foreborne. A young one? he means Paulina her selfe: for undoubtedly she loved her husband, as there in many places he boasteth, and that insainedly; which she expressed in his death, when in as much as in her lay, she sought to accompanie his soule with hers. Hereafter we shall see it. And these were his wines. The rest of his life was quiet, and without offence, excepting onely that grievous accident of his exile. For under Claudius, the first yeare of his reign, when Iulia the daughter of Germanicus was accused of Adulterie (Gods and Goddesse, by Messaline!) and was driven her selfe into banishment: and Seneca, as if he had bin one of the Adulterers, was exiled, and sent into Corsica; I will not say whether it were upon a iust cause, I could wish it were not, and happily Tacitus with me, who when he speaketh of his banishment: Seneca was angrie with Claudius, it was supposed by reason of the iniurie that was done him. Note this iniurie: he therefore had received some. For who would otherwise be ignorant to interpret the accusations of that impudent Harlot (I mean Messaline) and that loathsome beast Claudius? For, for the most part, they practised no mischief but against good and innocent persons. Hee liued about some eight yeares or thereabouts in exile, I, and constantly too: yea, (if we may beleue himselfe) happily, intending onely the best studies, and the wholesomest meditations. For thus writeth he to his Mother; That he is blessed amidst those things which are wont to make other men wretched. And afterwards (but I pray thee observe him) hee worthily Philosophieth, he addeth in the end, and rowseth himselfe: Conceiue what thou shouldest thinke me to be ioyfull and addressed as it were in the best fortunes. But they are the best, when as the minde, deuoid of all thought, intendeth himselfe, and sometimes delighteth himselfe in lighter studies, and sometimes mounteth into the consideration of the nature of himselfe, and the whole World, being desirous of truth. O man, O honest words, which the Author of Octavia's Tragedie pretended to imitate; (for undoubtedly hee was not the Philosopher) in these Verses, in the person of Seneca;

Farre better lay I hid: remoued farre
From enuies stormes amidst the Corricke shores,
Whereas my minde was farre from any iarre,
Fixt on my studies, not on earthly powres:
O what content had I? (For neuer Nature,
Mother of all things, Mistris of each Creature,
Could grant mee more) then to behold the heauen,
The Sunnes true motion, and the Planets iuen.

These

Cap. 4.

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca.*

These are better, yea, farre truer then he hath written in his consolatory booke to Polybius, ouer-basely and humbly. And is it impossible that our Seneca should write it? Oftentimes haue I doubted it, and almost durst forswear it. Howsoeuer, he was a man, and haply that writing was enlarged and published by his enemies, and, it may be, they corrupted it: yet note this in Senecaes words abovesaid; That there he delighted himselfe in more slighter studies like wise, which I suppose should be Poetic: and amongst them is Medea, which I am halfe assured was written in his exile, at such time as Claudius conquered Britannie; and therefore made he choice of that argument of Iason, that he might intermaxe somewhat of the Ocean that was subdued. Is it possible that those verses in the Chorus should haue relation to any but Claudius?

Spare me, O gods, I doe intreat for grace,
Long let him liue secure that hath subdued
The Seas—

And againe,

Enough already, O you gods! you haue
Reueng'd you on the Seas, now spare the Powre.

Which he applied to Claudius, although he were liuing, and will haue the gods to spare the god in his Poeticall fiction.

C H A P. VI.

His Riches, his Granges, his Lands, his Vsurie.

BY pres. ntly after he returned from his exile, he grew againe into reputation, being both at that time, and before his aduancement in Court, plentifully enbated; for his father had left him rich; neither oweth hee all his wealth to his industrie and forwardeesse. Hereupon to his Mother; Thou beeing the daughter of a family, didst freely bestow thy bountie on thy wealthie children. And hee prayed her liberalitie the rather (as he saith) because she bestowed it on her wealthie sonnes, and not such as were needie. This before he came to Court; but when he liued there he got mightie Riches, (or rather admitted them) which thrust themselves upon him before he sought them. For he got much by the Princes beneficence; for thus speaketh he unto Nero in our Tacitus: Thou (said he) hast giuen mee great grace, and innumerable treasure, so that oftentimes I my selfe,

Cap. 2.

The Life of *Lucius Annæus Seneca*.

Lib. 14.

selfe oftentimes meditate thus by my selfe: Where is that minde which contented himselfe with a little? Doth he plant such Gardens, and doth he walke about these Mannors without the Citie? and is he stored with so many acres of Land, and with such mightie Vsurie? Note Gardens, Mannors, Granges, Fields, and Vsurie, and all these bountifully and abundantly. Will you heare Tacitus words once more (but from another mans mouth, and in another sense: Senecaes calumners (saith he) accuse him of diuers crimes; as, that he as yet increased his mightie riches (which were raised about any private fortune,) that he won and drew the Citizens hearts vnto him, and as it were exceeded the Prince likewise in the annuities of his Gardens, and the magnificence of his Mannor houses. And Suillus, in the same Tacitus, expresseth the measure of his riches likewise, with what Wildome, with what precepts of the Philosophers during those foure years that he was in the Princes fauour, had he gotten three thousand HSS, that in Rome, whole Testaments and Inheriuances were taken and got hold on by his cunning and search; that Italie and the Prouinces were exhausted by his immeasurable Vsurie. His estate amongst vs should be Ieuentie five hundredth thousand crownes. These riches were almost regall, I confesse it, but I conamine that which he annexeth, that it was gotten by unlawfull meanes and deceit. Before hee came to Court, (as I said) he had a great reuerence, and what wonder is it that he increased the same in so mightie a Court, and so great felicitie of the Romane state? But he said likewise, that Italie and the Prouinces were exhausted by his Vsurie: his meaning is, that he had money at vse in diuers places, and I suspect it likewise in Egypt. This gather I by his

Lib. 15.

Epist. 77.

Epistle, wherein he writeth that the Alexandrian Fleete suddenly arrived, and that all men ranne vnto the hauey, and to the shore; but I (saith he) in this generall haste running of all men, found great pleasure in my slacknesse, that being to receiue my Letters from my friends, I made not haste to know in what estate my affaires stood in that place, and what they had brought. For this long time I haue neither wonne or lost any thing. He had three Brokers or Factors, who followed his businesse; it was therefore in some great stocke of money, or in Lands. For to haue possessions beyond the Seas was no new matter in that age wherein he liued, and in so great abundance. Verily Dion amongst the causes of the war in Brittain, reckoneth this vp likewise, that when as Seneca had vpon great interest trusted the Brittaines with foure hundredth HSS. (which in our reckoning amounteth to the summe of ten hundredth thousand crownes :) he called in for that whole summe of money at one time. Whether hee shake this truly or no I know not; for euery waies he was a mortall and professed enemy of our Seneca. Yet telleth he no mistruth, for there likewise had he money. Touching Gardens and houses of pleasure, hee had diuers,

The Life of *Lucius Annæus Seneca*.

diners, and differently beautified, Iuuenall termeth them, The Gardens of most wealthie Seneca. He himselfe likewise maketh mention of his houses, Nomentanum, Albanum, and Baianum, and without question he had many. He likewise had a house within the Citie, which continued the name for many years after, and was called Senecaes house in the Region. P. Victor. His household-stuffe also was enuied at, and Dio obiecteth, that he had five hundredth Tables of Cedar with Iuorie feete, all of them alike and equall. This was a great matter if truly great (for this alwayes ought we to obserue in Dions obiectiōs) that he had so many Tables, whereof any one is usually taxed and prized at the rate of an ample possession: for they must not haue beene so choyce and so rare; but what if they were not? I denie not but that it was the custome of dissolute and lawles men to haue such: for thus speaketh Martial of one of these:

A hundredth Moorish Tables stand about,
With Libique teeth, and golden plates doe crackle
Vpon our beddes.

For in great banquetts they set a Table before euery seuerall man, (which is elsewhere to bee noted) and to this end therefore they had diners. I doe not therefore say, I deny or doubt herof. But because Seneca himselfe toucheth or reprehendeth this madnesse oftentimes, yea, at such time as he was in Court, and in his olde age, in those bookes of Benefits which he then wrote. What doth he not in his booke of Tranquillitie, about the beginning, openly denie that he tooke no pleasure in those Tables that were conspicuous through varietie of spots, nor was wont to vse them? Wonderfull is this impudence, in a matter so euident and obiect to the eyes of that age, to dissemble or to lye so openly. I cannot thinke it; especially if Dion report the same, or any other to whom Dion assigneth this office. For in another place haue I noted, that these things seeme to be deduced and vrged against him in some inuective Oration; and there by the way haue I acquit him of the crime of his riches, which any man may read if he please. But rather let him read Seneca himselfe, who about this time published his booke of Blessed Life, in which, his proiect is to defend himselfe from those aspersions, wherewith his enemies would haue attainted him. O excellent, O wise booke! and more allowed in this behalfe was the reproofe, that was the meane to bring it to light.

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CHAP

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*.

CHAP. VII.

His Manners, and first his Abstinence, his Truth, his Holinesse, and Pietie.

Epist. 108.

11. de Com-
ment.

15. Annal.
3. de Ita.

BY his verie manners refute this obiection of his riches, and iustifie his Use, and not abuse of them. For what hath he offended in pride, excesse, and pompe? Let them tell vs it, and wee will be silent. What, was hee haply lauish, eyther in his diet or feasting? Let vs heare himselfe professing openly; When as I heard Attalus declayingn against vices, errors, and the infirmities of Life, oftentimes haue I had compassion of mankind, and haue beleeued that hee was sublimed and raysed aboue humane reach. When hee beganne to traduce our pleasures, to prayse a chaste bodie, a sober Table, a pure minde; not onely from vnlawfull pleasures, but also from superfluou, I took a liking to temper mine appetite and belly. Of these instructions some haue since dwelt with mee, my Lucilius; for I came with a great alacritie to all things. Afterwards, beeing reduced to a ciuill Life, I stored vp some few of these my good beginnings. Hereupon, for all my life time after, I renounced all Oysters and Muschrooms. Ever since, for my whole life time, I haue abstayned from inuention; since that time my stomacke hath wanted Wine, neyther haue I euer since, vouchsafed to bathe my selfe. Where was euer any such frugalitie in any other place, or by what name is it called? And this haue I writen of, in my commendation of Seneca, so let vs not repeat it heere. Now as touching the rest of his life it was both serious and seuer. The Court corrupted him not, neyther inclined he vnto flatterie, (a vice almost familiar, and alied to such places.) Farre was it from him, for thus saith hee to Nero: Suffer mee to stay here a little longer with thee, not to flatter thine eares, (for this is not my custome:) I had rather offend thee by truth, then please thee by flatterie. And beeing now readie to die, (in Tacitus) hee willed them to make knowne to the Prince, That his minde was neuer inclined vnto flatteries, and that this was knowne to no man better then to Nero, who had more often made Use of Senecaes libertie, then hee had experience of his seruitude. Moreover, what an exact examination of his Manners and Life? Again he himselfe; I Use this power, and daily examine my selfe, when the light is out, and my Wife is silent, which is now priue to my custome. I examine the whole day that is past by my selfe, and consider both mine actions and wordes.

I hide

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*.

Epist. 96.

15. Annal.

Inuol. Sa-
tyr. 10.

I hide nothing from my selfe, I let nothing slip: for why should I feare any of mine errors? When as I may say, See that thou doe this no more, for this time I pardon thee. Can the studie of wisdom appeare eyther more greatly or more cleerely? Finally; how often appeareth his pietie and submission towards God? I will set downe one thing that I gathered from him: If thou beleuest me any waies, when I discover my most inward affections to thee, I am thus formed in all occurrents, which seeme eyther difficult or dangerous. I obey not God, but I assent vnto him; I follow him from my heart, and not of necessitie. There shall nothing euer befall mee that I will grieve at, (or change my countenance for) when it happeneth: I will pay no tribute unwillingly. And many such like obserued by mee in my Manuduction or Physilogie. Yea, some of that vnkayned pietie, that Tertullian and the Ancients call him Ours. I haue in my Fragments set downe some of his counsailes, let them make Use of them. Furthermore, Otho Frisingensis affirmed, that Lucius Seneca was not onely worthe to be reputed a Philosopher, but also a Christian. And for these his eminent vertues sake, even in that age there was a great good opinion held of him, yea and they destinated him to the Empire. Tacitus plainly writeth, that this was set abroach, that the Empire should be deliuered to Senecaes hands, as to one that was guiltlesse, beeing chosen, (by reason of the excellencie of his vertues,) to the highest dignitie. O Rome, thou wert unworthie of this felicitie; neyther did God respect thee so well otherwise.

If all the people might haue leaue to speake,
What one of them (how dissolute soeuer)
Would feare or doubt to honour Seneca
Farre more then Nero?

Yet some there are that doubt of the realitie of his vertues, and thinke them rather words and ostentation. Did he not (notwithstanding) in his death make it manifest how slightly hee esteemed all humane things, and how hee addicted himselfe to God?

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CHAP.

The Life of *Lucius Annæus Seneca.*

CHAP. VIII.

His Manfull and Constant Life, set downe
out of *Tacitus.*

NAd vs see the commoditie thereof, but from whence should wee gather it rather then from *Tacitus*, the most faithfulllest of all other Writers? Behold, I set thee downe his owne wordes: Hereafter followeth the slaughter of *Annæus Seneca*, most pleasing to the Prince, not because hee had manifestly found him guiltie of treason, but to the end hee might confound him by the Sword, since his attempt in poysoning him, so badly succeeded. For onely *Natalis* discovered no lesse: That hee was sent to *Seneca* at such time as hee was sicke to visite him, and to complaine why he barred *Piso* of access to him; that it would be better for them if they should exercise their friendship with familiar entercourse. And that *Seneca* answered, That mutuall discourse and often conference would bee profitable for neither of them both, yet that his safetie depended on *Piso*'s securitie. This was *Gracius Silvanus*, the Tribune of the Prætoriall Band, commanded to relate vnto him, and to enquire whether hee knew these speeches of *Natalis*, and acknowledged his owne answers. He eyther by chance or wittingly had returned that day out of Campania, and remained in a house of pleasure of his in the Suburbes, aboue foure miles off. Thither came the Tribune about the evening, and beset the Village with a troupe of his fouldiers. There discovered he vnto him whilst he sat at supper with *Pompeia Paulina* his wife, and two other of his friends, what the Emperours commaund was. *Seneca* answered, that *Natalis* was sent vnto him, and that he complained in *Piso*'s behalfe, that he had bin debarred from visiting him, & that he by reason of his infirmity, & loue of his quiet, had excused himselfe. But why hee should preferre a priuate mans securitie before his owne, hee had no cause; nor that his minde was inclined to flatterie, and that the same was best knowne vnto *Nero*, who had more oftentimes made prooffe of *Seneca*'s libertie then seruice. When as this answer was related by the Tribune, in the presence of *Poppea* and *Tigellinus*, which were inward Counsaillers to this mercilesse Prince, he asked him whether *Seneca* had prepared himselfe for a voluntary death. Then did the Tribune confirme, that he discovered no signe of feare, nor appearance of dismay, either

in

The Life of *Lucius Annæus Seneca.*

in his words or countenance. He is therefore commanded to returne, and to tell him of his death. *Fabius Rusticus* reporteth, that he returned not by the same way he came; but that he stept aside to *Fennis* the Præfect, and told him what *Cæsar* had commanded, and asked his counsaile whether hee should obey him, and that he was aduised by him to execute his charge, which was the fallow cowardlinesse of them all. For *Silvanus* was both one of the Conspirators, and increased their hainous offences, to whose haynous sinnes he had consented; for which cause he spared both his speech and presence, and sent in one of the Centurions to *Seneca*, to signifie vnto him the fatal sentence. He nowaies dismayed hereat, called for the tables of his Testament; which being denied him by the Centurion, he turned himselfe towards his friends, and testified vnto them, That since it was not permitted him to remunerate their kindnesse towards him, yet protected hee, that he left them that which of all others he esteemed most worthie, namely, the image of his life; whereof if they were mindfull, they should carrie away the fame of good learning, and of so constant friendship. And therewithall recalleth their teares, and calleth them to constancie now by speeches, now by expostulations, after a more intended manner; asking them, Where are the precepts of wisedome? where that premeditated resolution, which you haue studied for so many years against imminent dangers? For to whom was *Nero*'s cruelty vnknowne? Neither remained there any thing after the murder both of his Mother and Brother, but to annex the death of his Gouvernour and Master? when as he had in generall saide these or such like words, hee embraced his wife; and having somewhat tempered her against the present feare, he prayeth and intreateth her to moderate her griefe, and not to make it continuall. But in contemplation of her life that was virtuously ledde, to endure the lacke of her husband with honest iolaces. She contrariwise alledged that her selfe was sentenced to die also, and calleth for the executioners helpe. Then *Seneca*, loath to obscure her glorie, and louing her intirely (lest he should leave her to the injuries of others, whom he so deerdly loued) said, I haue shewed thee the proportions and images of life, but thou hadst rather haue the glorie of death. I will not enuie thy example. Let the constancie be equall in vs both in this so short a death, but thy renowne will be farre greater. After which wordes, both of them cut their veines at one time. *Seneca*, in that his bodie was old and leane, by reason of his sparing diet, and that by this meanes (his

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bloud

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca.*

bloud flowed more slowly; cut the veines of his legges and hams likewise. And being wearied with cruell torments, left by his paine he should weaken his wifes courage, and he by beholding her torments should fall into some impatience, he perswader her to step aside into another chamber. And in the last moment being no waies disurnished of his eloquence, calling his writers about him, he deliuered many things, which being discouered to the world in his owne wordes, I intend not to alter. But *Nero* that had conceiued no priuat hatred against *Paulina*, and being affraid lest the odioufnesse of his cruelty should increase the more, commaundeth her death to be hindered. By the exhortations of the souldiers, her slaues and bond-men binde vp her armes, and stop the bloud, the matter being yet vncertaine whether it was with her consent. For amongst the common sort (who are readiest to speake the worst) there wanted not some that belceued, that during the time that shee feared that *Nero* was implacable, shee sought to accompanie her husband in the fame of his death: but when more apparant hopes were offered, that then she was ouercomewith the sweetenesse of life; whereunto she added a few yeares after, with a laudable memorie towards her husband. But her face and other parts of her bodie were growne so pale and discolored, that it easily appeared that her vital spirits were much spent. In the meane while *Seneca* seeing the protraction and slownesse of his death, besought *Statius Annaus*, a man well approued vnto him, both for his faith in friendship, and skill in Phisicke, to halte and bring him that poison which in times past was provided, & by which they were put to death who were by public iudgement condemned amongst the Athenians: and hauing it brought vnto him he drunke it; in vaine, by reason that his lims were already colde, and his body shut vp against the force of the venome. At last hee entered into a Bath of hot water, besprinkling those his slaues that stood next about him, saying, that he offered vp that liquor to loue the deliuerer. Then put into the Bath, and stifled with the vapour thereof, he was buried without any solemnitie of his Funerall: for so had he set it downe in his will, even then when as being verie rich and mighty, he disposed of his last Will. *Histerto Tacitus*. Neither will I repent my selfe, if I insist lightly, and examine and illustrate his sayings: He saith, that this slaughter of his was most pleasing to the Prince. For of long time he was aggriued against this his Master and Teacher of his in goodnesse and equitie, and his intent was to shake off that Raine of renouance once, whereby he was restrained against his will, by cutting him off;

yet

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca.*

yet had he otherwise sworne, as *Suetonius* witnesseth: Hee compelled *Seneca* his Master, (saith hee,) to choos his Death, although (when hee oftentimes sought for a maintenance at his hands, and surrendered vp all his goods vnto him, hee had solemnely sworne that hee was suspected without cause, and that hee had rather die then that hee would hurt him. He swore, that is, he deluded the gods also. He saith, When as his intent to poison him succeeded not, for he had attempted it: for so saith the same *Tacitus* in a former place, Some deliuered Poison vnto *Seneca* by *Neroes* command, prepared by the hands of one of his freemen, called *Cleonicus*; but that it was auoyded by *Seneca*, by the discouery of his Libertine, or through his owne seare, whilst hee sustayned his life with a spare Dyet with wild Apples, and (if he were atbirft) with running Water. He goeth forward: Or knowing of it; as if hee had knowledge of the Conspiracie, and the prefixed time. Likewise, hee returned out of *Campania*, from some Lordship of his there. And there truly oftentimes before his Death liued he solitarie, and in that place wrote many of his Epistles to *Lucillius*. Foure myles off, in some Mannour of his likewise; what was it *Nomentanum*? This did *Xitho Polentinus* write, (but vpon meere coniecture, as I thinke.) Neither doth *Tacitus* admit it, who speaketh of some foure myles off the Citie; but *Nomentanum* is at least twelue myles off. No signes of feare. Behold a death both worthy of a Philosopher and a Stoick, which those things that follow commend. The Image of his Life: if *Seneca* I (pray you) were so absurd a fellow, as *Dion* speaketh, should this be spoken of his Life in the shutting vp? Would he thus dally and deceiue his Friends; and delude his Familiars? Sometimes with speech, that is, gently and familiarly. Being hardened against present feare, I write it not againe rashly, yet some man may doubt, should it not be *Mollitum*, that shee was mollified, hauing relation to his Wife? That which followeth seemeth to inferre the same, when he requieth her to temper her sorrow; and that which hee annexeth: Thou seest, saith he, the portraiture of life. These, and diuers others are *Senecas* owne words, or very like vnto them, which were extant and well knowne, as presently after he saith: his aged bodie. By my reckoning he was some threecore and thre, or foure yeeres olde. For that he was not elder *Neroes* words to *Seneca* conuince, nor spoken long time before that in *Tacitus*. But thou art both ripe in yeares, and sufficient for affaires, and the fruit of them, which thou canst not truly speake of the elder. Calling his Writers about him, O man. O mightie minde: To dictate that when he was a dying that might helpe Posteritie. For it is not to be doubted but that they were such, and meere Precepts both of Constancie and Widsome. The argument is, because they were published; which should not be except they had bene excellent. And because

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca.*

cause they were published, Tacitus omits them. O imprudently done? O that we likewise had but a touch of these Swan-like Songs. A Bath of hot Water: he meaneth some bathing Tub, and then first dyed he cold Water when he should use it no more. Carried into his Bath; that is, into his Stone or dry Bath, as I thinke: for he sheweth that by the vapour and acrimonie of the heate, hee was strangled. Euen then when hee most rich and mightie: this is somewhat wherein Tacitus seemeth to carpe at him, yet, if I conceiue him rightly, Tacitus meaneth his Funerall, and that he forbade the Solemnities thereof; but how? in that Hee made his last Will. What, would Nero haue broken his Testament? Who haply was appointed Heire of the greatest part thereof, and would suffer himselfe to lose nothing through negligence. Or doth hee touch Senecaes parsonage herein? But dead wordes passe not farre. Another man may find it.

CHAP. IX.

His bodie, his sicknesse, his forme.

I Have ended, except it please you that I write somewhat of his bodie: for mendeight, if I may so speake it, to take notice of the Habitations and Receptacles of great Wits: his bodie from his Childhood was but weake. This saith hee of his Aunt, after he was brought into the Ciuie: By her pious and motherly care, after I had bene long time sicke I recovered my health. And in a certaine Epistle: Sicknesse had giuen mee a long safe conduct, and suddenly invaded me. In what kind, sayest thou? And not without cause doest thou aske me this, since that there is not anyone that is unknown to me. But to one kind of sicknesse I seeme as it were destinated, which why I should call by a Greeke name I know not, for it may aptly enough be called Wheacine or Asthme. And presently after he addeth, All the incommodities or dangers of the bodie haue past by me. Behold an old man well exercised, when likewise being a yong man, I was exercised with Distillations and Rheumes, by means whereof he seemed to be inclined to a Consumption. Himselfe againe: I haue thou art troubled with often Distillations and Agues: it grieues me the more, because I haue had prooffe of that kind of sicknesse, which in the beginning I conuenied; for at first my youth could weare out the iniurie, and oppose it selfe boldly against infirmities: at last I was mastered, and was brought to that passe, that I my selfe was consumed by Distillations. I was brought to an extreme leueneesse, and oftentimes had I a minde to shorten my dayes, but my

care-

Conf. ad
Hil. cap. 16.
Epist. 54.

Epist. 78.

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca.*

carefull and louing fathers olde yeares restrained mee. Hee writeth expressly enough of his Leanenesse and Consumption. Neyther is it to be wondered at, that Caligula was so perswaded by a Woman: for Dio writeth, When at Seneca had worthily and happily handled a certaine cause in the Senate, that this Prince waxed madde redde with Anger, who onely would seeme to bee Eloquent, and betought himselfe of taking away Senecaes Life; which hee had done if one of his Concubines had not told him this, That in vaine prepared hee a death for him that was already dying, and was spent with a Consumption. He gaue credit to her; and this was the meanes of Senecaes safesie. So true is that which he (what was a looker on?) wrote: Many mens sicknesse deferred their death, and it was a meanes of their securitie, that they seemed readie to dye. But till his last houre he had but a dry and decayed bodie, why wonder wee when eyther it was thorow his infirmities, or his Studies? And Tacitus likewise addeth a third cause, That his bodie was attenuated by a slender Dyet. And that it was not beautifull, Seneca himselfe expresth in another place, That thou requirest my Bookes, I doe not therefore thinke my selfe more Eloquent, no more then I should iudge my selfe faire because thou requirest my Picture. He toucheth that hee was not, and that Image, which is discovered of him by Fuluius Ursinus, sheweth not a countenance worthy that mind; yet confirmed hee his bodie, though weake, with more harder exercises, as in tilling the Fields, and in digging of Vineyards, whereof hee maketh mention in a certaine Epistle of his, and in his Naturall Questions, where hee called himselfe A diligent Digger of Vineyards; and generally likewise of Gardens, which hee termeth his cunnig.

Epist. 45.

Epist. 104.

Lib. 3. cap. 7

Epist. 112.

CHAP. X.

Those Bookes of his that are extant.



Hus of the Bodie onely, neither had wee any fruis by it, but great from his minde, and let vs see them by an Index. His VERSES and POEMS, which undoubtedly and plentifully hee wrote, he himselfe sheweth that he penned them in his Exile: and Tacitus then likewise when hee was steep in yeares, and liued in Court For thus doe his Calumners obiect against him to Nero; For they objected against him, that he got the frays of Eloquence to himselfe onely, and wrote Verses very often, after that hee knew that Nero was in loue with them.

Lib. 14.

ORA-

The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*.

ORATIONS or DECLAMATIONS, hee made many and worthy ones, yea, even in the Senate, besides those which he wrote to the Prince, to be recited likewise in the Senate; neither doubt I but that the Edicts vnto the people, and the grauer Epistles were written or Dictated by him.

His Booke of EARTHQUAKES, (which, as he testifieth, he wrote when hee was young, in the sixt of his Naturall Questions, Chap. 4.) I thou shalt not want, for he hath handled the same matter againe in the same Questions.

That of MATRIMONIE, whether it were a Booke or an Epistle I know not, but Saint Ierome citeth it against Iouinian, Lib. 1.

His HISTORIE or COMPENDIUM, out of Lactant. the seuenth and fifteenth Chapter.

His Booke of SUPERSTITION, was undoubtedly one of his bestones; Saint Augustine in his Booke De Civitate Dei, praiseth it, and collecth somewhat out of it, and Tertullian maketh mention thereof in Apologetico.

His DIALOGUES, which Fabius nameth, and no more.

His MORALL Bookes, Lactantius citeth them in his eleuenth Booke, Chap. 11. And in other places, and Seneca himselfe in his hundredth and sixt Epistle in the beginning, and his Epistle 109. hee wrote it in his later time, as it appeareth there. O worthy Worke! And it grieveth me that it is obscured.

His Bookes of EXHORTATIONS For there were many of them, as may be gathered out of Lactantius, and see our Fragments. Who thinketh that this likewise is not to be unmbred amongst his best Workes? There are other, yea such that thou mayest not confidently ascribe to this man, as his Bookes of Notes, which seeme rather to be his Fathers. Likewise of Causes; for so an unknowne Chronicler among the Brittaines testifieth; He maketh mention of Seneca De Causes, wherein hee saith that Cato defined the Office of an Oratour thus: An Oratour is a good man that is exercised in Eloquence. But this belongeth to the Father also, and they are the Bookes of Controuersies; in the first Booke whereof, and in the very Preface thou shalt find that this of Catoes is cited there: and except I forget my selfe, thou shalt finde it likewise in my Fragments, although these smaller things doe not so much overslip me, as I suffer them to passe by mee.

But hearken you Sir, make you no reckoning of his Epistles to Saint Paul?

Those that are now extant are not so much worth; nay, it is most certaine, that they haue all of them the same Authour, and that they were written, but by some scarce learned Clerke in our disgrace. He trauaileth
and

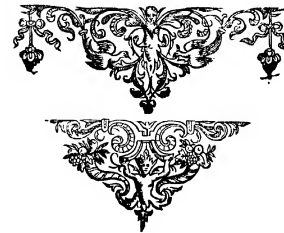
The Life of *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*.

and attempteth to speake Latine, whosoeuer it was, that was the Authour. Did they not therefore write one vnto another? * Saint Ierome, * Saint Augustine, and Pope Linus (more ancient then them both) auerre it, and it is a passiue opinion. And Iohn of Salisburie likewise confidently confirmeth it, They seeme to bee foolish, who reuerence not him, who, as it appeareth, deserued the familiaritie of the Apostle.

I therefore dare not wholly reiect and contemne this; it may be there were some, but others then these; if these,

I required the iudgement of the best Fathers.

The end of *Senecaes* Life, written by *Lipsius*.



* De Scripturis Ecclesiasticis.
* Epist. 57.
ad Maced. &
de Cuit. Dei
cap. 10.
De Passione
Dni Pauli,
Lib. 8. Tob.
cap. 13.



LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

The Argument of Ivsivs Lipsivs.

I Place these Bookes amongst the last of his Philosophie, although they haue become planted in the forefront. But so it is, if you consider the time; They were all together written vnder Nero, after Claudius death. A certaine argument wherof us, in that in his end of the first Booke, he writes very contemptibly of Claudius, and traduceth his slight iudgement: which he would neuer haue done, had he beene living. The Bookes are good; but in faith confused in order, and the handling; which a man, though circumspect, shall hardly expedite; yet will wee doe our best. The first Booke beginneth with a complaint of Ingratitude which is vsuall, and yet greatest amongst vices. Therefore saith he, That he will write of Benefits what their force and properie is. This handleth he untill the fift Chapter. Then defineth he, that a Benefite consisteth not in the matter, but the mind of him that bestoweth it, and hath his weight from him: He diducth it by examples and arguments untill the eleventh Chapter. There proposeth he two membersto be intreated of: What Benefits are to be giuen; and how: The first he performeth in the end of the Booke; the other he deferrcth till the Booke following.

CHAP. I.



Amongst the many and Manifold errors of such as both rashly and inconsiderately lead their liues, there is nothing for the most part (most worthy *Liberalis*;) that in my iudgement is more hurtfull, than that we neither know how to bestow, or how to receiue Benefits. For it consequently followeth, that being badly lent, they are worse satisfied, and being vn-restored, are too lately complained of; for euen then when they were giuen, euen then were they lost: Neither is it to be wondred at, that amongst so many and mightie vices there is no one more frequent than that of Ingratitude. For this as

Memo inconsideration in giving & receiuing benefits maketh it a great vnde so frequent.

*A good intent is
a kind of satis-
faction.*

*The errors of
them that giue.*

*Inferred and
extorted fauour
is not thankes-
worthy.*

*The multitude
of errors ought
not to excuseth
a vertue.*

I conceive proceedeth from diuers causes. The first is, because we make not choice of such (on whom we are to bestow our benefits) as are worthy to partake them; but being to take bonds of any man, we diligently inquire after his lands and moueables: wee see not our seeds in a fruitlesse and barren ground, and without any election we rather betray, than bestow our benefits. Neither can I easily expresse, whether it be more dishonest to deny, or redemand a benefit. For such is the nature of this debt, that so much is to be receiued therof, as is willingly repayed: But neither to will, nor to be able to performe a mans promise, is most loathsome, in this respect, because to discharge a mans credit, the mind sufficeth, though the meanes be deficient: For he rethought a benefit that willingly oweth the same. But whereas there is a fault in them who are ingratfull euen in not confession of a fauour, there is also some in vs. By experience we find many vngratfull, and make more; because some-whiles we are grieuous vpbaydors and exactors: other-whiles full of lenitie in our liberality, and such that as soone as we haue lent, repent vs of the deed doing: other-whiles complaining of mens faint correspondence, and accusing them of some fault and offence they doe vnto vs, how little fouler it be. Thus corrupt we all thanksgiving, not onely after we haue giuen our benefit, but while we are in giuing of it. For which of vs was content eyther lightly, or at one time to be requir'd? Which of vs (when he but suspected that something would be demanded at his hands) hath not disdainfully frowned, or turned away his face, or pretended some businesse, and by long discourses, and purposely-produced speech, without head or foot, forestalled the occasion of demanding a fauour, and by diuers subtill denises deluded hastily necessities, but being encountered in such sort as he must needly answer, hath not either deferred (that is) fearefully denied, or promised but difficultly, but with bended browes, and strained and reprochfull words? But no man willingly oweth that, which he receiued not voluntarily, but extorted violently. Can any man be thankfull vnto him, who proudly either reprocheth a benefit, or wrathfully flung it to him, or (being ouer-wearied) gaue it him to the end to auoid his further trouble? He is deceyued whoeuer hopeth to haue a satisfaction at his hands, whom he hath dulled with delay, or tormented with expectation. A benefit is acknowledged according to the intent wherewith it is giuen; and therefore we ought not to giue negligently. For euery one is indebted to himselfe, for that which he receiuech of a neglectfull debtor. Neither must there be slacknesse in our liberality, because whereas in all offices the will of the giuer is highly esteemed, he that hath bene slow in benefitting, hath bene long time vnwilling. Neither ought we to bestow our benefits contumeliously; for whereas by nature it is so provided that injuries leaue a more deep impression in our minds, than good deserts, and the last are sodainly forgotten, where the first are continually reuered in memorie, what expecteth he who offendeth, whilest he obligeth an other? His satisfaction and gratuitie is sufficient if any man doe but pardon his benefit. Neyther is there any cause why the multitude of vngratfull men should make vs slower to deserue well: For first of all, (as I said) wee increase the same: Furthermore, neither are the immortal Gods deterred from their plentifull and ceaselesse bountie: notwithstanding the sacrilegious and neglectfull behauiours of men. They vse their nature, and inuse their bountie on all things, yea euen on those among the rest, that vse the worst interpretation of their benefits and largesse. Let vs follow these as our guides, (as farre as our humane frailtie will permit vs) let vs giue benefits, not lend on vsurie. That

man

man is worthy to be deceiued, who thought vpon requittall when he presented his curtesie. But it was ill employed. Both our children and wiues haue deceyued our hopes, yet doe we both bring vp the one, and marry the other: and so obliuate are we against experiments, that being overcome in warre, and shipwrack by Sea, we giue ouer neyther: How much more becometh it vs to be constant in giuing benefits: which whoeuer giuech not, because he hath not receiued, gaue that he might receiue, and makes the cause of the vngratefull receiuer inutilisable, to whom in that sort at length it is absurd not to repay, although he hath power. How many are vnworthy the light, and yet the day riseth to them? How many complain that they are borne? Yet nature increaseth mankind, and suffereth those to enioy life, who loath to possesse it. This is the propertie both of a great and good mind, not to follow the fruit of Benefits, but the benefits themselves, and after the euill to search likewise some good. What bonnie were in this, to profit many, if no man were deceiued? Now it is a Vertue to giue benefits, whereof there is no hope of recompence againe, and of which the fruit is alreadie receiued by a worthy man. So farre should this thing be from deceyuing vs, or making vs slow to performe so worthy a thing, that although my hope were vtterly cut off for euery finding a gratefull man, yet had I rather be exempted from receyuing Benefits from any man, than not to bestow them. Because that he which giuech not is more faultie than he which is vngratefull. I will speake what I thinke: hee that requitteth not a fauour done him, sinneth more; hee that giuech not, sooner.

*A thankable de-
bit must be
continued with-
out exception.*

*A vertuous man
in his good action
is not deterred
by any occur-
rence.*

*Accius says
the same.*

*The nature of a
Benef. is chang-
ed by the vsr.*

*Nothing is lost
that is rightly
giuen.*

CHAP. II.

*If thou profusely wilt thy goods bestow
On euery vulgar Person thou dost know,
Full many fauours must thou needly lose,
That one at length thou instantly must dispose.*

IN the former Verse thou maiest iustly reprehend both these two clauses; for neyther must our benefits bee profusely launshed on euery man, neyther can the prodigallitie and largesse of any thing be honest; especially that of benefits. For if thou giuest them without iudgement and discretion, they cease to be benefits, and admit any other name whatsoever you will giue them. The sense following is wonderfull, which repaireth the indemnities of many benefits ill employed and lost, with one well bestowed. See (I pray you) whether this be not more true, and more correspondent to the greatnesse of a Benefactor, to exhort him to giue, although he were assured that he should employ no one gift well: For that is false. That many things are to be lost, because nothing is lost; the reason is, for that he who looseth, had numbered it alreadie amongst his desperated debts. The respect and manner in employing good deeds is simple and plaine, they are onely deliuered out; if any one to whom they are trusted restore any thing, it is gained; if no man yeeld satisfaction, there is nothing lost: I gaue the same to the onely intent to giue it. No man regretteth

his

4	Lucius Annaeus Seneca. L I F. I.
<p><i>Only satisfaction redoubleth our mourne in a good Benefactor.</i></p>	<p>his good deeds in his Booke of Debtors. Neither is there any exacting Vltur that punctually impleadeth his Debtor on the day and houre. An honourable Benefactor neuer thinketh on the good turne he doeth, except he that hath received the same, refresheth the memory thereof by repaying him: Because otherwise it ceaseth to be a benefit, and becommeth a debt. To bestow a fauour in hope to receiue an other, is a contemptible and base vsurie. How badly fouer thy former fauours haue fallen out, yet persecuer thou in bestowing vpon others. They are best hoarded in the hands of the vngratefull, whom eyther shame, or occasion, or imitation, may at length fashion to be gratefull. Persecuer continually, and cease not to be bountifull: Accomplish that good worke which thou hast begun, and performe the dutie of a good man. Relieue this man with thy goods, an other with thy credit, that man by thy fauour, this with thy good counsailes and wholesome precepts.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">CHAP. III.</p>	
<p><i>benefits redoubled increases the most gratefull rejoysing.</i></p>	<p>Vild Beasts acknowledge good offices. Neither is there any liuing creature fo vntamed and vntactable, that with gentle handling, and carefull nourishing, is not made gentle and familiar. Such as haue the keeping and charge of the Lyons, may moule and handle them without harme or danger. Meate fo much humbleth the fiercenesse and haughtie courage of Elephants, that they refuse no seruile and base burthens. Finally, all these brute beasts, so deficient in vnderstanding, and esteeme of the benefites they receiue, at length are tamed and made humble by the frequent and daily accesse of the same. Is he vngratefull for one good turne? happily he will acknowledge a second. Hath he forgotten two? the third may perhaps bring him to remembrance of all the rest: He looseth that beleeueth, that he hath ouer-quikly lost. But he that persecueth in well-doing, and redoubleth his benefits one vpon the necke of the other, extorteth an acknowledgement from the most obdurate and forgetfull receiuer. He dare not lift vp his eyes against many good turnes. Whither so euer he turneth himselfe in seeking to betray his owne memorie, there let him fee thee beleager him on euery side by thy bountie: The force and properties whereof I will discouer vnto thee, if first of all thou giue me licence to expatiate in a word or two, and to touch certaine things impertinent to this matter. Shall I tell you why there are three *graces, and why they be Sisters, and why hand in hand, why smiling, young, and Virgins, attired in loose garments, cleare and transparent? To this some answer, That there ought to be three, because the one of them representeth him that bestoweth; the other, him that Receiueith; the other, him that gratifieth and remunerateth the Benefit. Others say, that there are three kindes of benefites, the one of those who bestow the same, the other of those that restore the same, and the third of those that receiue, and therewithall requite good turnes. Which fo euer I allow of, what doth this Science profit vs? What meaneth this dance of theirs, in which hand in hand they trip it alwaies in a round? To this intent it is, Because the order and proceesse of benefites (that passe through their hands that giue the same) is such, that they returne againe to the giuer, and should wholly loose the grace of all which they should effect, if euer they should bee interrupted:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">CONTINUA</p>

LIB. I.	Of Benefits.	5
<p>contrariwise, that they alwaies retaine their beautie, when they are vaited and hand-fasted together, and when they are restored and acknowledged in their time. Therefore paint they them laughing, Because the countenances of those that will deserue well at any mans hands, should be smiling and pleasant, such as theirs is, who are wont to giue or receiue benefites. They paint them yong, because the memorie of benefites should not waxe old. They faine them Virgins, because they are incorruptible, sincere, holy, and profitable vnto all men; Their garments loose, but yet transparent, because good works would be seen. Although some there may be so farre engaged to the Grecians, that he may terme the se things necessary, yet will there be no man that wil iustifie, that the names which <i>Hesiodus</i> hath giuen them are any waies pertinent to that purpose; He termed the eldest of them <i>Aglia</i>; the second <i>Euphrosine</i>; and the third <i>Thalia</i>. Each one hath thought good to wrest the interpretation of these words, according to his owne phantastic, and hath laboured to fashion them, and conforme them to some congruencie of reason. Notwithstanding <i>Hesiodus</i> hath giuen these yong Maidens that name, which was best liking to his humor. <i>Homer</i> also changed one of their names, and called her <i>Pasithee</i>; and saith, that he was married and espoused to a husband, to the end thou shouldst know that they were no Virgins. I will find you out another Poet that describeth them girt, and apparelled in thicke and grosse robes. <i>Asterion</i> also is painted by them; not for that good discourse giueth any lustre to benefites, but because it fo pleased the Painter. <i>Chrysippus</i> likewise (whose vnderstanding is so sharpe and subtile, and that searcheth and soundeth the very depth and secret of matters, he that pretendeth to speake of good customes, and conformeth his stile to euery mans vnderstanding) farseeth his whole booke with these follies, in so much as he speaketh very little of the manner of giuing, receiuing, or restoring benefites, in such sort as he mixeth not his fables amidst his discourse, but rather mixeth his discourse amidst his fables. For, besides these things which <i>Hecaton</i> hath transcribed, <i>Chrysippus</i> maintaineth, That the three <i>Graces</i> are the Daughters of <i>Iupiter</i> and <i>Eurimome</i>, somewhat yonger, but fairer than the <i>Hours</i>, for which cause they were giuen for companions to the Goddess <i>Venus</i>. He thinketh the name of a Mother likewise something pertinent to the matter, for therefore was she called <i>Eurimome</i>, because it is the proprietie of a great and ample patrimonie to know well how to imploy and bestow benefites; as if it were a matter of custome to giue the name of Mother before that these had children; or that Poets assigned the true names. For euen as the <i>Nomen-Clators</i> or Beadles (whose office it is to relate their names that ought to be so limited to purchase some dignitie) sometimes make vse of their boldnesse, in stead of their memorie, and forgetting the proper names of such as they should certifie, forge an other according to their owne phantasie: So Poets thinke it not pertinent to the matter to speake truth, but either compelled by necessity, or surpursed with affection of consonance, command each thing to be termed by that name that best becometh the harmonic and cadencie of their Verses. Neither are they to be blamed here, because they enlarge the matter with some new device of their owne: for the first Poet that shall speake of them, will giue them what name he pleaseth. And to proue this to be true, behold this name of <i>Thalia</i> (whereof principally all of them make mention) which in <i>Hesiodus</i> is one of the three <i>Graces</i>, and in <i>Homer</i> one of the nine <i>Muses</i>.</p>		<p><i>Videant opera vultus boni,</i></p> <p><i>The Poets fine the Same had a certain number of hand-maides, which hee called the Hours. See Ouid.</i></p> <p><i>There were in Rome custome newer office in w^{ch} a carde by in re the names of the ci- tizens, who shew- ing the station of publique offi- cers were al- lowes assignes.</i></p> <p><i>The earliest of Poets.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">B 3</p> <p style="text-align: right;">CHAP.</p>

C H A P. IIII

Hee praiſeth here
teacheth the Gre-
cians inco-
ſiſtencie.

BVt leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to incurre the ſame fault, which I repre-
hend, I will relinquish all theſe things, which are ſo farre from the
matter, that they no waies concerne the ſame; I onely pray thee
to defend my cauſe, if any man ſhall taxe and reprehend mee for
this, that among the reſt I haue not ſpared to reprove *Chriſippus*, being a man
ſo great, (but yet a Grecian) whoſe vnderſtanding is ſo acute and ſubtile, that it
offentimes confoundeth and puzzleth it ſelfe: for euen then when he ſeemeth
to ayme at the beſt, and to aſſect any thing: he onely pricketh, but pierceth not;
toucheth, but reacheth not. And what ſubtiltie or ſharpneſſe (I pray you) is
herein? Of benefits then we are to intreat, and to ſet downe an order and di-
rection in this vertue, which chiefly concerneth humane ſocietie: we are to
prefixe and ſet downe a law of liuing, leaſt inconfiderate facilitie in giuing, grow
in fauour vnder the colour of benignitie, leaſt this obſcuration, whileſt it tem-
perateth liberality, (which muſt neither be defectiue nor ſuperfluous) reſtraine
the ſame wholly. Men are to be taught to receiue with thankfulneſſe, and to
reſtore with the ſame correſpondence, and to procure (in regard of thoſe that
oblige them with any benefite) non onely to be equall with them in will, but to
ouer-come them with greater grauitie: becauſe that he who is obliged to ac-
knowledge a good turne, requiteth not the ſame, except his remuneration ex-
ceed the giuers merit. Theſe are to be taught to impute nothing; they to owe
more. To this moſt honeſt contention of ouercomming one benefite by an o-
ther, ſo doth *Chriſippus* exhort vs, that he ſaith, that it is to be feared, leſt becauſe
the *Graces* are the Daughters of *Iupiter*, it be reputed ſacriledge to grow va-
thankfull for good turnes, and iniurie be thereby offered to loamiable Da-
moſels.

Chriſippus tri-
niall ſubtiltie.

Teach thou mee ſomewhat that may make mee more forward to doe good
vnto all men, and more thankfull vnto thoſe that haue done me good offices.
Tell vs ſomething whereby the will of thoſe that oblige by their bounty, and
of thoſe who are obliged, are anſwerable, and made competent: ſo as the bene-
factors keepe no account or memorie of their good deeds, and thoſe that ſhall
receiue the ſame, put them not in obliuion, but perpetually remember them.
And let vs leaue theſe follies and toies to Poets, whole proſect is to delight the
care, and to inuent a pleaſing fable. But they that will heale mens diſfigured
and vicious minds, that ſerue to maintaine faith in humane things, and deſire to
engraue the memorie of good turnes in the hearts of men; Let them ſpeake ſe-
riouſly, and employ their vtmoſt forces: except thou happily thinke that it is
poſſible by a ſlight and fabulous diſcourſe, and by old wiuies tales, that a thing
ſo peniculous, and ſo much abhominable in the world, (as is the generall aboli-
tion of debts, and an acquittance of all good deedes) may be prohibited.

C H A P. V.

Hee returneth to
the matter.

BVt as I inſit not on thoſe things which are of ſmall importance, ſo
is it likewiſe neceſſarie that induour my ſelfe to make this well
knowne, that firſt of all we ought to learne how much we are ob-
liged, when we haue receyued a benefite. One man acknow-
ledgeth himſelfe indebted for the money he hath receiued, another for a Conſu-
lare,

late, another for the office of Prieſthood, another for the gouernement of a
Prouince; yet no one of theſe things is properly a benefite, but onely the marke
and ſigne of a benefite or merit. a benefite cannot be touched by the hand, but is
carried in the heart.

Bounty is met
the ſubſt of the
ſenſe, juſt in co-
mpariſon in the
heart.

There is much difference betwixt the matter of bounty and bounty it ſelfe:
For this cauſe neither gold nor ſilver, (nor any other thing we receiue at our
friends hands) is the true and reall benefite, except his will onely that beſow-
eth the ſame. The rude and ignorant ſort obſcure only that which is ſeene by
the eyes, or thruſt into the hands, or which is deliuered them, or they poſſeſſe;
and contrariwiſe, they make a little account of that which in reaſon of truth
they ought moſt to prize and praife alſo. Theſe things which we poſſeſſe,
theſe things which we ſee, and wherein our couetouſneſſe is ſo engaged, are
fraile and incertaine: and either fortune, or iniuſtice can take them from vs: but
a benefite remaineth, although the matter whereby it is made maniſeſt, be loſt
and extinguiſhed. Vndoubtedly that thing is well done which no force can de-
feat or diminiſh. I haue redeemed (ſaith thou) my friend from the hands of
pirates, and him hath another enemy ſurprized and put in priſon. Although
this enemy hath defrauded and acquired me of the vſe of this good worke, yet
can he not extinguiſh the good worke it ſelfe. I haue ſaued ſome mens children
from ſhipwracke, or haue deliuered them from the force of the fire, and theſe
haue eyther ſome ſickenſſe or other caſuall iniurie violently taken from mee.
Yet remaineth that without them, which is giuen in them. All thoſe things
then which improperly vſurpe the name of Benefits, are but the means and in-
ſtruments, by the which the will of a good friend is expreſſed. The like appea-
reth in many other things, ſo as it falleth out, that the true thing is in one place,
and the ſigne and reſemblance thereof in another. The Emperour or Chiefe
taine of an armie giueth a chayne of Gold to ſome one Soulder of his that ap-
proved his value in ſome difficult enterpriſe, morall or ciuill: a Crowne vnto a-
nother that firſt ſcaled the enemies wall, or for that he ſaued a Citizens life. I
aſke you now what precious thing hath this Crowne in it? what is this em-
broydered gowne or garment which is giuen to Noble mens children? Theſe
euſignes of magiſtracie, the axe and rods, what value are they of? what pro-
fieth the Iudges Tribunal, or his paynted Caroch? None of all theſe things are
honour, but onely ſignes of honour. In the like manner that which is offered
to the eye, is not the good worke or benefite, but onely a luſtre and ſigne of
the ſame.

C H A P. VI.

WHat therefore is a benefite? It is a beneuolent action which cau-
ſeth and yeeldeth pleaſure by that good it communicateth to o-
ther, inclined and diſpoſed of it ſelfe, and of her proper moti-
on to that ſhe doth. A benefite therefore conſiſteth not in that
which is eyther done or giuen, but in the mind of him that ey-
ther giueth or doeth the pleaſure. And hereby mayeſt thou vnderſtand, that
there is a great difference betwixt theſe two, becauſe the beneuolence is al-
waies good; but that which is done, or giuen, is neyther good nor euill. It is
the mind that valueth ſmall things; illuſtrateth and exempliſeth obſcure
things; and contrariwiſe, ſeteth light by thoſe things which are moſt eſteem-
med

What a benefite
is, and wherein
it conſiſteth.

The mind and
heart are they
that prize or diſ-
eſteeme things.

A companion to
this effect.

med and precious. Those things which wee desire and long after most, haue a neutrall and indifferent nature, and are neyther good nor euill. That which is most materially to be considered, is, whether the minde that gouerneth them aimesth and impelleth them, from which all things haue their forme. That then which is reckoned, or giuen, is not the benefite, euen as neyther in the sacrifice, how fat and refulgent so euer they be, the honour of the gods consisteth but in those that with a pious and vpriight mind doe worship them. Good men therefore are religious in a Cake or Wafer; contrariwise euill men are not exempted from impietie, although they haue imbrewed the Altars with much blood.

CHAP. VII.

He pouerth his
defection.

This hath some
conformity with
the aimes which
the world and
the Pharise
goe in this
temple.
Arguments of
true pietie and
beautie.

IF benefites consisted in those things which we receyue, and not in the will wherewith they are giuen: so much the more greater should they be, the greater the good turnes are which wee haue receiued. But this is false; for sometime he obligeth vs more that hath giuen a little magnificently; that hath equalled the riches of Kings by his valow and richer mind: that giueth a little, but freely; that forgetteth his owne pouertie and needfull; whilst he respecteth mine; that had not only a will to help me, but a great desire to fauour me; that when he gaue a benefite, thought that he receiued the same; that gaue without hope of recompence, and receiued as though he had not giuen; that not onely sought occasion to do good, but laid hold on the opportunitie, whereby he might profit others: Contrariwise, these things which either are extorted from the giuer, or seeme to fall from his hands that giue them: although they seeme highly prized and of great appearance, yet, as I said, they are vnworthie of thanks, because a gift is much more gratefully accepted and reckoned of that cometh from a free and liberrall hand, than from a full and rich-filled penny-father. It is but a small thing he hath giuen me, but he could not giue me more. But that which the other hath giuen me, is farre more worth: Yet doubted he; yet delayed he when he should giue; yet grumbled he in bestowing; yet gaue he presumptuously, excusing himselfe by many circumstances, and would not please him to whom he lent his goods. Finally, that which he gaue mee, was not so much to giue it me, as to bestow it on his ambitious thoughts.

A sentence of
this age if you
note it.

CHAP. VIII.

WHen as many men offered many presents to *Socrates*, each one according to their possessions and possibilities: one of his poorest scholars, whose name was *Aschines*, came vnto him, and said; I find nothing worthy thy selfe, that I may giue vnto thy selfe: and in this one onely kind I find my selfe to be poore. That one thing therefore which is onely in my possession, I offer thee, which is my selfe; beseeching thee to accept of this gift such as it is, and to consider that they which haue giuen thee many things haue reserved much more to themselves. To this *Socrates* answered: Who doubteth but that thou hast offered mee a great present, were it not that thou valuest and esteemest thy selfe so little. I will there-

therefore take care to restore thy person to thy selfe, better than at this time I receiue him from thee. By this present of his, *Aschines* exceeded *Alcibiades* (a man as mightie in mind as in meanes) and all the liberalities of all the most richest young men of Greece.

CHAP. IX.

THou seest how a good mind findeth matter of liberalitie, euen in the greatest gall and torment of miserie. *Aschines* (me thinkes) reasoneth thus in himselfe: I thinke not Fortune, that thou hast preuailed any thing against me in making me poore, be thou neuer so refractarie; yet will I find a present that is worthe *Socrates*; and since I cannot giue any thing that is thine, or thou hast giuen me, I will giue mine owne, my selfe, and the best of me. You must not thinke that *Aschines* valowed himselfe basely to himselfe, that knew none more worthe present besides himselfe without himselfe. This ingenious young man found out the meanes, how he might make *Socrates* his, by giuing him what he was. We are not to respect the valow of these things that are giuen, but the vertue of him that giue them. A subtile and politike man willingly giue the audience to those that demand and propose vnreasonable suites, and intending no waies to helpe indeed, nourisheth their fraudulent hope with deceitfull words. But yet worse is his opinion, that with proud language, graue and seuer looks, hath disdainfully set out the summe of his riches. For they that make a shew to respect and reuerence a man on whom Fortune smileth, are the first that detest and seeke to doe him mischief; and such notwithstanding, that if they had the power, would themselves doe that which the other did. * Some there are that not privately and behind their backs, but openly and to their faces haue scorned and mocked at other mens wiues, and yet haue abandoned their owne to those that loued them. There are women likewise, that in these dayes account those married men rustique, inhumane, and of froward condition, that will not suffer their wiues to get vp into their Caroches, and prance through the streets to be gazed at by the passers by. * That man who is not noted for intertaining a Mistress, or for courting his neighbours wife, him doe these Matrons account base in condition and heart; base in choyce and election, and onely worthe to court their basest Chamber-maids. Hence it is, that in these dayes Adulterie is reputed the most honestest method and manner (that is) to wed a woman. Some had rather consent neuer to entertayne marriage, than not to haue such a woman to his wife, that was not debauched from her husband. Now trise they to lauish that which they haue rauished, and to get in their expences with no lesse avarice, to care for nothing, to contemne an other mans pouertie, and to feare his owne, and to feare no other mischief, to peruert peace by iniuries, to oppresse the weaker by force and feare. For to see Provinces sacked, the Chayre of Iustice sold, and iudgements set to sale to him that will giue most, is not to be wondered at, since it is permitted by the Law of Nations to sell that thou hast bought.

* In this place
Lipstius and A-
naximus differ
a little which
may be consi-
dered by the small
conformitie be-
tweene the ante-
cedent and sub-
sequent reason.
* A fine more
imitated in this
age than any
course.

CHAP. X.

*A notable lesson
of an Ethique
for all good
Christians.*



Vt the subiect whereof I intreate, hath so much distracted and transported me, that it hath carryed me further than I thought. Let vs in such sort inuendor to depart out of this life, that our liues may not seeme to be rooted and settled in our age. Hereof our Ancestors complayned, hereat we our selues are agrieved; and for this will our Successors sigh, because good customes are abolished, impicities haue preeminence, and humane affaires grow worse and worse, and men leaue no wickednesse or sinne vnought after. And the worst is that these vices doe, and shall remaine in the same place, although they be a little moued here and there, as the Floods of the Sea, which when the tide commeth, are carried out into the Ocean, and vpon the ebbe are containd a while on the brimme and banke of the riuier. In this time shall Adulteries be more frequent than any other vice, and modestie shall turne loose and Libertine. In an other Age the furie of banquetting shall flourish, and the vnedent abundance of Kirchgins: the shops wherein so infamously mens Patrimonies are sold and barttered. Another time shall come of immesurable and vnbridled curiositie in apprelling the bodie, and painting the face, which externall fuke shewes how foule and filthie the soule is internally. At this time great men abusing their authority, shall be too audacious and insolent. At an other time men shall flesh themselves with publike and priuate cruelties, and in the furious madnesse of ciuill disension, whereby euerie sacred and sanctified thing is prophaned. The time will come wherein drunkennesse shall be honoured, and hee shall be esteemed most vertuous and gallant that hath sucked in the greatest excessse of wine. Vices continue not alwayes in one and the same place, they agree not well together, they changetime and place, they vrge and giue chace one to another. In a word, we may alwayes boldly say thus of our selues, that we are euill, that we haue bene euill, and (vnwillingly I speake it) we alwayes shall be. In all times there will be Murtherers, Tyrants, Theeues, Adulcers, Robbers, Church breakers, and Traitors, and the least of all these is the vngratefull man, except it be that all these are the children of Ingratitude, without which scarcely any euill enterprise hath bene plotted or performed. Beware and esteeme thou this as the most grieuous and greatest of crimes, let him not take hold of thee; and in another man pardon the same, as if it were the slightest of all others. For in effect all the iniurie that he did thee consisteth in this, that thou didst loose thy good deed; but comfort thy selfe with this, that thou didst not loose the better part thereof, which is, the honour to haue giuen the same. But euen as we ought to be well aduised, not to employ our fauours on those that will not heartily and freely acknowledge the same, so ought we sometimes to hazard a benefit, although we are out of hope of acknowledgement or satisfaction. And not onely when we are afraid that they will be ingratefull, but also then when wee shall be most assured that they haue already bene approoued and knowne for vngratefull. Euen as if I can, I am vndoubtedly bound to restore vnto a father, (prouided that it be not with any hazard of mine owne fortunes) his children whom I had saued from a great perill: So likewise ought I to defend a vertuous and worthy man, and second him in the danger wherein I shall find him, though it be with the losse and expence of mine owne blood. If likewise by my outcrie I can deliuer a man from

*Ingratum dix-
eris, & omnia
dixeris.*

from the hands of thieues, (although he be vnworthie of any fauour) I ought neuer to repent my selfe if by my words I haue saued a wicked mans life.

CHAP. XI.



T followeth now that we declare what sorts of Benefits wee ought to giue, and after what manner we ought to giue them. First of all let vs giue things necessarie, then profitable, thirdly agreeable, and permanent. Let vs begin with that which is necessarie. For we account our selues farre more beholding to him that hath giuen vs our life, than to him that enlargeth our honours, or instructeth vs in vertues. Some one may be a disdainfull valew in that which hee may easily want, whereof he may say, take it to thee, I want it not, I am contented with mine owne. In the meane while, his mind is not to restore so much as hath bin receiued, but to cast it away. But amongst those things which are necessarie some hold the first place, and they are these without which we cannot liue. Others hold the second: and they are these without which we ought not to liue: Others, the third, without which we would not deferue to liue: The first of this note are, to be deliuered out of the enemies hands, exempted from a tyrants wrath and proscription, and other perills, which being both diuers and incertaine, beleager and besiege mans life. Which so euer of these we shall haue prevented or cut off, the more greater and terrible it is, the greater thanks shall we receiue. For they will bethinke them from what euils we haue deliuered them, and the precdent feare of danger which they haue had, reuiuethe their remembrance, and giueth life to the desert fore-past, when they bethinke themselves from how many miseries they are deliuered. Yet hereby is it not intended if we should maliciously deferre or denie our succours to him that is in any danger, to the end that feare should giue a greater waight to our benefit or merit. In the second ranke are these things without which truly we may liue, but liue so miserably, as death were better than the life; of which kind are libertie, modestie, and a good mind. In the last place we rancke those things, which alliance and parentage, familiar conuersations, and long vlc, hath made vs alwaies repute and account most deare and precious: as our Children, our Wiues, and Houses, and all these things whereunto we haue so much addicted and dedicated our hearts and desires, that we had rather die than diuide our selues from their companie. After these necessarie things succede those that are profitable, whose nature and argument is farre more ample and diuers. Here entrench money (not superfluous but sufficient to entertayne an honourable meanes of life,) here entrench honour and the good carriage of affaires, to the end to attaine to greater matters. For nothing is more profitable than to be made profitable to a mans owne selfe. The rest is but euen great abundance and superfluitie which spoyleth men, and maketh them effeminate. But when we would intend to doe a pleasure, we must prouide that the opportunitie may make it more pleasing; that the thing we intend to present be not common and ordinarie; that few men haue had the like in times past, and that as few yet in these our daies can match the patterne: and if it be not rich in it selfe, at least let the time and place, wherein we giue the same, cause it to be more highly prized. Let vs bethinke our selues what present we might make, that might yeeld some pleasure and content-

The necessarie.

The profitable.

*Profit is first to
be considered
regard of a mans
particular
The agreeable.*

contentment, that might be more often-times scene and handled, to the end that so often as he should take my present into his hands, so oftentimes he should haue & hold me in his remembrance. We ought likewise to beware that we send not vnseemely presents; as to a woman, or an old and impotent man, toiles or other necessarie instruments of hunting; to a Countie Clowne, bookes; or nets to him that is studious and addicted to his booke. Contrariwise also we ought to be very circumspect, least thinking to send some agreeable present, we send to euery one such thing as may reproch him of his infirmities; as wine to a drunken man, and medicines to a sicke man. For this beginneth to resemble rather an outrage than a present, if that which is giuen do take the imperfection of him that receiue the same.

CHAP. XII.

IF it be in our election to bestow what we list, Let vs present such things as may continue longest, to the end that the good which we doe, and gifts we bestow, may be lasting and of long continuance. Because amongst those that receiue, there are few so thankfull that they remember them of that they haue receiued, except they haue it alwaies in their sight. And the vngratefull also, when the present and fauour is alwaies in their eye, are thereby drawne into the memorie thereof, which suffereth them not to forget themselves, but redreth and redoubleth the memorie of him that gaue the same. So much the rather therefore let vs seeke out things that are of continuance, because we ought neuer to vpbraide a benefit, but suffer the present it selfe to quicken and reuiue decaying memorie. More willingly will I giue silver plate than readie monie, more willingly statues, then apparill, and such things as in a short time are worne out by vs. Few there are that remember to giue thanks after they haue pocketed the present. Many there are that no longer make estimate of a good turne, than whilst they may make vse thereof. If the efore it possibly might bee so, I would not that my gift should be consummate, or worne out of memorie, my desire is it should be extant, and of long continuance, and accompany my friend and Iue loyally with him. There is no man so foolish that had need to be taught; that hee should not inuite his friend, and present him with the publique shewes of fencing, and baiting of savage beasts, when as these proclaimed sports haue been performed and shewen, or Sommer suites for Winter time, and Winter garments in heate of Sommer; wee neede no more than common sense to make vs know what is fitting and acceptable. Wee must respect the time, the places, the persons, because in the moments of time, or occasion, some things are gratefull and vngratefull. How much more acceptable it is if we giue that, whi. h the person to whom we giue hath not, than that where with he is abundantly stored? if we present him with that which he hath long sought and could not find, than that which is merchantable and easily bought in euery place? Our gifts ought rather to be exquisite and rare, than pretious and rich, and such so extraordinary, that he that seemeth to haue least want of anything by reason of his abundance, may accept and hold them deare for their raritie and noueltie. Were they but common apples which in a short space by reason of their abundance would be displeasing to the whole world, yet if a man make a present of them in their prime ripenesse, and when there is

The permission.

Things of continuance live longest in the receivers memorie.

What discretion there ought to be in presenting.

Raritie, be the present neuer so small, maketh it acceptable.

a scarcitie of them, they will bee farre more acceptable and esteemed. These presents likewise are not without honor, which either no man else hath presented them with, or we our selues haue not giuen to any other.

CHAP. XIII.



Hen as *Alexander of Macedon* after his Orientall victories had raised his thoughts about humane reach; certaine Embassadors were sent vnto him in the behalfe of the Corinthians, to congratulate his victories, and to present him with the Title of a free Citizen of Corinth. Which offer of theirs, when *Alexander* had scornfully derided, one of the Embassadors said vnto him: Consider, noble Prince, that we haue neuer imparted this priuledge of our Citie at any time to any else, but thy selfe, and inuincible *Hercules*. Which when *Alexander* had heard, he thankfully entertained the honour they had offered him, sumptuously scafed, and gratefully embraced the Embassadors, conceiuing thus, and contemplating, not what they were who offered them their Citie, but who he was to whom they had first presented the same before him. This man who was so addicted, and drunken in glorie: (whereof he neither knew the naturall nor the measure,) following the traces of *Hercules* and *Liber*, yet not content himselfe to bound his ambition within the limits where they ceased, he respected what companions in honour the Corinthians had presented him with; And thereby finding himselfe to be compared with *Hercules*, he thought that alreadie he was possessed of heauen, which vaine and fruitlesse hope he foolishly embraced. For tell me, I pray you, wherein might this mad young man in any thing resemble or compare himselfe with *Hercules*, who had but happie temeritie in stead of resolution and value. *Hercules* atchieued no conquest for his own particular interest, he trauesed the whole world, not desiring possessions, but reuenging iniuries. What desire of conquest, or affection of profit, could this Enemie of euill men, this Protector of good men, this Pacifier both of Land and Sea in any sort conceiue or haue? But this man from his young yeares was a Theefe, a Forager of Countries, the ruine both of his friends and enemies, who held it for his chiefest happinesse to be a terror to all mortal men; remembering not that not only the most cruell beasts, but also the most feeble and coward, are redoubted, and feared for their pernicious venom.

Pharacchis vnto Alexander.

The true difference betwixt Hercules and Alexander.

CHAP. XIII.



Et vs now returne vnto our purpose. That benefit which is giuen to euery man, is gratefull to no man. No man will euer thinke that a Taucerner or Hostler entertaineth him as a friend. No man supposeth himself to be inuited by him that furnisheth a feast to entertaine a whole Citie. For a man may say, what pleasure hath he done me? he hath fauoured me no otherwise than hee would a stranger, or an enemie, or the basest fellow, or Player, he might haue met withall. But he thought me more worthie or better esteemed than any other? nothing lesse: that which he hath done is but to content his owne humour and infirmities.

Benefits sought not to be vulgar and common.

C

If

Advances to sufficient men to acceptance and gratitude.

If thou desirest that thy presents may be acceptable, make choise of some rare thing. Who will account himselfe obliged for a curtesie which is done vnto every man? Let no man interpret these things in that nature as if I would re-
fraine mens liberallitie, and repress them more than reason required. I will not so bound the same that it may not be generall, or employed where a man pleaseth, yet my desire is that it should not be extravagant or mismployed, but iustly intended. A man may so fort his good turnes, and so honestly distribute the same, that they who have received them, although they bee many, may suppose that they are not favoured in common, but in particular. Let euery man haue some familiar note, whereby he that receiueth may coniecture that he is more inwardly respected by him that bestoweth the benefit. Let him say; I haue not receiued more than that other man, but that which was giuen mee came with a freer bountie and good will. I haue receiued the same present which an other man had, yet I more speedily and readily than he, where as he long before had merited the same. Some there are that haue had the same fauours, yet not deliuered with the same gratulatorie speeches, nor presented with the like curtesie from the Benefactor. This man receiued after he had intreated for his benefit, but I, when I was besought to accept the same. Such a man receiued a rich present; tis true; but he could more easily giue recompence; for being as he is a man of many yeares, and without heires, he promitch great hopes to the Benefactor. But that which I receiued is of more esteeme, because that which he hath giuen me is without all hope of restitution. Euen as a Curtizan so diuideth her selfe amongst many, that each one hath a particular insinuation and proofe to be more favoured than the rest: So hee that desireth that his curtesies should be esteemed, ought to bethinke him, not onely in what sort he may oblige all men vnto him, but how euery one may haue something whereby he may thinke that he is preferred before the rest. For mine owne part I desire not to reſtraine any man from distributing his liberalities as hee listeth: the more and greater his largesse is, the more honourable and prayse worthe they be; yet with I notwithstanding that his bountie should be bounded with iudgement. For these things that are giuen rashly and without consideration, are neuer well reputed or accounted of. For this cause if any man should thinke that in commanding this, I would by this meanes banish and exterminate liberalltie, and should not afford the same limits large enough; Vndoubtedly he hath made but little vse and received lesse profit of these my instruction. For is there any vertue that I haue more prized? or whereunto I haue more incited men than to that? to whom appertaineth these exhortations and instructions more than to me, who by liberalltie would establish and assure a firme commerce and societie amongst men?

C H A P. XV.

Reason and iudgement ought to compaite liberalitie: prodigallitie extinguisht.



What is it then? Since there is no honest designe of the soule, although it hath had his originall from a iust will, but that whose waight and iust measure is transformed into vertue. I forbid liberalltie to be prodigall or mis-employd. Then is it that a man should be glad to haue receiued a good turne, (yea willingly, and with open hands:) when reason and iudgement hath addressed it to their hands, who are worthe of the same, when by timentie of fortune, or by heat of

of courage, it is not vnprovided and disurnished of good counsaile, and when a man may take pleasure to shew it to the world, and protest himselfe to be the Author. Wilt thou esteeme that for a benefit which thou hast receiued from such a mans hands, whom thou art alhamed to name? Contrariwise, how much more agreeable are those good turnes vnto vs, how inwardly are they grounded and ingrafted into our memories, (from whence they are inseparable) when they content vs, and make our thoughts more pleasing, in imagining from whom, than what we haue receiued? *Crispus Passenus* was accustomed to say, that hee more esteemed other mens iudgements, than their gifts, and other mens gifts, than their iudgement; and annexed this example; *I had rather (said he) haue AVOVS TVS indgement, yet like I better CEAVDVS Benefit.* But for mine owne part, I thinke that no man ought to desire a Benefit at his hands, whose iudgement is deficient and idle. What then? should not that which *Clandius* gaue be receiued? Why not? but in such manner as if thou hadst receiued it from *Fortunes* hand, which thou mightest imagine might sodainly become a misfortune. But why should wee separate those things which are so vnited? because we cannot call that a benefit which wanteth his principall part, that is, to be done and giuen with heartinesse and deliberation. A great summe of money, if it be not giuen prudently, and with a will grounded on reason, is a treasure, but no benefit.

Finally, there are many things which wee may receiue, and yet not bee obliged for them.

The end of the first Booke of Benefits.





LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA.

Of Benefits.
THE SECOND BOOKE.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE assumeth and intreateth of an other part, How Benefits are to be giuen. He giueth many precepts hereupon; that wee bestow them willingly, speedily, and without dubitation. That some things are to be giuen openly, other some things secretly; but yet all things without pride, or boasting. Then what they are which are hurtfull, if they be not giuen, although they be demanded, and yet not dishonest, and such as may breed future infamie. Then that the persons ought to be esteemed both of him that giueth, and him that receiveth, that both of them may be decent. Another part of the Booke: How he that receiveth should behaue himselfe, from whom he receiveth, and how, especially gratefully. By occasion what it is that maketh men vngratefull: Pride, Avarice, Envie. Finally, in many wordes he disposeth of gratitude, and proueth that it consisteth on will, where as wealth and meanes wanteth.

CHAP. I.



Let vs looke into and examine that (most worthie *Liberals*) which as yet remaineth of the first part: In what manner wee ought to bestow a Benefit. To the better performance whereof I shall in my opinion set downe the most expedite way. So let vs giue as wee would receiue a good turne. But above all things what wee doe, let vs doe willingly, speedily, and without any doubting: Vngratefull is that Benefit that bath long time stucke betwene his fingers that giueth the same, that a man seemeth hardly to part withall; and deliuereth in such sort, as if he had robbed himselfe of it. Yea if wee cannot giue so soone as we would, and that we are enforced to delay our benefit, let vs strive at leastwise by all the meanes possible, that it be not supposed, that we haue hung long

*He that deliuereth
or deliuereth in his
humble, longest
his gift and
marke.*

*Willingness and
precision are
the signs of a
free and liberal
mind, delay and
dilatation of a
suspicious and
suggarly heart.*

*Yes, grace that
is purchased by
prayers.*

*A benefactor
ought to prevent
him that he in-
tendeth to
please and
fore-see his
neighbour's ne-
cessitie, to the
intent he may
prevent his
miserie.*

*Provanitie in a
Heathen imita-
ble by Christi-
ans, as the Chris-
tian world is
corrued in these
dayes.*

long time in deliberation or suspicion, whether we should giue or no: He that doubteth, is next to him that denyeth, and deserueth no thanks for the same. For whereas in a benefit there is nothing more agreeable than the will of him that giueth the same, he that in delaying giueth vs to vnderstand that he giueth against his will, in effect giueth nothing, but rather knew not how to keepe it from his clutches, that drew it from his handes. Diuers there are that are bountifull for shame sake: but those pleasures that are readily bestowed, that are giuen before they are demanded, that are vnaattended by any delay (except it bee the modestie of him that receiuethe the same) are farre more agreeable. First of all it behooueth vs to prevent euery mans desire, and afterwards to follow the same. But the best is to prevent and present our fauours before they be sought after. And for that an honest man bluseth alwaies for modestie when he demandeth any thing, whosoever he be that remitteth and excuseth him of this torment, redoubleth and multiplieth the pleasure. He receiued not gratis, that receiued when he demanded. Because (according to the opinion of the grauest Authors and our Ancestors) there is nothing that costs so much, as that which is bought with prayers. Men would more sparingly tender their vows vnto the gods, if they should doe it openly; and rather desire we in secret to pray and performe our vows vnto them, because our desire is that our thoughts should be onely knowne vnto them.

CHAP. II.

THe words are distastfull, and full of disturbance, for a man of honour (with abashed and abased looke) to say, I beseech you. Labor thou then to excuse thy friend herein, and whomsoever else thou intendest to oblige vnto thee by thy bountie. How forwardly sooner a man giue, that giueth after he is intreated, let him know this lesson, that he giueth too late. Indeaour therefore to diuine and fore-see euery mans will; & when thou vnderstandest the same, discharge him of the grievous necessitie of asking. Know thou that that benefit is most pleasing, and of longest perpetuities in mans memorie, that comes vnought for and vndemanded. And if happily thou hast not had the opportunity to prevent his necessitie, yet at leastwise intercept the reasons and motives which he should vse in requesting thy curtesie: thou oughtest to make him beleue by thy readinesse and forwardnesse, that thou hadst a desire to do him friendship before he demanded the same. And as meat which is presented a sick man in due season profiteth him much; And simple water being giuen in time of necessitie, is sometimes of as much worth and value as a medicine: euen so a pleasure although it be little and small in value, if it be freely and fitly giuen, if it be done in due time, and fitting to the occasion, valueth and commendeth it selfe the more, and surmounteth the estimate and worth of a rich and precious present, which hath bene long time deuised and dreamt vpon. It is not to be doubted, but that he who so readily distributed his largesse, performed the same as willingly. And therefore with ioyfulness fulfilleth he that hee intendeth, and thereby giueth testimonie of his good mind.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

THe silence or slownesse of speech of some men, imitating grauitie and sadnesse, hath corrupted their benefit, when as they promised with a denying countenance. How farre better were it to accompany good workes with good words, and to giue credit to the good office thou doest with familiar and courteous language? That he may chastise him selfe for being too slow in asking. Informe against him this familiar quarrell: I am much displeased with thee, for that thou hast not acquainted me sooner with that which thou desirest at my hands for that thou hast vsed too many ceremonies and circumstances in requiring my helpe; for that thou hast employed a third meanes for that which thou mightest haue commanded thy selfe: For mine own part, I hold my selfe most happie & contented, that thou hast sought to make proof of the good affection I beare thee. From henceforth if thou be pressed with any necessity, command and claime whatsoever is mine as thine owne: Let this one error passe, I pardon thy rusticitie. Hereby shalt thou make him esteeme and value thy noble mind more, than all that he came to claime at thy hands, how precious soeuer it be. Then doth the benefactors vertue most manifestly appeare, then is his bountie remarkable, when as the other passing from him, shall depart muttering to himselfe: Great hath bene my gaines this day; I more contents mee that I haue found him such a man, than if the benefit had bene redoubled vnto me by any other way, for to a mind such as this I shall neuer yeeld sufficient or satisfaction.

*Men ought to
show/answer wil-
lingly.*

*Terms beseeching
a liberal mind.*

CHAP. IIII.

BVt many there be, that by the bitterness of their words, and the crabbednesse of their looks, make their fauours odious, by vsing such speech, and expresseing such pride, that it repenteth him that demanded the curtesie, that he hath obtained it. It falleth out oftentimes likewise, that after the promise made there are some delays and procrastinations: yet is there not any thing more loathsome and distastfull, than when a grace is once granted, to be informed to goe and redemand it againe. The fauours we intend, ought not to be deferred, which cost more sometimes in their recouerie than in their promise. That man must thou beseech to put his Lord in remembrance, that man to receiue the fauour for thee; thus one simple gift, (by passing thorow many mens hands) is diminished and lessened very much, and he hath least satisfaction that hath made promise thereof. For they, whom afterwards we much importune, get the better part of the thanks. If therefore thou wilt haue thy gifts to be acceptable and gratefull, thou must procure that they passe thorow their hands that sought the same vntouched and intire, and (as they say) without any deduction. Let no man intercept, let no man detain them; there is no man that in that which thou art to giue, can purchase any credit, but that he impayreth and diminisheth thine.

*The errors of
those that giue
after an ill
manner.*

*A lost curtesie to
receiue after,
much cramping.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

*Refusall is better than incur-
taintie.*

*A patterne of a
proud Countrey.*

Here is nothing more tedious, than to hang in suspence. There are some that had rather that the hopes of their pretensions were scantied, then delayed. And many there are (too foully possessed of this vice) that with a depraved ambition, protract and deferre those things that have already promised, to no other end, but to increase the number of those that sollicite and sue to them. Such are these ministers of kingly maiestie, who take delight in the admiration, which other men conceiue of their greatnesse and pompe, who thinke themselves disabled in their power, it by many delaies & longer procrastinations they make not every man vnderstand how powerfull and graced they be. They performe nothing speedily, they dispatch nothing at once. Their iniuries are headlong, their benefits slow. Wherefore thinke that most true which the Comicke Poet saith:

*Do'st thou not so much of thy thanks diminish,
As thou delay'st thy benefit to finish?*

From thence arise those complaints which ingenious sorrow expresth, *Do speedily, if thou wilt doe any thing; and nothing is more deare. I had rather thou shouldst haue utterly denied mee.* Such manner of discourse vie they at that time that are wearied with a long delay, which maketh them already condemn and hate the good, which they heartily expected. Can they for this be esteemed vngracefull? Euen as that crueltie is the greatest that bringeth out and protracteth the paine, and to dispatch man of life quickly, is in some occasions a kind and sort of mercie, (because in the end the last torment diaweth with it selfe the remainder of it selfe, and the time precedent, is the greatest part of the punishment that succedeth:) so the lesse time I am held in suspence, the greater thanks owe I for the fauour I receiue. The expectation of things, how good & honest soeuer they be, is both tedious and displeasing: and where as there are many benefits which are a totall remedie to some instant necessity; he that suffereth the indigent eyther to be tortured by delay, whors forth with he could dispatch, or maketh him languish in expectation, and grow forlorne before he compass the fauour, abuleth his owne benefit, and layes violent hands on his owne good worke. All true liberalitie is addressed and expedite, and it is the propertie of him that doth willingly, to doe quickly. He that giueth later than he should doe, and wearie out both time and occasion, before he assist and succor the indigent, witnesseth by his actions, that he had neuer a will to succor him. And by this meanes loosest he in one benefit two most important things, that is to say, time, and the argument of his friendly intention and will, because to will a thing ouer-late, is not to will it at all.

CHAP. VI.

A fit similitude.

All affaires (*Liberalis*) that which importeth most, is the manner and fashion of speaking or doing any thing. Celeritie hath done much. Delay hath defrauded more. Euen as in weapons of all sorts, the edge and point both of the one and of the other, are of the same force and keenenesse as the rest are; but there is a great difference

difference in them, if they be enforced by a brawnie and forcible arme, or managed by a faint and feeble arme. It is one and the same sword, that sleightly raceth and rudely pierceth thorow: that which most importeth, is the strenght of the arme that governeth it. The like may be said of that which a man giueth; the onely difference is, in the manner of giuing. O how precious, and how sweete a thing is it, to encounter with a Benefactor, that consenteth not to be clawed with acclamations and thanksgiuings! and that as soone as hee bestoweth a beneuolence, forgetteth the same! for to reprove him to whom thou art most beneficiall, and to intermix iniuries and outrages with curtesies and good turnes, is no lesse than madnesse. Benefits therefore are not to be exasperated or intermeddled with any distaste or misliking. Though happily thou hast something that thou hast reason to reprehend him in, reuerse it till an other time more proper and conuenient.

CHAP. VII.

ARIUS VERRUCOSVS called that disgracefull curtesie, which was presented by a niggardly hand, Grauelly and stale bread; which a hungrie man must of necessitie take, yet can hardly eat. *Tiberius Caesar* being requested by *Marcus Allius* (who had bin *Prator*) to discharge him of those many debts, wherein he was engaged: *Caesar* commaunded him to set downe the names of all his creditors. This is not to giue, but to summon them to whom he owed any thing to composition. As soone as he had receiued the register of their number, he wrote a schedule wherein he commaunded to pay his prodigall Nephews debt, and gaue it to him, and therewithall so bitter and contumacious a reprehension, as the poore man was so much dismayed, that hee neyther knew that hee had receiued any money for his creditors, but obliged not him vnto himselfe. Some mouie there was that guided *Tiberius* herein; and in my iudgement, that he did, was to the end, that no man should importune him more in such like requests; and this happily was an effectfull way, thorow the shame and reproofe of one man to repress the disordinate desires of countenlesse in all other men. Yet hee that giueth a benefit, must absolutely follow a farre different way.

CHAP. VIII.

In what sort soeuer thou giuest, thy gift is to be adorned, to the end it may be the better accepted; but this is not to giue a benefit, but to reprehend an error. And that I may expresse by the way (in my iudgement) what my opinion is herein, mee thinkes it is a thing ill-beseeming a Prince, to giue a fauour with an affront and infamie: neuerthelesse, for all this *Tiberius* could neuer by this manner of dealing flye that which he feared: for many others came afterwards and besought him in the same sort, and for the same reliefe as *Allius* did, all whom he commaunded to informe the Senate, in what manner they had spent that money they had borrowed, and thereupon gaue them certaine summes

*The manner of
giuing, maketh
the gift eyther
pleasant, or dis-
pleasant.*

*Enforced curtesie
is but an inuention.*

*He exculpeth
Tiberius in these
words.*

of money. This is no liberality, but a censure; this is no succour, but a principall tribute. Because that cannot be esteemed a good worke, which I cannot call to memorie without blushing, and disgrace: I am sent to the Iudge, to obtayne that which I required, I was inforced to suffer a criminall procees.

CHAP. IX.

The two-fold
memories of im-
plying benefits.

ALl Authors of Wisedome therefore teach vs, that some benefits are to be giuen openly, other some secretly. Those are openly to be giuen, which may honour and magnifie him that receiueth them, such as are Militarie presents and dignities, and whatsoever other gift, which the more publique and notorious it is, the more honourable it becommeth. Again, those gifts, which neyther promote nor aduance a mans fortune, nor make him honellier, but onely succour his infirmities, his necessitie, and ignominie; must be giuen so secretly, that they onely may take notice thereof that haue their benefit and assistance thereby. And sometimes also we ought to deceyue him that we intend to relieue, in such a sort as our gift may come vnto his hands, and yet he ignorant from whom he receiued the same.

CHAP. X.

Use prauently
an example that
few are to be
done in secret.

ARecessant (as it is reported) being auertized, that a poore friend of his (who concealed his necessities, as much as in him lay) was fallen sicke, and yet notwithstanding would not discouer the poeuerie he indured in his sickenes; berought him that he should not doe amiss, to relieue him secretly. For which cause, vnder colour to come and visite him, he lent a bagge full of money vnder the sicke mans pillow: to the end that the poore soule (being more busie with his wife) might rather thinke that he had found that which he desired, than that he receiued it as a benefite. What then? should he not know from whom the fauour came? No. At the first let him be ignorant thereof, if this be a part of the good worke. Afterwards I will doe him many other pleasures, I will giue him so many other things, that in the end he shall perceiue who was the first Author of them: Finally, he shall not know that he hath receiued, and I shall vnderstand that I haue giuen. Mee thinks, thou tellest mee, that this is nothing. I answer thee, That it is insufficient, if so it be, thou thinkest to play the Vlsor; but if thou desirest to doe it in that kind, that it may be more and better profitable to him that receiueyeth the same, thou wouldest content thy selfe to be a witness, that thou thy selfe diddest it. Otherwise, it delighteth thee not to doe good, but to seeme to haue done good: I will that he know that I did him the good. This is to sicke out a debtor. But my desire is that he should know it. What? If it be more profitable for him not to know it? if it be more honest, and more agreeable? wilt thou not in this point bee of our opinion? I will that he know it. Thou wouldest not then saue a mans life

life if the night were darke. I denie not but that vpon some iust occasion it may be lawfull for a man to take some contentment in his thankfulness that hath receiued a benefite. But if there be a necessitie he should be holpen, and hee is ashamed, if that which lend him offend him, except it be hidden, I admit not that the benefite should be published: What shall I tell him, that it was I that haue giuen it him? whereas by the precise and principall precepts I am forbidden at any time to vpbraide him, or to refresh the memorie of my fauour done vnto him? For this is a law betwixt both, the one ought incontinently to forget the good he hath done, and the other haue a continuall remembrance of that which he hath receiued. There is nothing that more tyreth and troubleth a good mind, than to be oftentimes reproched and vpbraided with those pleasures which haue bene shewen him.

Use your chari-
tie secretly, that
you may be re-
warded only.

An inuincible
law in diuine
good.

CHAP. XI.

IT contenteth me much to make a publique narration of that exclamation which a certaine Roman vsed, who had bene saued by one of *Cæsars* friends (during the time of the proscriptions of the Triumurate) who being vnable any further to indure his pride, most manfully cryed out thus; Reddiuer me, I pray thee, to *Cæsar*: How long wilt thou vpbraide me saying, I haue saued thee, I haue deliuered thee from death? If I forget not my selfe, I must confesse that thou gauest me life; but if I remember mee of thy often reproches, I cannot conceiue but that thou hast giuen me death. I owe thee nothing; if thou hast saued me to no other end, but to make an ostentation of thy vanitie. How long wilt thou lead me about for a spectacle to men, and a torture to my selfe? how long will it be ere thou suffer mee to forget my hard fortune? Had I bene led in triumph by the enemy, it had bene but one dayes miserable spectacle. Neuer ought we to disclofe that which we haue giuen: hee that vpbraideth a curtesie redemandeth it. We must not importune, we ought neuer to refresh the memorie of a former pleasure, but by succeeding it by another. Neither ought we to disclofe it vnto others. Let him that hath done the good office, conceale it: Let him that hath receiued the same, disclofe it. Otherwise it may be said vnto him as it was to one who publickly vaunted and boasted of the pleasures he had done. Happily (said hee that had receiued the gift) thou wilt denie but that thou hast receiued againe that which thou gauest mee; And as the other asked him when? He answered, Many times, and in many places: As if he should say; As oftentimes, and in as many places as thou hast vaunted thereof vainely; what need hadst thou to speake it? or vsurpe vpon an other mans office? An other man might haue done it more honestly, who reckoning vp the good he had receiued at thy hands, might praye thee in diuers things, which thou canst not, or doest not discouer. Doest thou iudge me to be vngratefull, if concealing it thy selfe no man should know the same? But this ought not to be; but rather, if any should relate before thee, what good thou hast done me, and the euill I commit, in not confessing thy goodness, thou oughtest presently to make this answer. Truly he is most worthy of farre greater benefits, which I haue better will, than power to performe. Which speech we ought to vtter, not with flattering dissimulation, or fained

Secretie must
accompany be-
nefits.

pre-

Worthy much bee
accompanied
with Love and
Charitie.

Pride maketh
Court-suiting.

Insolence of
great fortune.

Homer hath al-
waies fauour best
to smooth his
errors.

pretence, or as some men doe, who make a shew to reiect that which they would faine draw vnto them. Briefly, we ought to vse all kind of sweetnesse and curtesie, as much as in vs lyeth. The husbandman should loofe all his labour, if after he hath cast his corne into the ground, he make no more reckoning of that which he hath sowed. The corne cannot come to maturitie without much manuring and regard, nothing can bring forth fruit, if from the beginning to the end it be not laboured and handled with due indultrie. The same condition is of all benefits. Can there be a greater care, than that which the parents haue ouer their children? and yet their paines should be lost, if so be they should abandon them in their infancie: if their diuore and paternall pietie should not nourish them long, and tenderly protect that vnto the end which Nature hath recommended vnto them. All other Benefits are of the selfe-same condition; except thou helpest them, thou loofest them. It is a small matter to haue giuen them. Wee must likewise nourish them. If thou wilt haue them thankfull who are obliged vnto thee, thou must not onely giue them, but loue them. But especially (as I said) let vs haue a care that we offend not their cares; admonition is tedious, reproch ingendreth hatred. There is nothing so much to be auoyded in giuing a benefit, then pride. Wherefore serueth an arrogant and disdainfull looke? to what end are swelling and reprochfull words? Thine owne good workes will sufficiently prayse thee: we ought to alien from vs all vaine boasting. The actions will expresse themselves when we are silent. That which a man giueth proudly, is not onely displeasent, but also odious.

CHAP. XII.



*C*æsar gaue Pompeius Pennus his life (if hee giueth life that taketh it not away.) Afterwards, when he had absolved him, and the other humbled himselfe to giue thanks, *Cæsar* presented him his left foot to kisse. They that excuse him, and denie that it was done by way of insolence, say, that he did it but to shew his gilded Buskins; or rather, or more rightly, his Buskins of Gold, enchaced and enriched with precious Pearles. In so doing, what outrage might there be? What euill was it for a man (although in former times he had bene Consul) to kisse gold and pearle, since no better place might be found more seemely and honest in *Cæsars* perion for him to kisse? A man onely borne to change and reduce the manners of an absolute and free State into seruitude, worse than that of the *Persians*. Hee thought it a small matter that an old Senator, who in times past had bene greater with so many and great honours, should in the presence of Princes in submissiue sort lye prostrate before him, after the manner of a vanquished Enemie before the feet of the Conqueror. He found somewhat more baser than the knee, whereby he might subiect and suppress the libertie of Rome. Is not this to tread the Maiestie of a Common-weale vnder foot? Yea with a left foot will some men say (and very answerable to the purpose.) For he had not shewed himselfe villainously furious and insolent enough, to haue taken his faire Buskins to assist and sit in iudgement vpon the life of one who had bene a Consul, if the Emperour had not also thrust his Studs and golden Buttons into a Senators mouth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.



*P*rize of great fortune! O most foolish folly! how happy is hee that is not constrained to receiue any pleasure at thy hands! how well art thou instructed to conuert each benefit into inurie! How much art thou delighted in outrage and exesse! O how ill doe all things becometh them! And the higher thou hast raised thy selfe the more baser thou art, and shewest thy selfe that thou acknowledgest not those goods wherein thou takest so much pride. Thou corruptest whatsoever thou giuest. I would aske thee therefore for what cause thou thus forgettest thy selfe? what peruerteth both thy looks and the habit of thy countenance? hadst thou rather goe masked than shew thy face open? most pleasing are those curtesies which are giuen with a kind, smiling, and pleasing countenance, which when my Superiour gaue me, hee exulted not ouer me; but as much as in him lay shewed me all the benignitie and fauour that he could imagine, and abasing himselfe so farre as to equall himselfe with me, he disclosed his gifts of all kind of pompe, hee obserued a fit time, wherein rather he might helpe me vpon occasion, than in necessitie. In one and the same sort, in my iudgements, wee may perfwade these men that they lose not their benefits through insolence, if we shall proue vnto them that their benefits doe not therefore seeme more great, because they haue bene giuen with insolent and tumultuous speeches; and that they themselves cannot for so doing seeme greater in any mans eyes; and that the greatnesse of pride is but vaine, and such, as that it draweth the things of most esteeme into hatred and contempt.

How vain: they
be thus doe good
deeds by way of
ostentation and
in pride.

CHAP. XIII.



*S*ome things there are which proue so harmefull and preiudiciall to those that receiue the same, that to denie them, and not to giue them, is a benefit to them: wee will therefore rather estimate the profit then the will of those that craue assistance. For oft times wee wish and labour for those things that are damageable vnto vs. Neither can we iudge how harmefull they be, because our affection blindeth our iudgement; but when the desire is pacified and allaid, when that ardent impression and impulsion of the mind (which exilieth from it selfe all good counsaile) is extinguished and abated, then abhorre wee those pernicious Authors of those vnhappy and euill gifts. Euen as to sicke men wee denie Water; and to those that are melancholy and lothe their liues, a Knife; or to such as are in loue, all that which their inflamed and ardent affection, or rather desperation, doeth after. So ought wee to persequer diligently and humbly in denying and refusing all that which may doe much harme to those who earnestly and humbly, yea sometimes likewise miserably demand it at our hands. Furthermore, it importeth euery man to haue a care and obseruation, not onely of the beginning of his gifts, but of the end and issue also, and to giue such things, that not only giue content in the receiuing, but delight also when they are receiued. Many there are that say, I know that this will not be profitable vnto him, but what shall I doe? He intreateth me, and I cannot denie his suite: let him looke vnto it, he shall complaine of himselfe, and not of me. Thou art deceived:

Displeasure in
renewance.

D

it

it is of thee and none other (and that justly) he will complaine, as soone as hee shall recover his wits; and that passion which perturbed his mind, remitteth and ceaseth. And why should hee not hate such a man who assisted him to his damage and danger? To condescend vnto his request that asketh that which will bee harmefull vnto him, is a cruell bountie. Euen as it is a most worthie worke to saue those that are desperate and vnwilling: so to giue to theese that aske pestiferous things, is a flattering and affable hatred. Let vs giue such things as may please more and more by their vse, and that may neuer breede any damage. I will not giue money which in my knowledge shall bee giuen vnto a Harlot, because I desire not to be partaker in any dishonest action, or in euill counsell. If I can, I will at leastwise retyre him; if not, I will not beuillier or further his sinne. Whether it bee chollier that transporteth him farther than becommeth him, or feare of ambition misse-leadeth him from the securest course, I will not so farr forget my selfe, that hereafter he may say, *Hee hath killed me with kindeesse*. Oftentimes there is very little difference betwixt a friends gift and an enemies wilhes. All the mischief which they can with vs, the foolish affection of a friend may bring vs: But what is more absurd (and yet this oftentimes falleth out) that there is no difference betwixt hate and fauour?

*Indignitas
bountie*

CHAP. XV

Et vs neuer giue any thing that may redound to our disgrace. And since so much of friendship is to equall a mans friend with himselfe, wee must haue care of both. I will giue vnto him in his necessitie, yet in such manner, that I will shunne mine owne miserie: I will helpe him that is in danger of his life, but so as I perishe not my selfe: except I shall be the ransom of some great man, or some affaire of greater importance. I will giue no benefit that I would be ashamed to aske: I will not greater that which is of small value; neither will I consent, that such a thing, which in it selfe is of much worth, should bee received with little estimation: For euen as hee loseth the grace and remuneration of his good worke, that registreth the same in the booke of his accompts; so hee that leweth how great the pleasure is which he hath done, priset not, but reprogeth and dispraiseth his pleasure he had done. Let euery man haue a respect to his facultie and forces. Let either we giue more or succour lesse than is answerable to our abilities. Let vs also haue a respect and esteeme of the person and qualitie of him to whom we giue; because there are some gifts that are of lesse value than the greatness of him that giueth the same requireth; and other some which are not answerable to the merit of him that receiue the same. Conferre therefore and compare the persons of both, and with them examine that thing thou wilt giue, whether either it be too much to him that giueth or little; and againe, whether hee that is to receive the same, either disdaineth or taketh it not.

*It ought to
be an especiall
care to whom
and how wee doe
a benefice.*

*Proximus v-
niuique
sui.*

*Respect of per-
sons.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

That furious and outrageous *Alexander* (who neuer settled his thoughts but on great and mightie enterprises) foolishly gaue a Citie to a certaine follower of his; who measuring his owne vnworthinesse, and desirous to discharge himselfe of the enuie hee might incurre, by receiuing so great a benefit, came vnto *Alexander*, and told him, That neither in fortune or condition hee deserued so much. To whom *Alexander* answered: I respect not what becommeth thee to receive, but that which in honour becommeth mee to giue: A speeche that in appearance was both kingly and heroicall, but in effect most fond and foolish. For all those things which are a mans owne, become not other men to receive or accept; but it importeth vs to consider what that is which is giuen; to whom, when, why, in what place, and other circumstances, without which thou canst not iustifie thine action. O proud and insolent creature! If it becommeth not him to receive this thy gift, as little becometh it thee to giue the same. There ought to be a difference and proportion both of persons and dignities, and whereas there is a measure in vertues euery waies, as greatly sinneeth he that exceedeth, as he that giueth too little. And although this becometh thee, and thy fortune hath rayled thee so high, that thy royall gifts are no lesse than Cities (which with how greater mind mightest thou not haue taken, than laushly distributed) yet is there some more lesse, then that thou shouldest hide and burie a Citie in his bosome.

*Alexanders
indiscretion in
giuing, is the
cause why he is
taxed in this
place.*

*Circumstances
in giuing.*

CHAP. XVII.

He Cinique *Diogenes* required a talent at *Antigonus* hands, and being repulled by him, besought a penny: To which hee answered, That it was too little for a * Cinique to aske, or a King to giue. This was but a bare and idle caull: For hereby found he out an inuention to giue neyther; in the penny he respected and had reference to his Kingly maiestie; in the talent to the Cinique: whereas he might haue giuen a penny as to a Cinique, and a talent as he was a King. I must needly graunt, that there are some things of so great value, that they should not be giuen vnto a Cinique, yet is there nothing like wise so little, that a liberrall and courteous King cannot honestly giue. But if thou aske my opinion herein, I cannot but allow *Antigonus* action: For it is an intolerable error in those who make profession to conserne money, afterwards to begge shamefully. Thou hast proclaimed open warre against wealth and riches, thou hast publicly protested thy hatred against money: This habit hast thou taken on thee, and this needly must thou personate. Vnworthily and wickedly shalt thou doe to hunt and haune after money, vnder pretence of so laudable a poeuetic and needfullitie as thou professest. It concerneth each man therefore to haue as great a regard and respect of himselfe, as of him to whom he would doe a pleasure. I will our friend *Chrysippus* similitude of the play at ball, which vndoubtedly falleth either through his default that serueth the same, or his that receiue it: Then doth the ball keepe his due course, when as betwixt the hands of both the gamessters, it fitly flyeth to and fro, be-

** Although these
Pagans had not
a perfect know-
ledg, of the cor-
rect use of mis-
spelling, yet had
they some re-
semblance and
image thereof,
and in particu-
lar there was a
Syll of these
called Cinique,
that were of this
profession, as
might whom
this Diogenes
was one that re-
quired this
silver or Anti-
gonus hands.*

*There must be a
proportion in
good worke be-
twixt the giver
and the receiver.*

ing lacerat by the one, and re-informed backe againe by the other: yet ought a good Tennis-player to serue either easily or strongly, according as he percey-
ueth his companion to be further or neerer off him. The same reason is there
in good deades: for if they be not answerably, applyed to the person of him
that giueth, and him that receiueth, they will neuer slip from the hands of the
one, or come into the possession of the other, according as they ought to doe.
If we passe the time with an exercised and cunning gamester, we will strike the
ball more boldly and stiffely: for on which side focuser it is bandied, and expe-
ditee and nimble hand will returne and strike it backe. Contrariwise, if we playe
with a nouice and young learner, we neyther will strike it so stiffely, nor leuell
it so strongly; but seruing and striking it gently, we will giue the ball to his
hand; and if he rebandie it backe, we returne it as gently. The same manner
must we obserue in doing our good workes: Let vs teach some how to receiue
them, and iudge it a sufficient recompence, if they endeavour themselves to be
thankfull; if they are, if they will be thankfull. For oftentimes we make them
vngratfull, and helpe to keep them so, as if our good turnes were euery way
so great, that there might not be a thankfulness which might in any sort e-
quall them. The same pretend those malicious gamesters, that deceiue and
chafe their contrarie partie here and there, to the spoyle of the game, which
cannot be maintained and continue, except there be consent and conformitie
betweene them both. There are diuers of so peruerse and diuellish a nature,
so proud, and imputative in that they bellow, that they had rather looke that
which they lent, than to seeme that they haue receiued the same. Were it not
a more better & friendly course to suffer them to acquit their depaire to wards
vs, and to fauour and succour them, when they would acknowledge the goods
which they haue receiued at our hands? To take all in good part, and at such
time as they should onely giue thanks in words, to giue them as fauourable
audience as if they satisfied vs; and to allow that he who findeth himselfe ob-
liged to vs, should haue the meanes to recompence vs? That Vsurer is com-
monly hardly thought of, if he exact his debts rudely. Hee likewise is worse
thought of, if then when his money is tendered him, he will not receiue it, but
deserteth to admit the payment. A benefite is as worthily receiued backe a
gainewhen it is returned, as it is giuen honestly, when it is vndermanded. The
best well-doer is he, that hath done a courtesie freely, and neuer sought requit-
tall; that took a pleasure when as any man could freely repay that which hee
had friendly lent, and giuen, and vtterly forgotten, and that receiue not as a
returne of his fauour, but as a grace and remuneration.

The condition
of a perfect and
absolute well-
giuer.

Here be-
ginmeth
the profit, that
we ought not to
reke of our
manners.

CHAP. XVIII.

SOME there are that not onely giue a benefite proudly, but also re-
ceiue it disdainfully, which ought to be avoided. But now let
vs passe ouer to that other part, and entreat therein, how men
should behaue themselves in receiuing Benefites. Whatsoeuer
actiue vertue consisteth on two persons, exacter as much from
the one, as from the other: when as thou hast diligently examined what the
farther ought to be, thou shalt find it no lesse difficulte to conceiue what the
sonne ought to be. There are some duties belonging to the husband, and some
also that appertaine vnto the wife. If hee desire to be one and the same rule and

mea-

measure, which (as *Hecaton* saith) is very hard to obserue and keepe. A hard
matter is it to performe that which honestie commandeth, yea, that also which
nearest approacheth honestie: For we are not onely tied to performe the same,
but to performe it with reason. Shee it is that must bee our guide in the way
we are to hold. The things of smallest moment, and those of greatest impor-
tance, are to be gouerned by her counsaile: and as the counsaileth, so ought we
to giue. And first of all shee will aduise vs this, That we ought not to receiue a
fauour at euery mans hands. From whom then shall we receiue? To answer
thee in a word; It is from those to whom wee would haue giuen. For more
carefully ought wee to make choyce of those from whom wee would receiue,
than of those to whom we would giue: For least many inconueniences happen
(which are wont to follow) know this, that it is a grieuous torment to bee in-
debted and obliged to him, to whom thou wouldest owe nothing. And con-
trariwise it is a thing most pleasing and agreeable, to haue receiued a Benefit
at his hands, whom although he should offer thee hard measure, thou couldest
both loue and affect. But the greatest miserie for a good and shamefast man is
to loue and to be obliged to such a man as hee can neyther fancie nor fauour.
Here must I needly and oftentimes aduertise thee, that I speake not of those
truly wife and virtuous men, which take pleasure in that which they ought to
doe, and are Lords of their owne mindes; that preface such Lawes vnto them-
selves as best liketh them; and hauing prefixed them, keepe them: but of these
imperfect men, that are willing to follow vertue, whose affections and passions
are forcibly impelled to obey reason. I ought then to make an especiall elec-
tion and choyce of him from whom I would receiue a pleasure; and it concern-
eth mee much more carefully to chuse and diligently seeke out such a one to
whom I will impart my benefite, than such a one to whom I will trust my mo-
ney: because that to the one I am not bound to restore any more; than I haue
receiued, and hauing repayed my debt, I am acquitted and discharged out of
his bookes: but to the other I must repay more than I haue receiued, and ha-
uing recompensed the good he hath done mee, yet is not this my entire obli-
gation: the friendship must continue and flourish betwene vs. For after I
haue remunerated his kindnesse, I am tied to renew and refresh it againe: And
about all things the law of friendship admonisheth mee, That I receiue not a
kindnesse from any that is vnworthie. Such is the right, such is the sacred law
of Benefits (from whence friendship taketh his original.) It is not alwaies in
our choyce (as *Hecaton* saith) to refuse a pleasure, and to say I will not accept
it: Wee ought sometime to receiue a Benefit against our mindes. A Tyrant
will giue thee somewhat, and so cruell and outrageous is he, that if thou reu-
sest this present, hee will account it no lesse than an inlurie and indignitie: To
this wilt thou say, shall I not accept the same? make reckoning that this King
is a Theefe, and a Pirate, (since in minde he is no better than a Theefe, or a Pi-
rate) what shall I doe in this case? I see that he is vnworthie that I should owe
him any thing. To this I answer then, when I say that thou art to make thy
choise of him, to whom thou wilt be obliged, it is not intended in a case of so
great violence and feare; because where thee preuaile, election perisheth:
but if thou bee at thine owne choyse, if thou hast libertie to elect what thou
liketh, then hast thou meanes to make vse of that which best pleaseth thee.
But if the necessitie of occasion retraineth thy election, know this, that thou
dost not receiue, but obey: no man is obliged in receiuing a thing which hee
cannot refuse; if thou desirest to know, if I would haue that thou giuest mee,

Reason is the
guide and dispo-
ser of liberalitie.

D 3

bring

bring to passe that I may refuse what thou offerest mee: But he gaue thee thy life: it killeth not what the thing is which is giuen, but whether he that gaue, and he that receiued the gift, gaue and receiued the same willingly. Thou art not therefore my defender, because thou hast saued mee. Poyson sometimes hath bene a medicine, and yet for all that it is not numbred amongst those things that are holisome. Some things there are, which although they profit vs much, yet they oblige vs not.

CHAP. XIX.

It is no benefite
except it proceed
from good will.



Certain man that came with a resolution to kill a Tyrant, gaue him a stroke whereby hee opened him a dangerous impostume. For this the Tyrant gaue him no thanks, although by wounding him hee had healed him of a sicknesse, whereon his Physicians durst not lay their hands. Thou fellest there is no great moment in the thing it selfe, because hee seemed not to haue giuen a Benefite, who with an euill intention procured his profit. Fortune it was that wrought the good, and from the man it was the iniurie came: we haue beheld a Lyon in the Amphitheater, who calling to memorie one of those who had bene condemned to fight against wild beasts (because in times past he had bene his Gouernour) protected him from the furie of the rest. Shall wee then say that the succours which the Lyon gaue was a benefite? No; Because he neither had will to doe it, neither did it to the intent to doe good. Wee are to repute and ranck him with this beast, who attempted to cut off the Tyrants life. Both this gaue life, and the other also, but neither this nor that a benefite; because it is no benefite, or good worke, which I am inforced to receiue. It is no Benefite that maketh mee indebted to him I would not. First, must thou giue mee the freedome and power of my selfe, and next the benefite.

CHAP. XX.

Whether wee
ought to receiue
a pleasure from
a wicked man,
and what fault
Brutus committed
in this case.



En haue oft-times debated and disputed of *Marcus Brutus*, whether he ought to accept a grace, and receiue a pardon at *Julius Caesars* hands, who in his iudgement deserued not to breath or liue. What reason moued *Brutus* to conspire and kill him, I will expresse and handle in another place. For mine owne part, although I esteemed *Brutus* in all other things a wife and vertuous man, yet me seemeth that in this he committed a great error, and neglected the Doctrine of the Stoicks; who either feared the name of a King, (whereas the best and most happiest estate of a Citie is to liue vnder a iust and vertuous Prince) or hoped that libertie would be had there where so great a reward was prefixed to those that commanded, and those that serued; or imagined that such a Citie as this might repossesse her ancient honour and former lustre, when vertue and the primitive Lawes were either abolished, or wholly extinguished; Or that Iustice, Right, and Law should be inuolubly obscured in such a place, where he had seene so many thousand men at shooke and battell, not to the intent to discerne whether they were to obey & serue, but to resolute them vnder whom they ought to serue and obey. O how great oblivion possessed this man! how much

much forgot he both the nature of affaires, and the state of his Citie! to suppose that by the death of one man there should not some other start vp after him, that would vsurpe ouer the common-weale; whereas after so many Kings slaughtered, either by the sword, or by lightning, they grew Vassalls and Subiects to a tyrannous *Tarquaine*; yet ought he to haue accepted his life, and yet for all this notwithstanding was he not obliged to repute and esteeme him as his Father, for that iniuriously and against all right he had vsurped the authoritie, to giue him his life: For he saued him not, who slew him not, neither gaue he him life, but dismissed him from dying.

CHAP. XXI.



His rather, and more rightly, may be drawne into some question, what a poore captiue should doe, when as a man prostituted in bodie, infamous and dishonest in speech, offereth to pay downe the price of his ranfome? Shall I suffer my selfe to be redeemed by so impure and base a wretch? and when I am discharged, what thanks shall I returne him? Shall I liue with a curiouse fellow? Shall I not liue with him that hath redeemed mee? no truly, for herein thus slander my opinion. Euen from any such a one would I receiue the money which I would employ for my redemption, yet so would I receiue it as money vpon interest, not as an act of courtelie. I will repay him his money, and if after that I shall find him in any danger, or pressed by necessitie, I will relieue his wants, preuent his danger, yet contract no such friendship with him, as should bee correspondent betwixt men of equall vertue. Neyther will I reckon him for such a one as hath saued my life, but make account of him as an Vturer, to whom I know I must repay backe againe that which I haue borrowed. Contrariwise: if there be some worthie and vertuous person, from whom I should receiue a curse, yet ought I not to receiue the same, if I knew that thereby he should incurre any detriment, because that I am assured that he is addicted (though it bee to his owne hinderance, nay which is more, to the hazard of his life) to do me a pleasure. I vnderstand that he is resolute (knowing me to bee accused of a capital crime) to pleade my cause, and to vndertake my defence, though it bee to his disgrace, and the displeasure of his Prince. I should shew my selfe an enemie vnto him (if I deuouring him selfe to vnder-goe danger for my sake.) I should not performe that which is most easie for mee to accomplish, that is, to entertaine the damage my selfe, without the detriment or danger. *Hecatan* setteth downe this foolish and frivulous example of *Archelaus*, who would not receiue a certayne summe of money which was offered him by a young man, who was subiect to the gouernment of his Father, because hee would not offend the couetous and niggardly parent. What did *Archelaus* herein that was worthe prayse? Is it because he would not receiue that which was stolen from his Father? Is it because hee would not entertaine the gift, least hee should bee tied to recompence, and restore it againe? What modestie or vertue liued hee in not accepting other mens money? But leauing this, if it bee necessarie to set downe an example of a generous mind, let vs make vse of *Gracius Iulius*, a man of rare vertue; whom *Caius Caesar* put to death for this cause onely; in that hee was a better and honeste man, than

A question whether
a prisoner
ought to accept
a ransom from
an infamous
man.

* This was the
sonne and last
King of the Ro-
mans, called
(and most iustly)
by the name of
Tarquaine the
proud. Hee did
a base and man
out of his Coun-
try, and destroy-
ed of his King-
dome.

* This Fabius
Persicus was
Consul under
Tiberius, a
man of great
note in Rome.
a This Rebil-
lus was Consul
under Iulius
Cæsar, and
Augustus Cæ-
sar, who d'ed in
his Consulship.

b Here undoubtedly some reasons are deficient, whence growth this question, as may be gathered by the little conformitie it hath with
that which goeth before. See Pincianus upon this place.

We ought with
glad some coun-
tenance enter-
taine a curiouse
from our bene-
factor.

He that covetous-
ly despoile to re-
ceive a kindness
hath but an enuill
intention.

than any one ought to be, who should live with and under a Tyrant. This man, at such time as he received a certain quantitie of money from the hands of his friends (who contributed and leuied the same to defray the charge and expence of these publique playes which hee prepared) refused a great summe of money which * *Fabius Persicus* sent vnto him. His friends which respected not him that sent the money, but only the money that was sent, reproved him, because he would not accept the same. *Will you* (said he) *haue mee receiue a benefit, from such a man, whom I would not pledge, although he offered mee the cup?* And when as * *Rebillus* (one who sometimes had bene Consul, yet of no lesse infamie) had sent him a greater summe of money, and instantly intreated him to command his seruants to receiue the same. *I pray you* (said he) *pardon me, for PERSICUS offered me the same, and yet I accepted it not.* * Whether is this to receiue presents, or to examine the giuers?

CHAP. XXII.

When as we determine to receiue any thing, let vs receiue it with a glad some countenance, expressing thereby the pleasure which we take, and manifesting to the Benefactor how thankfully we accept the same, to the end that he may gather the present fruit of his good worke. For it is a iust cause of gladnesse to see a mans friend contented; and more iust to see the cause of his contentment. Let vs make it knowne vnto him that his presents were very pleasing vnto vs, let vs expresse the affections of our will, not only in his owne hearing, but in euery place wherefoeuer we be. For he that receiueth a good turne with glad some acceptance, hath already satisfied the first payment of the requittall.

CHAP. XXIII.

Some there are that will not receiue but in secret, they admit not witnesses of the good which is done vnto them. Belcease thou that such men haue very bad and bale minds: Euen as hee that doeth a good turne, ought not to publish the same, or make it knowne, but in as much as he knoweth that he that receiueith the same will conceiue a contentment thereby: so he also that receiueith the same ought to make it publickly knowne. Receiue not that which thou art ashamed to owe. Some there are that secretly and in corners, and by whisperings in the eare, giue thanks for the good they haue receiued: This is not shamefastnesse, but an vndoubted signe of their will and intent to denie the benefit. He that giueth thanks in secret, and admitteth no witnesses of the good he hath receiued, is vngratefull. Some there are that will borrow money, provided that it be not in their owne names, neyther certified by obligation, nor signed by witnesses. They that will not that any man should haue notice of the good is done vnto them, resemble such men. They are afraid to make

make it knowne, to the intent they may be thought rather to haue obtaeyned the same by their owne vertue, than by an other mans liberality and assistance. Such as these are, are least officious vnto those by whom they hold their liues and dignities, and whilest they feare to be esteemed for such as are bounden and obliged to their Benefactors, they vndergoe a more grieuous imputation, and are iustly called vngratefull.

CHAP. XXIII.

Some speake most wickedly of those that deserue most worthily. It is more iustice to offend some, then to haue purchased their fauour, they take an occasion to owe nothing by hatred. But there is nothing that more carefully wee ought to intend, than this, that the memorie of those who haue in any sort succoured vs, be not at any time extinguished in vs, wee must from time to time renew and refresh it. For he cannot giue thanks, that forgetteth what he hath receiued; and he that remembreth a good turne, already satisfieth it: Neither ought we to receiue a curtesie nicely, neither submissly or humbly: for if in receiuing a man shew himselfe cold and negligent, (whereas the benefit that cometh first, is the most pleasing and acceptable) what will he doe afterward, when as his former will is waxen cold? An other receiueith disdainfully, as if he said, *I had no neede, but since thou so farre pressest mee, I will doe what thou requirest.* An other receiueith so carelessly, that he leaueith his benefactor in suspence, whether he saw or felt what was giuen him. An other scarce moueth his lips, and proueth more vngratefull, than it hee had held his peace, that waight should our words haue as the greatnesse of our benefit requireth, and boldly should we say; *Thou knowest not what thou hast lent mee, but thou must know how farre greater it is then thou thinkest.* For there is no man that is not contented to heare his curtesies amplified, and made great by good reports: *Thou canst not imagine how great the pleasure is thou hast done mee, yet hope I to make it knowne vnto thee, how much more I prize thy good turne, than thou esteemest.* He that burdeneth himselfe, is instantly gratefull. So much esteeme I the benefit which I haue receiued at your hands, that I shall neuer haue the meanes to make you satisfaction, at leastwise I will publish this in all companies, that I am vnable to requite you.

CHAP. XXV.

VARNIVS neuer wonne *Augustus Cæsars* heart more, or enabled himselfe better to obtaine others his fauours, than at that time, when (hauing obtained his fathers pardon, who had bene a partie in *Antonius* action) he said vnto him *Onely this one iniurie* (Great *CÆSAR*) *haue I receiued at thy hands, thou hast caused mee to liue and die vngratefull.* What mind may be more thankfull than his, who in no sort satisfied himselfe with his owne thankfulness, but vterly despaireth to equall the good he hath receiued? By these and such like speeches let vs so endueor, that our will be not restrained or hidden, but be apparent

Against these
that forget or
despise their
Benefactors, and
whom course we
are to follow to
the contrary.

An admonition
against the vice
of ingratitude.

This Varinius
was forsworne of
Cæsar, and was
Consul in Rome
in the year 1206.

apparent and manifest euery way. And although silence obscure our words, yet if we be so affected as we ought to be, our interior thoughts will appeare in our outward countenance. He that will be thankfull, no sooner receiueth the courteisie, but conceiueeth and bebinkeeth him how he may make requittall. *Chrysippus* saith, That he that accepteth any friendship, resembleth him that is addrested and readie to runne for a wager, and standeth in the List, expecting the signall, whereupon he might speedily set forward. And truly, hee that receiueth, had need to be a swift footman and a great competitor, to the intent he may ouertake his Benefactor, who began the race before him.

CHAP. XXVI.

Three principall
causes of ingra-
titude, selfe op-
piness, enuie, and
cruelty.

The effects of
selfe-love, and
grit.

LET vs now consider and examine what most of all maketh men vngratefull. Truly it is either an ouer-weening of our selues, and an ingrafted error in men to admire and applaud both themselves and their actions, or else it is couetousnesse or enuie. Let vs begin with the first. There is no man but is a partiall and fauourable iudge of himselfe: And thence it is, that he supposeth that hee hath deserued all things, and if any thing be giuen him, he receiueth it as a debt or duetie; and moreover, supposeth himselfe to be disgraced, and vnder-valued. He gaue me this (saith he) but how late? But with how much trauaile and entreatie: How many more things might I haue obtayned in the meane while, had I but fawnd on such a man? or attended that? Or had I intended mine owne profit? I look not for this, I am numbred amongst the baser sort: Supposed he that my value and merit deserued so little? More honestly had hee dealt with mee, had he presented me nothing at all.

CHAP. XXVII.

An example of
couetous ingra-
titude in
Lentulus, a
true picture of
an infinite
number, as
well ancient as
modern.
Ten thousand
English crownes
by our computa-
tion.

NEVVS LENTVLVS the Augur, (a mightie example of riches) before that his Franklins made him poore, (for this man saw foure thousand *Sestertia* of his owne; and idly said I so, for hee did no more than see them) was as shallow in wit, as base in mind. For although he were as couetous as Couetousnesse it selfe, yet sooner vented he his money than his words; so weak and wanting was he in vttering what he should. This man being obliged to *Augustus* for all his advancement and fortunes (to whose seruice he had brought nothing but distressed beggerie, vnder the title of Nobilitie) hauing obtained the government in the Cite (both for the fauour he had with the Emperour, and the money held in his owne possession) was wont oftentimes to complaine himselfe vnto *Cæsar*, That he had retyred him from his studies, and that hee had not giuen him so much as he himselfe had lost by giuing vp his studie of eloquence. And yet amongst other graces, *Augustus* had done this for him, that he had deliuered him from other mens scornes, and his owne fruitlesse labour. * But Couetousnesse consenteth not that a man should be thankfull: For vnbridled hope is neuer satisfied with that which is giuen. The more wee haue, the more wee

couet;

* This agreeth
with S. Grego-
ries saying, and
that of the poets,
Credis amor
nummi quantum
ipsa pecunia
credit.

couet; and couetousnesse engaged amidst a heape and multitude of riches, is more incensed and forward. Euen as the force of a flame is a thousand times more fiercer, the more violent and greater the fire is from whence it blazeth: So ambition suffereth not a man to rest vpon the measure of that honor which heretofore he would haue bene ashamed to haue wished for. No man giueth thanks for being aduanced to a Tribuneship, but complaineth, that he is not preferred to the dignitie of a Prætor: Neither doth this suffice him, but that he must needs be Consul: Neither will the Consulate content him, except he possesse it more than once. Ambition still presseth forward, and vnderstandeth not her owne felicitie, because she respecteth not whence shee came, but whether she is addrested. Of all these vices which hinder our gratuite, the most importunate and vehement is Enuie, which tormenteth and vexeth vs with comparisons of this nature: Hee bestowed thus much on mee, but more vpon him, and more speedily also. Finally, the enuious man negotieth no mans businesse, but fauoureth himselfe against all men.

The endlesse de-
sire of man is ne-
uer satisfied nor
satisfied.

Here becometh
the xxiij Chap-
ter in *Lucius*.

CHAP. XXVIII.



EOW much more wisely and vertuously were it done, to engreaten and dignifie a good turne receiued, and to know, that no man is euer so well esteemed by another, as hee esteemeth and prizeth himselfe. I should haue receiued farre more; but it was not for his easie to giue mee more: his liberalitie was to extend to more than my selfe. This is but a beginning: Let vs take it in good part, and vrge on his to further fauours, by shewing our selues thankfull for the good we haue receiued: Hee hath done but a little, but he will doe it often: Hee hath preferred that man before me, and me also hath he preferred before many others. This man cannot equall me either in vertue or honestie, yet in his carriage and actions he hath something more pleasing than is in me. By complaining my selfe I shall neuer be held worthie of a greater good, but shall rather shew, that I am vnworthie of that which I haue already receiued. There was more courtesie done to those lewd fellows: What is this to the purpose? How seldom is Fortune bountifull with iudgement? We daily complaine, that men that are least vertuous are most fortunate. Oft times the hayle and tempest that ouer-passed the lands of a wicked and vngodly man, hath beate downe the corne of the best and vprightest men. Each men (as in all other things, so in friendship) hath his chance and fortune. There is no benefit so fully good, that malignitie and enuie cannot impugn and detract; there is no courtesie so scant and barren, but a good interpreter may enlarge and amplify. Thou shalt neuer want a subiect or cause to complaine of, if thou behold benefits on the weaker and worser side.

Remedies a-
gainst the errors
of things that re-
ceive unthankful-
ly.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

These will be the better understood if we note that which Galen hath in the beginning of his Treatise de vita paruum, where he saith, that those creatures whose nature endowd with forces to defend themselves from their Enemies, are not endowd with swiftnesse to flee, as it appeareth in the Elephant. And contrariwise to those that have desired forces to defend themselves, whom hath been provided of swiftnesse to flee from their enemies, as for example the Hart and Hare.

* It is not intended that the same thing which the fowle desireth should presently come to hand, but that by the means, and diligence, which is industriously formed in the fowle, it may enjoy and use the same in some manner.

THee, I pray you, how some men (yea, even those who make a profession of wisdom, have vniuersally censured, and vniuersally esteemed the goods, and those graces which they have bestowed upon vs. They complain because wee equal not Elephants in bulke of bodie, Harts in swiftnesse, Birds in lightnesse, Bulls in force: That beasts haue substantialler hides than we, that fallow Deere haue a fayer haire, the Beares a thicker skinn, the Beuer a softer: That Dogges outcome vs in smelling, that Eagles in seeing, that Crows in out-living, and many other beasts in facilitie of swimming. And whereas nature permitte not, that some properties should be vniued in one and the same creature (as that swiftnesse of bodie should be matched with mightnesse in strength) they suppose themselves injured, because man was not composed of these diuers and dissident goods; and blame the Gods for neglecting vs, because they haue not giuen vs perpetuall health, inuincible vertue and exemption from vices, and certaine fore-knowledge of things to come: yea and so farre are they plunged in impudencie, that they scarcely temper themselves from hating nature for making vs inferiour to the Gods, and not equal with them in their Diuinitie. How much more better were it for vs to returne and reflect vpon the contemplation of so many and so mightie benefits, which wee haue receiued at their hands, and to yeeld them thanks, for that it hath pleased them to allot vs a second place in this most beautifull house, and to make vs Lords of all earthly things? Is there any comparison betwixt vs and those beasts, whereof wee haue the soueraignie? All whatsoever nature denyeth vs, she cannot conueniently bestow vpon vs. And therefore whosoever thou art that doest vnder-value mans fortune and chance, betwinke thee how great blessings our soueraigne parent hath giuen vs. How many beasts more forcible than our selues haue wee yoked, and brought vnder our subiection? How farre more swifter creatures haue wee ouer-taken, and how no mortal thing is secured and exempted from our strokes and power. So many vertues haue wee receiued, so many arts, and in conclusion, such a minde and spirit, that in that vnic instant wherein it intendeth a thing, in a moment it attayneth the same, and more swifter than the starres fore-seeth long before the course and motion they are to obserue, and hold in time to come. Finally, such a plenty of fruit, such store of wealth, and such abundance of things heaped one vpon another. Although thou take a view of all things, and because thou findest no one thing intire which thou haddest rather be, picke out such feuerall things as thou wouldest wish to be giuen thee out of them all. So when thou hast well weighed the louing kinnesse of nature, thou shalt bee forced to confesse, that thou wert her darling: And so it is indeed. The immortal Gods haue and doe loue vs intirely, and (which is the greatest honour that could be giuen) they haue placed vs next vnto themselves. Great things haue we receiued, neither were we capable of greater.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

THese things (my *Liberalis*) haue I thought necessary to be spoken, both because it concerned me to say somewhat of great benefits, when we were discoursing on small; and also because the boldnesse of this horrible vice floweth from thence into all other things. For vnto whom will he be thankfull for good turnes; or what benefit will he esteeme great & worthe the requiting, who despiseth the highest benefits? To whom will he confesse himselfe indebted for his health and life, that denieth that he hath receiued his being from the Gods, to whom he prayeth daily for the same? Whosoever therefore giueth instructions of thankfulness vnto men, negotieth the affaires of men and Gods; to whom, being vnpurueyed of nothing, & freed from the desire of affecting or cooiting any thing, yet to them may men notwithstanding be both acknowledging and thankfull. There is no cause why any man should lay the blame of his thanklesse mind vpon his owne weaknesse or poutie, and say, What shall I doe? How or when may I find any possibilitie to remunerate and acknowledge the benefits of my superiors, the Lords of all things? To requite is an easie matter: for if thou beest a niggard, thou mayest requite without expence; and if thou beest slouthfull, without labour. In that very moment wherein thou art obliged, if thou livest, thou mayest make euen with any man whatsoever, because that he who willingly hath received a benefit, hath restored the same.

Hee answereth to a former objection

CHAP. XXXI.

IN my opinion, that doctrine (which the Stoicks place amongst their extraordinary Paradoxes) is not so wonderfull and incredible, That he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same. For in as much as we measure all things by the mind, looke how much a man is minded to doe, so much hath he done. And for as much as pietie, faithfulness, and vprightness, and finally all vertue, is perfect in it selfe, although a man could not remunerate a niggard, yet may hee bee thankfull, euen with his will. As oft as any one compelleth his purpose, so often he receiveth the fruit of his labour. What purpose hath he that bestoweth a benefit? To profit him to whom hee giueth the same, and to content and delight himselfe: If hee hath finished that which he intended, and the good turne he intended me, be come to my hands, and both of vs are mutually affected with ioy and contentment, he hath obtained that which he sought: For his intent was not to haue any thing in recompence, for then had it bene no benefit, but a bargain. Well hath he sayd, that hath attained the Hauens, whereunto he shaped his course. The dart that hitteth the marke it was aymed at, hath performed the office of a steadie hand: Hee that doth a good turne, meaneth to haue it accepted thankfully; if it be well taken, hee hath his desire. But he hoped for some profit thereby: This was no benefit, whose proprietie is to thinke no wayes of remuneration. That which I receiued, if I accepted and entertained the same with the like good affection as it was giuen me, I haue requited it: otherwise the thing that of it selfe is best, were in worst case. To the end I should be thankfull, I am sent to Fortune: if I cannot satisfie for want of her succour, my good minde shall satisfie a good minde. What then? Shall I not endeavour my selfe to the vttermost to make

Hee distinguisheth whether an inferior benefactor is sufficient to satisfie a beneficereceued.

E

recom-

recompence? Shall I not seeke opportunitie of time and matter, and labour to fill the boosome of him, at whose hands I have received any thing? Yes, But yet the world went ill with good doing, if a man might not be thankfull, even with empty hands.

CHAP. XXXII.



E that hath received a good turne (saith hee) although hee hath taken it with neuer so thankfull a mind, yet hath hee not consumed his duetie: for, there is a part which remaineth, which is of restitution. As at a Tennis play it is somewhat to receive the Ball cunningly and diligently; but he is not termed a good gamester, except hee bee such a one as returneth and striketh backe the same as itely and readily, as it was lured to him. This example is farre different: And why? because the praise hereof is in the motion of the body, not in the mind. And therefore it is requisite, that the whole should be layd forth at large, where the eye must be iudge. Yet will I not for all that denie him to be a good gamester that receiuerh the Ball as he ought to doe, though hee strike it not againe, for the fault be not in himselfe. But although (saith he) there bee nothing deficient in the art of him that playeth, because he hath performed a part, and can likewise performe that part which he hath not done, yet is the game it selfe imperfect, which is consumed in taking and returning the Ball backe againe by turnes. * I will no longer refell this; let vs suppose it to be so; let somewhat be deficient in the game, and not in the gamester: So in this, whereof wee dispute, there wanteth somewhat in respect of the thing that was given, to which some condigne satisfaction is due, although in respect of the mind there bee nothing deficient. * He that hath gotten a mind answerable to his owne, hath performed as much as in him lieth, that which he would.

CHAP. XXXIII.



E hath giuen me a benefit, and I have accepted it no otherwise than he himselfe would haue it received: Now hath he the thing that he sought, and the only thing that he sought, I am gratefull. After this there remaineth the vse of mee, and some profit from a gratefull man. This is not the remnant of an imperfect duetie, but an in-come and accession to a perfect one. *Phidias* maketh an Image: the fruit of his arte and knowledge is one thing, the commoditie of his workmanship and labour another: I be proprietie of his arte is to haue made the Statue, but of the workmanship to haue made it with profit. *Phidias* hath perished his worke, although hee hath not sold it: A three-fold profit repeath hee by his worke; the one in his conscience and conceit, and this he receiveth as soone as his worke is finished; the other of his fame; the third of his profit, which shall accrue vnto him either by fauour, or by sale, or by some other meanes. So the first fruit of a benefit is the conscience and contentment a man conceiueth, that he hath well finished the same; the second is of reputation; the third, of those things, which may be made reciprocal one vnto another. When as therefore a benefit

benefit

That is Chirippus.
An abolition and
assuilation of the
precept. Paradox
of the Stacey.

* Here he
saith this ques-
tion by Chir-
ippus one ex-
ample.
A The beaui-
full monde that
is seconded by as
thankfull and
gratefull man,
such for his own
part all that
which is to be
desired by him.

benefit is thankfully accepted, he that bestowed it, hath alreadie received recompence, but not satisfaction, as yet: I therefore owe that which is without the benefit, and in receiuing it kindly and thankfully, I haue satisfied the same.

CHAP. XXXIV.



W hat then? (saith he) hath he required a fauour, that hath done nothing? He hath done much, he hath repaid good will with as great good will, and (which is a certaine signe of friendship) he hath done it with an equall affection. Moreover, a debt is satisfied one way, and a benefit another. Thou art not to expect, that I will shew thee my payment. This affaire is managed from will to will. That which I say vnto thee shall not seeme harsh and distastfull to thee, although at first it fight against thine opinion, if thou conform thy selfe vnto me, and imagine that there are more things than words. There are a great number of things without name, which we note not by their proper titles, but such as are both forraigne and borrowed: We call the foot whereon we walke, a foot; the foot of a Bed, the foot of a Hanging, and the foot of a Verse: We call by the name of Dog, both a Hound, a Filh, and a Star: For we haue not words enough to giue a proper name vnto euery thing: and therefore when wee haue need, we borrow. Fortitude is a vertue that contemneth iust dangers: or it is a Science to repell perils, or to know how to sustaine them, or how to prouoke them: yet say we, that a Fencer is a stout man, and a wicked slave, whom rascallnesse hath animated and enforced to contempt of death. Parsimonie is a Science to auoid extraordinarie expence, or as art to vse a mans estate and substance moderately; and yet we call him a very sparing man, which is of a nigardly and pinching mind, whereas notwithstanding there is infinite odde betwene moderation and nigardize. These are of diuers natures, and yet for want of words wee are enforced to call both the one and the other a Sparer; and him likewise strong who despiseth casualties with reason, as that other also, who runnes headlong vpon dangers without iudgement. So a benefit, as we haue said, is a bounteous action, and that very thing which is giuen by that action, as money, a house, a garment; the name of them both is all one, but the vertue and power of them farre different.

CHAP. XXXV.



G ue care therefore, and thou shalt presently perceiue, that I say nothing that is contrarie to thy opinion. That benefit, or good turne which the action perfecteth, is required, if wee take it thankfully. But for that other which is contained in the thing, we haue not yet required it, but we intend to requite it: we haue satisfied good will with good will, and we owe still a thing for a thing. Therefore, although we say, that he hath giuen thanks that hath willingly received a benefit, yet will we him that hath received, to restore some such like thing as he hath received. Some of the things we speake of differ from common custome, and afterwards another way they grow in vse and custome againe. We denie, that a wife man receiueh any wrong, and yet the man that striketh him

E 2

with

Gratefull accep-
tance is a kind of
satisfaction.

Confirmation of
the precedent
Paradox.

A benefit is not
only giuen, do a
bounteous action,
but the thing
whatsoever that
is bountifully
bestowed.

A conclusion of
the Paradox, yet
drawn by Seneca
the 31. Chapter
before.

* A Stoicall
opinion.

with his filt, shall be condemned of iniurie and wrong doing. We denie, that a foole hath any goods of his owne, and yet if a man steale any thing from a foole, we will condemne him of felonie. * We say that all fooles be mad, and yet wee cure them not all by *Eleborus*. Euen vnto those very men whom wee tearme mad, commit both *Suffrages* and *Iurisdiction*. So likewise say wee that he hath requited a good turne that hath received it with a good mind; but yet neuertheless wee leaue him filt in debt, to make recompence euen when he hath required. Our so saying is an exhortation, and not a remitting of the good turne. Let vs not feare, neither (being depressed with an intollerable burthen) let vs faint in mind. Goods are giuen me; my good name is defended, my miserie is taken from me, I enioy life and libertie, deeter than life: And how shall I requite these things? When will the day come that I may thew him my good will againe? This is the day wherein he hath shewed his. Take vp the good turne, embrace it and be glad, make account that thou owest not that which thou hast received, but that which thou mayest requite. Thou shalt not aduenture on so great a thing, as that mischance may make thee vnthankfull. I will propose no difficultie vnto thee: be of good courage, shrink not for feare of paines and long seruitude: I delay thee not, it may be done with things that thou hast alreadie. Thou shalt neuer be thankfull except thou be instantly: What wilt thou therefore doe? Must thou take armes? Perchance thou must: Must thou sayle ouer seas? Likely yes: and euen then also when the stormes threaten thee with shipwracke. But wilt thou restore a benefit?

Take it thankfully, and thou hast required it; not so
as thou shouldst thinke that thou hast payed
the same, but so as thou mayest
owe it with the more
hearts-ease.
(..)

The end of the second Booke.



L V.



LVCIVS ANNAEVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE discourses of vngratefull men, what they be, and whether they are to bee punished, or called before the Iudge. He deniet it by a curious disputation, and addeth, that their punishment is in hatred, infamie, and in the minde it selfe. Afterwards upon occasion he debateth whether a Lord should bee gratefull to his slaue? Or receiue a Benefit as his hands? He affirmeth; and this very plentifully, because in those daies there was often vse of slaues. Hereunto he annexeth; whether the Sonne giue his Father a Benefit? He disputeth on both sides, but affirmeth the affirmative.

CHAP. I.



Of to render thanks for Benefits receyued (my *Abutius Liberalis*) is both lothsome in it selfe, and hatefull in all mens opinion. And therefore such as are themselves vngratefull, complaine of vngratefull men: and so are we fashioned to the contrarie of that wee ought to doe, that there are some who become our Capitall enemies, not onely after Benefits receiued, but for the verie fauours they receiue. I cannot denie but that this hapneth vnto some by reason of the corruption of their nature: to many, because that the interposition of time extinguisheth the remembrance. For those things that were fresh in memorie with them, while they were newly done, doe in proesse of time weare out of remembrance. Concerning which sort of men, I know that thou and I haue otherwhiles disputed, whereas thou maintainedst that it were better to call them forgetfull than vngratefull. Shall he therefore be excused of ingratitude because

*That which is
complained of by
all men, is excu-
sed by most
men.*

*He termeth all
things equal, ac-
cording to the
dull-ine of the
Soul, but all
the Pains and
Christenings
teacheth other-
wise.*

because he hath forgotten, when as no man can forget, except he be vngratefull? There are many sorts of vngratefull men, as there are of Theeues and Mur-therers, whose fault is one, but in the parts there is great varietie. Ingratefull is he who denyeth that hee hath receiued a good turne, which hath bene done him: Ingratefull is he that dissembleth: Ingratefull is he that maketh not restitu- tion: and the most vngratefull of all is he, that forgetteth a fauour hath bene shewen him. For they, although they requite not, yet are they indebted, and some certaine impression of the good turne (hoarded vp in their corrupt consciences) is extant with them. And vpon some cause they may at length dispose themselves to gratuite, if either shame shall put them in mind, or some fadaine desire to proceede honourably: such as for a time is wont to awaken it selfe in men of the worst disposition, if any easie occasion should inuite them. But neuer can he become thankfull, who hath forgotten the whole benefit. And whether thinkest thou him worser, in whom the thanks of a good turne is lost, or him in whom the verie remembrance perisheth? Faultie are those eyes that feare the light, but blind are they that see not at all. Not to reuerence and loue ones Parents is impietie, and not to acknow- ledge them is madnesse. Who is more vngratefull than hee, who hauing re- ceived such curtesie as hee ought to treasure vp in the foremost part of his memorie, and continually meditate thereon, hath laid it so farre a-side, and neglected it, that he groweth wholly ignorant thereof? It appeareth, that he neuer bethought him of restitution, that suffered obliuion so farre to vsurpe vpon him.

CHAP. II.

*The most un-
gratefull man of
all is he that
forgetteth a
benefite.*

*Am not compa-
rison.*

IN a word, to the requiring of a good turne there needeth vertue, time, abilitie, and fauourable fortune. Hee that remembreth a friend, is thankfull without expence: Hee that performeth not this (which to achieve neither requirerh labour, nor charge, nor solicite) hath no court, or patronage to conceale himselfe in. For neuer meant he to be thankfull, who cast a benefite so farre from him, that it neither suruiued in his sight, nor his remembrance. Euen as those things which are in vse, and are managed and handled daily, are neuer in danger of soile, or rusting: and those which are out of sight, and vse (so as they haue lien by, as vnecessary) doe gather soile by continuance of time: So that which fre- quent cogitation exerciseth and reneweth, is neuer wrought out of memorie, which lookeeth and forgetteth nothing, but that, which she respecteth and loo- keth not backe vnto verie often.

CHAP. III.

*The desire of
this we haue
not, and the con-
science of that
which we possesse
maketh vs un-
gratefull.*

BESIDES this cause there are other also, which sometimes conceale the greatest merits from vs. The first and chiefe cause of all o- thers, is this; that being alwaies continually busied with new desires, we haue an eie and regard, not to that we haue, but what we require, intencue, not to that which is in our present posses- sion, but to that we affect and fancie most. For whatsoever is at our command,

is

is base & contemptible. Whence it followeth, that as soone as the desire of new things hath made that light which we haue receiued, the Author also thereof is slenderly respected. So long as those things which a great Lord hath giuen vs, haue bene pleasing and well-liking vnto vs, wee haue loued and courted him, and confessed openly, that our state was founded and raied by him; but if any new ambition assaults vs; if our minde fall into admiration of other things, and earnestly affect the fame, (as the manner of mortall men is, after great thiags to desire greater) we straight-waies forget that which in times past we called a benefite: wee neither respect or looke into those things, which haue aduanced vs before others, but those things only wherein other men haue had the fortune to out-strip vs. But it is impossible for any man, both to repine, and enuie, and to be thankfull: for to enuie, is the propertie of a complaining and discontented man, but to give thanks is the property of him that is well pleased. The second cause of ingratitude is, because none of vs make any ac- count, but of that present time which speedily passeth and flecteth before our eyes; and few or none are they that call backe their minds to thinke on things past. By meanes hereof it falls out, that Schoole-masters, and their good deeds, are buried in obliuion, because wee wholly lose the remembrance of our in- fance. Hereby it cometh to passe, that we forget all those things, which are belovved vpon vs in our youth, because wee neuer thinke vpon the same. No man accounteth that which hee hath bene, as it were a thing past, but as a thing lost. Thus the desire and apprehension of things to come, defaceth the memorie of things past.

CHAP. IIII.

IN this place must I giue testimonie of the Epicures vpright iudge- ment, who continually complaineth, for that we are Ingratefull in regard of things past, for that we recall not to memory, what soeuer benefits we haue receiued, neither number them amongst pleasures, when as there is none more certaine contentment, than that which cannot any more be taken from vs. The goods and pleasures that are present, are not as yet wholly assured; some casualty may intercept and cut them off. Those things that are to come, are vnertaine and doubtful: That which is past is laid aside amongst those things that are in sisetie. How then can any man acknowledge the good that is done him, who forgetteth the whole course of his life? The apprehension and consideration of things pre- sent, and the memory of things past, maketh a man gratefull; He that attributeth most to Hope, yeldeth least to Memorie.

CHAP. V.

EVEN as (my *Liberalis*) there are certaine things which being once apprehended, continue still in memory; and some things that to know them, it is not sufficient to haue learned them, (for the sience of them is forgotten, except it be continued) I meane Geometrie, and the course of Coelestiell things, and of such which by their subtiltie doe easily slip out of our memories: So the greatnesse

*The remem-
brance of kind-
nesses receiued,
ought to be num-
bered amongst the
greatest plea-
sures, as it is a con-
firmation hereof
to come from the
Epicures opinion*

*Infinite curtes-
ies are forgot-
tenly vs, be-
cause we make
not vsell ac-
count of such
things as are
past.*

of

of some benefits suffer them not to bee forgotten. Some lesser and more in number, and diuers in time, are easily buried in obliuion; Because, as I said, we handle them not often, neither willingly acknowledge what wee owe vnto euery man. Hearken what speeches suitors and suppliants vse: There is not any of them, but faith, that he will for euer keepe in mind the fauour done him; euery man prouerbeth and voweth himselfe to bee at commandement, and if any more humble speech, whereby he may engage himselfe, may bee found out, he spareth it not. But within a little while after, those Gallants esteeme their former words as too base and illiberrall: and finally, they grow to that point (which as I suppose euery one the lewest, and most vngratefulllest attaineth vnto) that is, to forget the same. For euen as vngratefull is hee that forgetteth, as he is gratefull that remembereth him of a benefit.

CHAP. VI.

ET the question is, whether this so hateful vice should bee left vn-punished: and whether this Law which is exercised in declamatorie Schooles, should bee ratified also in the Citie, whereby a man may call an ingratefull man in question? Surely, it seemeth a matter worthy the censure of iustice, in all mens iudgements. Why not? since certain Cities also, haue reproched other Cities for the loanes and fauours they haue done them, and redemam from posteritie that which they haue lent to their predeceffors. Our Ancestors, those mightie and vertuous men, required satisfaction only from their enemies; as for their benefites, they gaue them with a great minde, and lost them with as great. There is not any Nation in the world, except the *Persians*, that haue thought fit to impleade an ingratefull man, or call him in question. And this is a great reason, why none should be granted, because by mutuall consent we punish misdeeds; and for Murder, Witchcraft, Paricide, and breach of Religion, haue here and there enacted diuers punishments, and in all places some: but this most frequent crime is no where punished, and euery where improued. Neither absolute we the same: but whereas the iudgement of a thing vncertaine is difficult, wee haue only condemned it with hatred, and left it amongst those things, which we refferre to the iustice and iudgement of the Gods.

CHAP. VII.

BUT many reasons offer themselves vnto me, whereby it appeareth, that this error is not punishable by Law. First of all, the better part of the benefit should perish, if a man should haue an action allowed him, as he hath for lending money, or for bargaines of hyring, and letting out. For this is the greatest grace of a benefit, that we haue given it, although we should lose it, that wee haue referred all to the curtesie of the receivers; If I arrest him, and call him before the Iudge, it beginneth to be a debt, and not a benefit. Again, whereas it is a most commendable thing to require, it ceaseth to be honest, if it be of necessitie. For no

man

He concludes the argument. part. He apprehends that which he concludes.

Reasons to approve that ingratitute is not punishable by Law.

1. A man lo- sets his benefit in redemam- ding it.

man will commend a thankfull person, more than him that hath restored a thing which was committed him to keepe, or discharged his debt without being sued. Thus corrupt and deface we two things (then which in humane life there is nothing more worthy) that is to say, a gratefull mind, and a benefit. For what honour, I pray you, shall he haue in this, if hee giueth not a benefit, but lendeth it? or in that, if he require, not because he will, but because he must of necessitie? It is no glorious thing to be gratefull, except it be a matter vn-punishable to be vngratefull: moreover, this inconuenience would ensue, that all Courts would scarcely serue, and suffice this one Law only: who is hee that might not sue? who is he that might not be sued? all men praise and praise their owne doings, all men enlarge those things they haue employed vpon others, be they neuer so little. Besides, whatsoever things fall into knowledge of the Iudges, may be comprehended by them without giuing them infinite licence and libertie. And therefore the condition of a good cause seemeth to bee better if it be referred to a Iudge, than if it be remitted to compromise, because the Iudge is bound vnto an order, and hath his certaine bounds limited him, which he may not exceede; But the Vmpires conscience being free and tyed to no termes, may both adde, and take away, and order the sentence, not as Law and Iustice counsaileth, but according as humanitie and pittie shall moue. An action of ingratitude would not oblige the Iudge, but let him at liberty to rule things as he listeth. For it is not certaine what a benefit is; againe, how great soeuer it be, it were much to the matter how fauourably the Iudge would construe it. No Law defineth what an vnthankfull person is. Oft-times hee that hath restored as much as hee hath received, is vnthankfull, and hee that hath not required, is thankfull. There bee some matters also which some vnskillfull Iudge may dismiss the Court of, as in cases where the parties confesse a deede, or no deede, where the opening of the euidence dispatctheth all doubts. But when as Reason giueth iudgement betweene two persons which debate, there ought our vnderstanding to vse coniecture and diuination: and when as a thing which only wisdom ought to determine, falleth in controuersie, a man cannot (in that case) take a Iudge of the number of those whom the Prætor chooseth, and such a one as is inrolled in the Register of the Iudges; because hee hath the rents and riches which a Roman Knight ought to haue.

CHAP. VIII.

HIS thing therefore seemed not to bee very vnmeet to bee made a matter in Law, but that no man could be found to be a competent Iudge in the case; which thou wilt not wonder at, if thou consider thoroughly what puzzell and difficultie he should finde, who should enter into the ouer-ruling of such cases. Some one hath giuen a great summe of money; but such a one as is rich; but such a one as shall not feele the want thereof. Another hath giuen, but with the hazard of forgoing his whole inheritance. The summes are alike, but the benefit is not the same: Yea, let vs adde yet further; This man laid downe money for him that was adjudged a slaue vnto his creditor; but where hee had it at home lying by him. That other gaue as much; but hee tooke it vp vpon interest; or borrowed

2. It is not like- ly to be a benefit, if it is not a matter vn-punishable.

The Roman Prætor is bound to commit some officers of importance to be directed to a certain number of chosen men, selected out of the order of Knights.

3. There is so great difficultie in this matter, that no man could not find a sufficient euidence to determine the controuersie.

borrowed it with much intreatie; or deeply indangered himselfe to him that lent it. Thinkest thou that there was no difference betwixt him that bestowed his benefit at his ease, and that other that borrowed to give the fame? Some things are made great in time, and not the greatest. It is a benefit to give a possession whose fertility may ease the dearth of corne; one loafe of bread in time of scarcitie is a benefit. It is a benefit to give whole Regions, through which many Riues may runne able to beare Ships. It is a benefit to those that are dried vp with thirst, and scarce able to draw them breath through their dried iawes to lew them a Fountaine: who shall distinguish these one from an other? who shal waigh them thoroughly? Hard is the determination of that ease, which requirith the force of a thing, and not the thing it selfe. Although they be the same, yet being differently given, they waigh not alike. This man did me a good turne, but he did it vnwillingly; but he complayned that he gaue it, but he beheld me more proudly than he was accustomed, but he gaue it so late, that it had beene better for me if he had quickly denied me. How can a Iudge make an estimate of these things? whereas the speech, the doubt, and the countenance of a man destroy the grace of his merit?

CHAP. IX.



Hat shall we say of some things, which because they are much desired, are held for benefits; and of others, which are not esteemed by the common sort, for such, although they are greater then they seeme. Thou callest it a benefit to haue given a man the freedom of a most rich and wealthy Citie, to haue made a man a Knight, and to haue placed him on the fourteenth scaffold, destined for the Romane Knights, to behold the playes and publique spectacles; and to haue defended him vpon an Indictment of life and death: but what thinke you of it to haue given a man good counsaile to haue hindred him from executing a wicked enterprise? to haue wrung the sword out of his hand, wherewith he would haue slain himselfe? to haue comforted him in his sorrow by whosome counsailes; and to haue brought him backe to the fellowship of life, from his wilfull seeking and longing to accompany his deceased friends in death: what thinke you it to be, to sit by a sicke mans bed, and since his euill came by fits and at certaine houres, to haue waighted a fit time to giue him meate? and to haue bathed his veines with Wine when he fainted? to haue brought him a Philitian euen then when he expected to die? who is he that can iustly value these things? what Iudge shall he be that shall command these benefits to be recompensed with the like? Some man perchance hath giuen thee a house, but I haue foretold thee, that thine owne is falling downe on thy head. Hee hath giuen thee a patrimonie: but I a planke to floate vpon, and saue thy life in shipwrack. He hath fought, and hath bene wounded for thy cause: but I haue giuen thee thy life by my silence on the racke. Whereas a benefit is giuen one way, and recompensed an other: it is a hard matter to make them equall.

CHAP.

a. It is a hard thing to know truly and discern justly what benefits are.

* These degrees or places of Knights-hood amongst the Romans were not obtained by antiquitie, but dignities and frow: so may you gather from our Author here, and from Iulius Lipsius, lib. de Amphitheatro cap. 14.

CHAP. X.



Vrthermore, there is no day limited for recompensing a good turne, as there is for money lent: he therefore, that hath not as yet required, may require. For tell me in what time may a man discover an other to be vngratefull? The greatest benefits haue no probation at all, they oftentimes lye hidden in the consciences of two. Inferre we thus, that wee may not doe a good turne without testimony? What punishment then shall we destinate for the vnthankfull? shall wee prefixe one for all, where the benefits are different? or vnequall punishments, either greater or lesser, according to each mans benefit? Goe to then, let the penaltie be pecuniarie: why? Some benefits concerne life and are more greater, than life; what penaltie will you pronounce against them? lesse than the benefit? that were not indifferent: equall, and so capitall? what more inhumane, than that the issue of benefits should be bloody?

A man cannot / if when an vngratefull man ought to be condemned, nor what punishment he ought to suffer.

CHAP. XI.



Ertaine priuiledges (saith hee) are giuen vnto Parents. And as there is an extraordinarie consideration had of these, so is it reasonable also that a respect should be had of other benefits. We haue hallowed and sacred the conition of Parents, because it was expedient, that Children should be bred and brought vp. They were to be encouraged to this trauell, because they were to vnder-goe an vncertaine fortune. It could not be said vnto them, which is spoken vnto those, that giue benefits. Beware in thy choice, to whom thou giuest: If thou hast beene once deceived, seeke out hence-forward such a one as is worthy of thy benefits, and succour him. In breeding and bringing vp children, the Parents iudgement preuaileth little, all that they may doe is but to wish well, and hope the best. Therefore, that they might the more willingly adventure this chance, it was reason that some prerogative should be giuen them. Again, the case standeth otherwise with Parents, for they both doe and will bestow benefits vpon their children, although they haue done neuer so much for them already: and it is not to be feared that they will belie themselves that they haue giuen them: In others it ought to be examined, not only whether they haue received, but also whether they haue giuen. But the merits of these consist in their confession; and because it is requisite for youth to be ruled, we haue continued, as it were, certaine domestical Magistrates ouer them, vnder whose government they should be reffrayned. Again, the benefits of all Parents was equall and alike, and therefore it might be valued once, but the rest bare diuers, vnlike, and infinite oddes was betwene them, and therefore could they fall vnder no compasse of law; so that it was more fitting to let them all alone, than to make them all equall.

Although the benefits of Parents are more sacred, yet they children be of one sort, yet this Lawe is not away the difference that is betwene the benefits that are done vnto others.

CHAP.

CHAPTER. XII.

7. As the qualities of benefits are diuers: so also are they diuersly esteemed by those that receive them.

SOME things cost the giuers much; and some are much worth to the receivers, and yet stand the giuers in nothing. Certaine curties are done to friends, some to strangers, and (although the gift be one) yet is it better imploied on him that then thou beganst to know, when thou undertookst to succour him. This man giueth succours; that, ornament; these other, consolations. Thou shalt find some that imagine nothing more pleasing in this world, or more great and agreeable, than to haue a friend that may succour, and to whom he may discouer his miseries and calamities. Againe, you shall find some man more desirous of his Honour than his Securitie, and some one there is, that iudgeth himselfe to be more indebted to him by whom he is more secured in reliefe, then to him by whom he is more honestly relieued. The things therefore shall be greater or lesser, according as the Iudges mind is bent to the one, or to the other. Besides I chose my selfe a creditor: I oftentimes receive a benefit at his hands, when whom I would not; and sometimes I am obliged, ere I know thereof. What wilt thou doe? wilt thou call him vngreatfull that had a good turne call vpon him, before he knew it, and if he had knowne thereof, would not haue receiued it? and wilt thou not terme him vnthankfull, who howsoever he receiued thy good turne, in no sort requited it?

CHAP. XIII.

8. Benefits and outages, are in some sort intermixed, that it is impossible to give true judgment of them.

If ungratefull
receivers should
be punished, few
would enter-
taine benefits.

Some man hath done me a friendship, and afterwards the same man hath done me an iniurie. Whether am I tied by one cunctie to suffer all iniuries: or shall I be acquit, as if I had acknowledged the same, because he hath defaid his former benefit by his succeeding iniurie? how then canst thou determine, whether the pleasure he hath receiued, be greater, or the outrage that is afterwards offered him? The day would faile me, if I should attempt to prosecute euery difficultie. We (saith he) make men flouer to doe good, when we challenge not the things that are giuen, but suffer the deniers to escape unpunished. But you must be thinke your selfe of this also on the contrary part, that men will be much loathier to receiue benefits, if they should find in perill of proccesse thereby, and if their innocence be no waies assured. Moreover, by this means we our selues shall become loathier to doe men good, for no man willingly giueth vnto those, who are vnwilling to receiue. But whosoever is inuited to pleasure others of his owne good nature, and for the worthinesse of the thing it selfe, will giue willingly also euen vnto such as shall thinke themselves no more beholding to him than they list: For the glorie of that office is diminished, which carrieth a promise with it.

СНАР.

CHAP. XIII.

The first objection. Then will be less confusion, except a law be established against vagrants.
An answer. There will be less disorder.

SO shall there be fewer benefites ; yea, but they shall be truer. And what harme is it to haue the raihnesse of benefiting restrained? For this cause intended they that constituted no law for the same: that we should more circumspectly giue, and carefully choose those on whom we bestowed our fauours. Consider diligently to whom thou giest, so shall there be no faining, so shall there be no calling backe or repetition. Thou art decieued, if thou thinke that any Iudge can helpe thee. There is no Law that is able to set thee cleare againe. Only haue thou an eye to the thankfullnesse of the receiuer. By these meanes, benefites hold their authoritie, and are magnificient: thou dost eliect them if thou make them a matter of law: In debt it is a most iustifiable speech, and answerable to the law of all Nations, to say, *Pay that which thou owest*. But this is the fewest word in benefiting that can be, to say, *Pay*. For what shall he pay? He oweth, I assure thee, his Life, his Greatnesse, his Honours, the honour of his Fortune, his Health. The greatest things cannot be requited. At leastwise (saith he) let him repay somewhat of like value. This is it that I said, that the elimation of so noble a thing should perish, if we make a merchandise of benefites. The mind is not to be incited to Auarice, to Proesse, or Debate: shee runneth into these things of her owne accord. Let vs withstand them as much as we can, and cut off the occasions of complaining.

CHAP. XV.

The second
objection.
A man may
obey his conscience,
and still be a bad
man. The law of
God is not
the same as the
law of men.

LWould to God we could perswade them not to receive againe the money they had lent, since only of such as were willing to repay. Would to God the buyers were neuer obliged to the sellers by any promise, nor bargaines and couenants were ratified vnder hand and seale; but that faith should rather keep them, and a minde obleruing equity. But men haue preferred profit before honesty, and had rather enforce others to be faithfull, than behold them faithfull. Writnesse are employed, both on the one and the other side. This man lendeth his money vpon interest to many, whom he catcheth to be bound by pledgeth instruments. That other is not contented with furies, except he haue a pawne in hand. O loathsome confession of humane fraud, and publique wickednesse. Our scales are more for fey, than our scales. To what purpose are these Worshipfull men called to record? why fether they to their hands? namely, least he should denie that which he had receiued. Thinkest thou these men to be vpright, and that they would maintain a truthly yea, but if they themselves would instantly borrow money of any man, they cannot get it, except they be obliged after the same manner. Had it not bene more honeste to let some passe with the breach of their credit, than that all men should be mistrusted of vthankfulnessse, and perditionnesse. Auarice wanteth but one onely thing, which is, That we should doe no man good without furetieship. It is the propertie of a generous and magnificient minde to helpe and profit others; he that giueth benefices, imitateth the Gods; he that redemmeth them, the Vicers. Why bring we those benefactors into the ranke of base Vicers, whilst wee intend their securitie?

CHAP. XVI.

BVt if no action be liable against an vngratefull person, the number of the vngratefull will bee the more? nay rather they will be the lesse; for benefitts will be bestowed more aduisedly. Again, it is not expedient to haue it knowne to the world, what a number of vnthankfull persons there bee: For the multitude of offenders will take away the shame of the deed, and a common crime will cease to be accounted a reproch: Is there almost any woman in these daies that is ashamed of diuorce, since the time that certaine of the noble Ladies, and Gentlewomen, haue made account of their yeares, not by the number of Consuls, but by the number of their husbands; and depart from them to be married, and are married to be diuorced? So long as diuorce was rare, so long was it feared, but after that few or no marriages were continued without diuorce, the often hearing of it taught them to vse it. Is any woman now a daies ashamed of whoredome, since the world is growne to that passe, that few take a husband but to cloake their whoredomes? Chastitie is an argument of deformitie, where shall a man finde a woman so miserable, or so loathsome, that will content her selfe with one paire of Adulterers? except shee haue for euery houre one, and yet the day is not long enough to suffice all, except shee bee carried to one friend, and dine with an other; nay, shee doeth, and is too much of the old stamp, that knows not that the keeping of one Lemman is good wedlocke. Like as the shame of these faults is vanislied at this day, since the sinne began to get large scope, so shall thou make the thanklesse fort both more and more bold, if they may once begin to number themselves.

CHAP. XVII.

WHat then? shall the thanklesse person escape unpunished? what then? shall he be vnchastised that hath no pietie? the malicious, the couetous, hee that followeth and freedeth his owne desires, he that delighteth in cruelty? Thinkest thou that they shall be unpunished which are so hateful? or supposest thou that any punishment is more grievous than publique hatred? Is it a punishment that he dare not take a good turne at any mans hands, that hee dare not doe a good turne to any, that he is a gazing stock to all men, or at leastwise supposest himselfe to be so, and that he hath lost the vnderstanding of the thing that was singularly good, and singularly sweet. Callest thou him vnhappy that wanteth his eye-sight? or him whose eares are deafened by the meanes of sickness? and doest thou not account him wretched, that hath lost the force of benefitts? He feareth the Gods, who are witnesses against all vngratefull men, the knowledge he hath how he is intercepted and excluded from benefiting or doing curtesies, burneth and vexeth him inwardly: Finally, this very punishment is great enough for him, that (as I said before) hee cannot reape the fruit and enjoy so pleasant a thing. But he that is delighted, and contented in that he hath received a good turne, enjoyeth equal and perpetual pleasure, and reioyce in beholding the mind of him that gave, and not the thing was given. A good turne continually delighteth a thankfull man, an vngratefull man but once. Besides this,

The multitude of offenders cloaketh and maintaineth the crime lesse odious.

I pray God these Pagan errors together with diuorce bee not crept into England.

The punishment of ingratitude is enough of all men.

The misery of an vngratefull receiver.

CHAP. XVIII.



Lbeit it bee a question amongst some (amongst whom *Hecaton* is one) whether a bond-man can benefit his Master or no. For there are some that distinguish after this manner. That certaine things are benefitts; certaine duties; and certaine seruices. They say that we ought to call that a benefitt which we receive from a stranger, and we terme him a stranger, who might cease to doe good without any reprehension. They name that, dutie, which appertaineth properly to a Sonne; a Wife, and those persons who are prouoked by alliance, and tied by offices to assist. They terme that, seruice, which belongeth to a slave or bond-man, who is brought to this exigent by the condition of his fortune, so that hee cannot in any fort challenge his Superiour for any thing, what sooner he hath done vnto him. This hee therefore that denieth, that bond-men may not sometimes doe their Masters a good turne, is ignorant of the Law of Nature, for it concerneth vs to consider, of what minde hee is that giueth the benefitt, not of what state or calling. Vertue hideth her selfe from no man, she entertaineth and accepteth all men, shee inuiceth all, Gentlemen, Franchkins, Bond-men, Kings, and banished Men; shee chooseth neither house nor reuence, but is contented with the bare name. For what safeguard should there bee against casualties, or what great thing could the minde promise it selfe, if fortune could charge a certaine and setled vertue? If the bond-man giueth not a benefitt to his Master, neither doth any Subject to his King, nor Souldier to his Captaine, for what skilleth it, in what state of subiection a man be, if hee vnder one which is Soueraigne? For if necessity and feare of extremity doe barre a bond-man from attaining the name of deserter, the same also will barre him that is vnder a King, or a Captaine, who haue the like power ouer him, although it be vnder a different Title: but men gratifie their Kings, and giue benefitts to their Capitaines, therefore slaves may doe curtesies to their Masters: A Bond-man may be iust, valiant, and courageous; *Erge*, hee may also giue a benefitt. For this proceedeth only from vertue, and so may bond-men giue their masters benefitts, as they haue often-times made them their benefitts. There is no doubt but that a bond-man may doe a curtesie to any man, why then may hee not giue fauour and pleasure to his owne Master?

He representeth shew ignorance and p. vnlike the curtesie.

CHAP. XIX.

*Of officers a-
gainst the slave
said request.*

*All good officers
in all we are but
masters, and no
servants.*

BEcause (saith he) hee cannot become his Masters creditor, if hee should giue him his money; yet otherwise he daily obligeth his Master vnto him: he followeth him in his iournies, he ministrerth vnto him in his sicknes, hee reuerenceth him with great care, and labour: yet all these (which would be thought benefites if an other should doe them) are but seruices as long as a bond-man doeth them: For that is a benefite (and is only rightly so called) that a man doeth, who was at libertie not to doe it. But a bondman hath not the power of refusal, thus giueth he, and lendeth he nothing, but is only obedient to that which is commanded him: neither can he boast of his doing, because he could not refuse to doe the same. Euen vnder these termes will I conquer thee, and so farre will I plead the bond-mans cause, that in diuers acts hee shall be esteemed free. Meane while, I pray you tell mee, if I shew you some slaue fighting courageously without feare of death, in defence of his Masters life, and without respect of his owne, wounded with infinite blowes, yet suffering his blood to streame from his deepe wounds, euen to the last and vttermost drops, to the end that his Master in the meane time may finde an opportunitie to escape, purchasing the meynes by his owne death, to winne so much time as he may, to saue his Masters life: Wouldst thou denie that he did his Master a friendship, because he is his bond-man? If I shew thee one, that by no tyrannicall promises could be corrupted, or threats terrified, or torments feared, to bewray his Masters secrets; but as much as in him lay, removed all suspitions that were furnished, and employed all his forces to expresse his faith: wouldst thou denie (because he was a bond-man) that he did his Master a good turne? See rather, if it be not so much the greater kindnesse, as the example of vertue is rather in bond-men; and consequently, so much the more worthie thanks: for that whereas superioritie is commonly hated, and all constraint esteemed grievous, yet the loue of some one toward his Master, hath surmounted the common hatred of bondage. So then, for that cause it ceaseth not to be a benefite because it proceeded from a bond-man: but therefore is it greater, because bondage it selfe could not deterre him from doing the same.

CHAP. XX.

*The second
author.
So weade hath
no power, but
over the inferi-
our part of man,
namely, the
bodily.*

HE is deceived, whosoever thinketh that seruitude taketh possession over the whole man: the better part of him is exempted. The bodies are subiect and obliged to their Masters, but the minde is privileged in it selfe: which is so free and restless, that it cannot be restrained in this prison, wherein it is inclosed: it cannot be held from vsing his forces, and performing great matters, and passing beyond all bounds, as companion of the celestiall Gods. It is the bodie therefore that Fortune hath submitted to the Master, this bought he, this selleth he: that interior part cannot be bought or sold, or suffer seruitude. Whatsoever isuegh from that is free: for neither can wee command them all things, neither can our bond-men be compelled to obey vs in all things: they are not bound to execute that which shall be preiudiciall for the common weale: they are not tyed to assist any wicked and insolent action.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

THERE are certaine things which the lawes neither command, nor forbid to bee done: in these hath a bond-man matter of benefite. As long as he doth that which his Master may iustly command him to do, it is called and is seruice; when more then is necessarie for a seruant to doe, a benefite: when it passeth into the affection of a friend, it ceaseth to be called a seruice. There are certaine things which a Master is bound to furnish his seruant with, namely, with meat, and drinke, and rayment: but no man will call this a benefite. But if he haue giuen him all that he would, if he haue nourished him as a free-man, if he haue instructed him in the liberall sciences: this ought to be called a benefite. The same contrariwise may be said in the person of a bond-man: whatsoeuer it be that exceedeth the dutie and rule of a bond-mans seruice, and is not done of awe and command, but voluntarily and willingly, is a benefite, provided alwaies, that it be such, that it may merit the name, when another forraine person shall doe it.

*Here yieldeth
where direct an-
swer to the for-
mer reply.
Shewing that a
Slave may
doe and per-
forme many of-
fices of a good
and faithful
friend, and con-
sequently be-
come a bene-
factor.*

CHAP. XXII.

CRYSPINUS saith, a Bondman is a perpetuall hireling, now euen as he giueth a benefite, when he performeth more then that daies worke to which he was hired; so when as the bondman (by reason of the loue and affection hee beareth his Master) surpasseth the termes of his miserable fortune, and performeth some extraordinary and braue enterprize, which might be held honourable in one more happily borne, and surmounteth the hope and expectation of his Master, then is it a benefite, which is found in his owne house. Seemeth it a matter iust and indifferent to thee, that if wee be displeased with those that doe lesse then their dutie, we should not be thankfull vnto them, that performe more then either they should or are accustomed; wilt thou know when it is no benefite? then it is, when it may be said, what if he would not do it? But when he performeth that which he might lawfully refuse, it is praise-worthie in him that he had a will to doe it. A benefite and an iniurie are contraries. The slave may pleasure his Master, if he may receive an iniury at his hands: And yet there is an expresse Iudge appointed to heare the complaint of bondmen against their Masters, who may contrarie and repress their cruelty, lust, and hard dealing, and chastise the conceitnesse of those Lords, who refuse to allow their slaues ordinary food, and necessarie garments. What then? doth the Master receive a benefite at his bond mans hand? yea, a man, from a man: To conclude, hee hath done that which was in his power, he hath giuen his master a benefite; it is in thy choice whether thou wilt receiue it from a bond-man. But who is so great whom fortune may not compell to stand in need euen of the basest and poorest of his people? Now will I relate many and different examples of benefites, and some also contrarie to one another. Some one slaue hath saued his Masters life, another also gaue him his death. An other hath deliuered his Master at the instant when he should die, and (if this be but a small matter) by loosing his owne life hath saued his Masters. There haue bene some that haue helped their deaths, and others that haue preserved them by beguiling them,

*The last, and not
least effectfull
answer, from a
mercenary may
doe more then
he ought, the
slave who is a
perpetuall mer-
cenary, may
likewise doe
the like.*

F 3

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Confirmation
of his rescue
and answerly
notable ex-
amples.

See Macrobius
in his first booke
de Saturna-
libus.

See Lippius
note, why this
transfession is
used contrary
to the originall.

The third ex-
ample.

* The Romanes
now call it,
Campe del
Santo Pecho.
Domitius, vnto
his roman tri-
bune.

CLAUDIUS QUADRIGARIUS in the eighteenth Booke of his *Chronicles* reporteth, that when alreadie *Adriumant* was bo-
leaged, and brought into a desperate estate and extreme miserie:
that two slaues fled vnto the Enemies campe, and performed an
action worthe their labour and perill: For after the Citie was
taken, and the victorious enemie ranged and reuelled euerie where, these two
slaues (who knew all the by-waies) were the first that set forward to make
boote of that house, wherein they had serued. And hauing surprisid their
Mistresse, they rudely droue her before them: And being demanded what
woman thee was: they answered that it was their Mistresse, who had in times
past most cruelly handled them: and that they dragged her out, to bring her
to her death: and by this policie hauing gotten her out of the Citie, they
carefully hid her: But afterwards when the Roman Souldiers were satisfied
with pillage, and reduced to their former discipline and manners, these slaues
likewise returned to their former seruitude, and gaue their Mistresse her wonted
libertie. In acknowledgement whereof thee presently fet them both at li-
bertie, and was not ashamed to receiue her life at their hands, ouer whom the
had absolute power both of life and death: Could thee haue more cause of
contentment, than hereby? for had thee bene otherwise preferred, thee had
but receiued an ordinarie curtellie, and vulgar clemencie, (which is many times
vsuall amongst Souldiers) but being preferred after this manner, it was a noble
Storie, and an euerslasting example, to both the Cities. In so great confusion
of the surprisid Citie, when euerie one minded his particular safetie, all fled from
her, except her owne fugitiues. And they to expresse with what mind and in-
tention they practiseid their former flight; fled from the Conquerors, to the
Captiue; pretending the countenance of Murderers, which was the greatest
point in that benefite. So much thought they it better to seme Murderers of
their Mistresse, lest than that thee should haue bene murdered indeede: It is
not, beleue me, it is not, I tell you, the act of a seruile minde, to buy a noble ac-
tion by the fame & opinion they gaine of their wickednes: *Caius Petrus* the
Prator of the Marles was led vnto his death; his bond-man drew the sword
of that very Souldier that dragged him, and first of all slew his Master, and af-
terwards (it is time, saith he, to enfranchise and deliuer my selfe, since now al-
readie I haue set my Master at libertie) at one stroke thrust himselfe through.
Shew me any man, that hath preferred his Master more magnificently.

CHAP. XXIV.

CÆSAR besieged **Corfinium*, and *Domitius* was shut vp in the
same, who commanded a slaue of his (that was practiseid in Phys-
ique) to giue him payson: And perceyuing that by all meanes
hee sought occasion not to doe it, *Why delayest thou* (saith he)
as if all this were in thy power? armed, I intreat thee, to yeeld
me death. Hercupin his slaue promised to performe it, and gaue him a
harmelless potion to drinke vp, wherewith beeing laied a sleepe, hee came
vnto his sonne and said. *Command me to be kept in sure hold, till by the event*
thou

thou vnderstandest, whether I haue giuen thy Father payson or no. *DOMITIUS*
liued, and was saued by *Cæsar*; but yet his bond-man had saued him first.

CHAP. XXV.

DVring the time of the ciuill Warres, a bond-man hid his Master
who was proscribed, and hauing fitted his Rings on his fingers,
and put on his garment, he presented himselfe to the Sergeants,
and told them, that hee required no fauour at their hands, but
that they boldly might performe that which they were com-
manded; and therewithal held out his necke for them to hew off. How great a
mans part was this for a slaue to bee willing to die for his Master in such a time,
as it were, rare fidelitic not to with his Masters death? in publike cruelty to bee
found gentle? in publike perfidioussnesse faithfull? when great rewards were
published for euery one that would betray, to desire death as the reward of
his fidelitic?

The first ex-
ample.
Appropos de
lexandrie, li-
bra, de bello
ciuile Roma-
notum.

CHAP. XXVI.

IWill not ouerslip the examples of our Age: vnder *Tiberius* *Cæsar*
there was an ordinarie licence, and almost a publike rage in
appeaching and accusing, which (farre more grievous than any
ciuill Warre) consumed and destroyed both the Senate and No-
bilitie. Exceptions were taken against drunken mens words,
and things spoken in iest were censured in earnest: nothing was secure, and
all occasion of cruelty was pleasing; neither now expected men what their pe-
naltie should bee who were accused, where all were punished after the same
sort. In that time *Paulus* who had bene a Prator before-times supped at a
certaine banquet, hauing on his finger a rich stone, wheron was engrauen the
Image of the Emperor *Tiberius*: I should play the foole too much if I should
seeke for some more cleanly words to expresse vnto you, how hee tooke the
Chamber-pot: This was presently obserued by *Maro* (who was one of the
Spies, and most noted informer of that time.) But his slaue (against whom this
treason was plotted) secretly stole a way the ring from his Masters finger, who
was drunke: and when as *Maro* afterwards would take witness of those that
were at the banquet, how *Paulus* had handled his members (not to bee named
without modestie) with the Emperours Image, and importuning them to sub-
scribe to that accusation, the slaue shewed before all the companie, that his
Masters ring was on his finger. Whosoever shall terme this man a slaue, hee
should also call that other Spie an honest guest.

The fifth ex-
ample.

See Cornelius
Tacitus, and
Suetonius
heretogen.

CHAP. XXVII.

Vnder *Augustus Cæsar*, mens words were not as yet dangerous
vnto them; yet began they already to displease: *Rufus* a Sena-
tor, as hee late at supper, wished that *Cæsar* might not returne
in safetie and health from that progresse hee then intended; and
added this furthermore, That all the Bulls and Calues of the
Countrie desired no lesse: Some there were that diligently obserued his words:

The first ex-
ample.

See the life of
Augustus in
the Roman Hi-
storie.

The

The next morning, as soone as it was day, a seruant and bond-man of his, that had attended at his feet, reported vnto him those words he had spoken in his drunkenesse the night before, and counsailed him presently to goe and seeke out *Cæsar*, and to be his owne first accuser. According to this his counsaile, his Master met *Cæsar* at his first comming downe. And when hee had sworne vnto him that hee was not well in his wits ouer night, and wished that the euill hee had vttered might fall vpon him, and vpon his children, hee besought *Cæsar* that hee would pardon him, and receiue him into his fauour againe: After that the Emperor had assured him that he would willingly doe it; no man will beleene, said *Ruevs*, that thou hast admitted me againe into thy fauour, except thou giue me somewhat, and therupon he required no small summe of money, at reconciled *Cæsars* hands, and obtayned the same, who therewithall said vnto him. For mine owne sake I will induce neuer to be angry with thee without an occasion. *CÆSAR* behaued himselfe honestly in pardoning him, and besides annexed this liberallitie to his clemencie. Whosoever shall heare this example reported, he must needly praise *Cæsar*, but it must be after he hath praised the bond-man. Except you meane that I should thou you that he was made free for this seruice hee did. Hee was fo; but not without ranfome, for *Cæsar* had payd the money for his freedome.

CHAP. XXVIII.

After so many examples, is there any doubt but that a Master may sometimes receiue a benefit at his bond-mans hands? why should the person rather lessen the dignitie of a thing, then the thing enoble the person? All men haue the same beginnings, and the same original; no man is more noble then another, except it bee such an one that hath a better wit, and is more apt to good Arts. They that set forth their Pedigrees, and their ancessors in a long row, interlined with many branches of collateral descents on the fore-front of their houles, are rather noted then noble: we haue all of vs but one parent, which is heauen, whether it be by famous, or bare descent; euery man conueyes his first pedigree from it. There is no cause why these should deceiue thee, who when they reckon vp their ancessors: wherefore some noble name faileth them, they presently faine a god. Despise no man, though his pedigree bee worne out of remembrance, and he finally furthered by vnfriendly fortune, whether our predecessors were free men, or bond, or forrainers. Courageously aduance yee your minds; and whatsoeuer basenesse lieth in the way, leape yee ouer it. Great nobilitie attendeth for you at the last. Why with pride ate wee lifted vp vnto fo great vanitie, that from seruants we disdain to receiue benefits; and looke vp on their foot, forgetting deserts? Doeſt thou call any one a seruant, thou being a seruant of lust and of gluttonie, and of an adulteresse, yea a common slave of adulteresses? Callest thou any on a seruant? Whether now art thou dragged by thesegroomes; who beare about this thy linter? Whether doe these in livery-clokes, who counterite a souldier-like, and no vulgar attire indeede? Whether, I say, doe these carry thee abroad? to the doore of some doore-keeper, to the gardens of some, most base and seruile substitute. And yet deniest thee that a benefit can be giuen to thee, by thy seruant, to whom it is a benefit to haue a kille from the seruant of another man. What fo great discord of mind is this?

At

In concluding
his dispute upon
this first ques-
tion, he con-
siders in few
words his former
reasons, and
shows that
without vertue
there is neither
nobilitie nor li-
berty, contrary
to what he has
taught by his
predecessors
which stand in
the way of
his noble purpose.

At the same time thou despisest and reuerenceſt seruants. Within doores thou art imperious and outrageous, base abroad; and as well contented, as contenting. For neuer doe any more abase their minds, then they who wickedly lift them vp, and none are more ready to tread vpon other men, then they who haue learned to proffer reproch, by receiuing it.

CHAP. XXIX.



Hese things were to bee spoken to repress the insolencie of men depending vpon fortune, and to approue the right of a benefit to be giuen by a seruant, that also it might be approued to bee giuen by a soone. For it is in question, whether children at any time can giue greater benefits to their parents, then they haue receiued. That is granted, that many children haue bene greater and more mightie then their parents, and that likewise more vertuous then they: which being true; It may be also that they haue done more for them; whereas both their fortune was greater, and their will better: But whatsoever it be (saith he) that the sonne giueth the father, it is lesse then his father hath done for him, because of duty he oweth this power of giuing to his father. So as hee can neuer properly bee overcome in benefits who hath giuen another the meanes to exceede him in the same. First, some things take their beginning from others, and yet they are greater then their beginnings, neither is any thing therefore greater then that from whence it had his beginning, for that it could not haue growne to that greatnesse except it had begun. There is almost nothing but farre exceedeth his first original. Seedes are the causes of all that which groweth in this world; yet are they the least parts of those things which come of them. Looke vpon the *Rhine*, looke vpon *Euphrates*, finally doe but obserue all other riuers so renowned, and what are they if you estimate them by their head-springs from whence they flow? whatsoever they be feared for, wherein soeuer they be renowned, they haue purchased it in their course and progresse. Take away rootes and the Forreſts will neuer grow nor overspread, neither shall the tops of the mountaines bee covered with woods. Looke vpon these Timber trees, whether you regard their great height, or their wonderfull soliditie and broad spreading of their branches, how small a thing, in comparison of these, is that which the roote in small and tender spreadings comprehendeth. The temples are builded vpon their foundations, as also these great walls of *Rome* are, and yet that which was first laid to sustaine this whole worke, lies hidden vnder earth. The like faileth out in all other things. The greatnesse that they attaine vnto in time, doth alwaies obscure their beginnings. I could not haue attained to any thing, if the benefit of my parents had not gone before; yet followeth it not for all this, that that which I haue obtayned is lesse then that same which gaue mee the meanes to acquire it: Except my nurse had suckled me in infancy, I could haue performed none of those things, which I haue since acted by my counsell and valour, neither should I haue obtayned this dignitie and honour, which I haue risen vnto by ciuill and militarie demerit: but wilt thou for this cause more prize my nurses first endowments, then the great acts I haueatched by my so many vertuous attempts. And then what difference wilt thou find herein, considering that I could not encrease in honor,

He defendeth
to the second
question, whe-
ther childen
may doe more
good vnto their
parents, then
they haue recei-
ued from them.
He concludeth
on the childrens
behalf, and that
vpon many rea-
sons: first, by the
consideration of
the works of na-
ture, he sheweth
that children
may be better,
and doe more
good and honour
vnto their pa-
rents, then they
haue receiued
from them.

honor, without the tender care of my nurse, no lesse then without my fathers benefit?

CHAP XXX.

But if I owe wholly to my beginning, whatsoever I more can doe, thinke you that neither my father is my true beginning, nor my Grand-father indeede. For alwaies there will be somewhat more ancient from which the originall of the nearest originall may descend. But no man is said to owe more to them that are vnknown, and to ancestors which haue bene before memory of man, then to a father. But, I owe more, if my father, because he hath begotten me, oweth this very thing vnto his ancestors. Whatsoever I haue done for my father, how great soeuer it be, it is nothing to be esteemed, in respect of the benefit he hath done me, for I had not bene, had he not begotten me. And by the same reason, if any man hath healed my father, being sicke and ready to die, I should bee able to doe nothing for him that were not to bee esteemed lesse, then the benefit hee did vnto my father: for had hee not received his health, my father had neuer begotten me. But see if this carry not a more likely-hood of truth, that the things which I could both doe, and haue done, should bee esteemed as mine owne, and in mine owne power, and at mine owne will. That I am borne (if thou consider what a thing it is in it selfe) thou shalt find it a small and vncertaine matter, and the common subiect of good and euill, and vndoubtedly the first step to all things; but yet not therefore greater then all, because the first. I haue preserved and kept my father aliue, I haue preferred and exalted him to the highest degree of honor, and haue made him a Prince in his Citie: I haue enobled him, not onely by those my vertuous enterprises, which I haue honourably achieved, but also haue giuen him an assured meanes to aduance himselfe, I haue put into his hands an easie meanes to obtaine much honour and glory: I haue leaped together vpon him dignities and riches, and all whatsoever mens ambition can desire. And where I surpassed all others in authoritie, I submitted my selfe to him: Tell mee now, I pray thee, if thou couldest doe all these things, except it were by thy fathers meanes? will briefly answer, and tell thee, that it is altogether so, if to the performance of so many worthy things it sufficed only to be borne. But if to liue well and vertuously, a naked life is the least part, and if thou hast but giuen mee that which is common to me, with brui beaues, yea, with the least, the most despised, and the most loathsome: I beseech thee attribute not that to thy selfe, which proceedeth not alone from thy benefits, although in some sort also, it cannot eyther breede or be without thine. Suppose that for the life which thou hast giuen, I haue restored thy life: so likewise I haue surmounted thy benefit, because I knew what I gaue, and thou, that which thou receiuedst: whereas I gaue thee life, not for my pleasure sake, or truly by pleasure, whereas by so much it is a greater matter to retayne life then to recieve it, by how much it is lesse dreadful to die, then to apprehend the feare of death.

CHAP.

Our Fathers haue giuen vs life, but not the rule to liue to doe well, during life, if therefore any vncke vertuous, and by his vertue maintaine such evil admittance his Father, Seneca admonisheth that the Sonnes ought to be the greater.

Hee introduceth a Sonne, discursing with his Father, To passe forward towards of a newe, Prison.

CHAP. XXXI.

I Gaue thee a life, that thou mightst presently vse: thou gauest me a life, when I knew not whether I should enioy it, or no. I gaue thee life, when thou fearedst death: thou hast giuen me life, to the end I might die. I haue giuen thee a consummate and perfect life: thou hast engendered me deperied of reason and iudgement, and no otherwise but to be a burthen to others. Wilt thou know how small a benefit it is to giue life in such sort? If thou hadst cast me forth, then in that case it had bene iniurie to haue begotten me. Whereby I gather, that our begetting by father and mother, is the least benefit of this benefit, and so ratifie the same by other offices. It is no good thing to liue, but to liue well. But you will say, I liue well: yea, but so I might also haue liued ill: therefore this only is thine, that I liue. If thou impute it vnto me a life in it selfe, naked and destitute of counsell, and boalest thereof, as if it were a good and great thing: thinke with thy selfe, that thou impute it to mee such a good, which is common as well to Wormes and Flies, as to me. Moreover, not to want of any other thing, but only in that I haue endeouored my selfe to learne the liberal sciences, to the end I might direct the rest of my life in the right way: if I liue discretely by this meanes, thou hast in this received a greater benefit, then thou gauest me. For thou gauest me vnto my selfe both rude and ignorant, and I gaue my selfe to thee such a sonne, as thou maiest reioyce, that euer thou begettdest me.

3. The Sonne may giue life vnto his Father, who feareth death, the Father gauest him Sonne life, but is the cause he must die.

A Christian Doctrine from a Heathen Statist.

CHAP. XXXII.

My father nourished me, if I doe the same, I recompence more, because he not only conceiue joy, in that he is nourished, but because he is nourished by his sonne, and greater pleasure and contentment he receiue in my good will, then hee doth in the gift it selfe. The meate which he gaue mee, only nourished my bodie. What if a man hath so farre aduanced his owne fortunes, that either for his eloquence, his iustice, or his chiuallry, he should grow famous in forraigne countries, and had also made his father highly renowned, and so by his lustre dispelled the obscuritie and cloudie darknes of his base birth: hath hee not, thinke you, herein bestowed an vnestimable benefit vpon his parents? Should any man euer haue knowne *Ariften* and *Grillus*, had it not bene for *Xenophon* and *Plato* their sonnes? *Socrates* exempteth *Sophroniscus* his name from obliuion. It were too long to reckon vp all the rest, who liue by no other meanes, but in that their children eternized their memories, by their owne famous actions. Whether did *Agrippa* the father (who after his sonnes greatnesse was scarcely knowne in *Rome*) giue a greater benefit, or *Agrippa* the sonne to his father, who alone was honoured with a Nauall Crowne (which was the greatest honour that was accustomed to be giuen to men of warre) who raised so many sumptuous buildings in the Citie, which both exceeded all former magnificence, and might neuer be equalled by any after? Whether did *Othanius* giue

4. If the Sonne nourish his Father and giue him contentment by the meane of his vertues, hee shall more for his Father then his Father hath done for him, which hee confirmeth by examples.

1. By Socrates.

2. By Agrippa.

3. By Othanius and Augulus.

giue his sonne *Augustus* the Emperor a greater benefit, or the emperor *Augustus* to his father, although the shadow of adoptiue father had in some sort obscured the benefit of *Octavianus*? What ioy and contentment had he conceived, if after the extirpation of a ciuill warre, hee had seene him command and gouerne the Romane Empire in securitie and peace? Who doubteth, but that he could hardly acknowledge his owne good, or sufficiently beleene the same, and as often as he considered his owne meane estate, conceiue that such a man as he could be borne in his house? Why should I now prosecute the rest, whom obliuion had already swallowed vp, except their childrens glory had deliuered them out of this forgetfull darkenesse? Moreouer, wee enquire not whether any sonne hath giuen greater benefits to his father then he receiued at his hands; but, whether any sonne can yeeld greater? Although the examples of those which hitherto I haue related, doe not as yet suffice and satisfie, neither surpass the good which they haue receiued at their fathers hands; yet nature may make vs see that hereafter, which hath not as yet bene seene by the ages fore passed. If one only benefit cannot surmount the greatnesse of parents desires, it may be that many put together may out-strip them.

CHAP. XXXIII.

SciPIO saved his father in a battell, and being young with full carriere charged his enemies: And is it but a small matter, when, to make good the place where his father fought, hee contemned so many dangers, that he pressed so many great Captaines, that hee brake through as many opposites as hee fought before him: in the first seruice that euer he had seene, and being as yet but a raw souldier, hee set forward and charged before the oldest seruitors, and performed many valorous actions, faire exceeding the forces of his age? Adde herunto, that he defended his father, being accused of a capitall crime, and deliuered him from the conspiracy of his mighty enemies, that he gaue him a second and third consulate, and other honours also, which they who before time haue bene Consuls, might with and craue for: and seeing him poore, gaue him those goods which he had gotten by right of warre, and (that which a man who maketh profession of armes esteemeth most honourable also:) hee enriched him with those spoiles which he had gotten from his enemies. If this as yet seeme but little vnto thee, thou mayst adde the Provinces which he gaue him, and the gouernments and extraordinary charges, which were afterwards continued vnto him by his meanes. Adde further, that after he had razed so many great cities, how this braue man (the defender and founder of the Romane Empire, that was to be extended from the East vnto the West, without a Riuall) enabled him the more, who was already noble. Say that he was *SciPIO's* father, yet vndoubtedly the common and ordinary good that parents doe in begetting children, hath bene farre surmounted by *SciPIO's* incomparable piety and vertue, who I know not whether he brought the Citie more defence or honour.

CHAP.

A. By SciPIO's
worthy example,
praiseworthy dis-
covered by Pla-
carchus in his
life, and thus
Lucius in his
Roman history.



CHAP. XXXIV.

Furthermore, if this seeme little vnto thee, suppose that some man hath deliuered his Father from torments, suppose that hee turned them on himselfe. For thou mayest dilate and extend the Childrens benefits as farre as thou wilt, whereas the Fathers benefit in procreation is not only simple and easie, but voluntarie also: What need we so many words? The Father hath done good, he knoweth not to whom, wherein hee hath his Wife a consort and partaker, wherein he respecteth the Law of his Countrey, the praise and reward of Parents, the perpetuities of his House and Family, and all things rather then him to whom he gaue the same: what if any one (hauing obteyned wisdom) hath informed and instructed his Father therein, shall wee now grow in question whether he hath giuen any thing greater then he receiued? Considering that hee hath giuen his Father a happy life, hauing receiued at his Fathers hands but a bad life only; but, saith hee, it is the Fathers benefit whatsoeuer thou doest, or whatsoeuer thou canst returne vnto him againe. So is it the benefit of my Master, if I haue profited in liberall studies: and yet we are more learned then those who instructed vs in the liberall sciences, and consequently, farre more complete then they who taught vs our first rudiments. And although without them no man can learne any thing, yet all that which he hath afterwards learned, is not the inferior to the same: There is a great difference betwixt the first and the greatest things: neither therefore are the first comparable to the greatest, because without the first the greatest cannot bee.

CHAP. XXXV.

IT is time now, if I may so terme it, to produce some pieces of our owne coyne. He that hath bestowed such a benefit, about which there may be somewhat found better, may be ouer-come in benefits: The Father gaue life vnto his Sonne, but there is something better then life, so the Father may be overcome in a benefit by the Sonne, because the Sonne may giue some thing better and greater then the Father. Furthermore, he that hath giuen life to an other man, if once or twice hee were deliuered by the same man from death, hee hath receiued a greater benefit then that which he gaue; so the Father hath giuen life; but if he be oftentimes deliuered from the perill of death by his Sonne, he shall receiue a greater benefit then he gaue him. Hee that hath receiued a benefit hath receiued more, the more he wanteth that which he receiued, but he that liueth, hath more want of life, then hee that is not borne (who cannot want it any wayes.) The Father therefore receiue a greater good turne, if hee hath receiued life at his Sonnes hands, then the Sonne from the Father, in that hee is borne: But the Parents benefits cannot be surmounted by these good offices, the child performeth vnto him, why? because hee hath receiued his life from his Father, which had he not receiued, he could not haue giuen a benefit. This is then but common to the Father, and all those who haue at any time giuen life to any man. For had they not receiued life, they could not haue returned beneficiall gratitude: Therefore greater satisfaction is not intended to the Physician, though the Physician likewise is wont to giue life; nor to the Marriner, though

The first reason,
by which hee ex-
ceedeth in ap-
praising his Pa-
rents, that the be-
nefit of a sonne
towards his fa-
ther, may be
sometimes more
great then that
of the fathers
towards his
sonne.
I. ex Pappia,
or Poppea.

Hee seemeth
the former rea-
son which were
derived from
the Doctrine of
the Stoicall Phi-
losophers, and
whereby that one
benefit may be
greater than an-
other, then ap-
plyeth hee this to
his Conference
of Fathers and
Mothers.

G

though he hath saued from shipwrack, so that a man may surmount the benefites both of the one and the other, who hath by any meanes saued our liues; and consequently, then the benefites of our Parents may be also exceeded: if any man hath done me a good turne which serueth mee to no vse, except it bee assisted and seconded by the fauours of diuers other persons, and if afterwards I haue done him another courtesie, that hath no need of other mens assistance, I haue giuen a greater good turne, then that which I haue receiued: The Father hath giuen life to his Child, which hee should lose instantly, were it not sustayned by diuers other succours: But if the Sonne hath saued his Fathers life, he hath giuen him such a life, as hath no need of any other assistance to sustayne it selfe of it selfe, *Ergo*, the Father receiuing life at his Sonnes hands, receiueth a greater benefit, then that was, which the Father hath giuen him.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Here things destroy not the reuerence which is due vnto Parents neither make they their children to become worse vnto them; but rather better: for, Vertue is of a glorious and noble disposition, and deserveth to out-strip the forme. The pietie and affection of children will be more forward, if they may hope to surmount the kindnesse and fauour, their Parents haue done them. If this should happen to Parents, willing and glad of the same (because in many things it is for our owne good to be ouer-come) whence can we imagine to ensee for acceptable a contention, whence so great happinesse to Parents, as to confesse, that they cannot equall their childrens benefites? If we be not thus minded, we giue our children meanes to excuse themselves, and we shall make them more slow and retchlesse in acknowledging their Fathers benefites, whereas wee ought to excite them the more, and say vnto them, *Doe this, worthy children*. An honest contention is rayed betwixt Parents and their Children, to know which of them hath giuen the greatest benefites, or who hath receiued the most. The Fathers haue not therefore preuailed, because they haue giuen the first. Take heart, yong men, worthy your selues, take heede you lose not your courage to ouer-come those who desire no other thing, then to bee ouer-come: You want no Captaynes to vnder take so braue a conflict, and to encourage you to follow them, who command you but to goe the same course, for to obtayne these victories, which they haue often gayned against their Parents.

CHAP. XXXVII.

NEAS, who in his infancy had bene but a light and easie burden, then to *Anchises* his father, overcame him by a curties farre greater, when charging him on his shoulders, laden with age, hee carryed him thorow the squadrons of his Enemies, and through the falling ruines of the Citie, whilst the religious old man, laden with sacred things and his domestique gods, double charged the backe of his sonne, who notwithstanding trauctered the flames, and (so puissant is pietie) bare him away safe and found out of the Citie, and placed him to be reuerenced amongst the founders of the Romaine Empire. The yong men of *Sicily* ouer-came, when at such time as Mount *Ætne* who so highly enflamed, that it vomited fire vpon the Cities and neighbor-

A conclusion of all the reasons and precedents prouide, with a newly contriuation to children. Note the authors prudence.

A confirmation of the what by diuers worthy examples.
1. Of *Aeneas*.

2. Of two yong Sicilians.

ring Plaines, and had consumed the greater part of the Isle, they carried their fathers thence vpon their backs. It is beleued that the fire miraculously separated and diuided it selfe, and that the flames retiring themselves on both sides, opened a large passage to suffer those vertuous yong men to trauell through it, to the end that without danger they might safely performe their great attempt: *Antigonus* also ouer-came, who when as in a great battell he had discomfired his enemy, transferred the treasures and wealth of the conquest, to his father, and with it gaue him the Empire of *Cyprus*. This is a Kingdome to refuse gouernement, when it is in thy hands. *Titus Manlius* also ouer-came his Lordly and Imperious father; whereas although hee had bene driuen out of his fathers house for a time, and sent into the Countrey, because in his youth hee was somewhat hard in apprehension, he came to the Tribune of the people (who had adiourned his father to appeare in person to answer to a capitall crime) and asking him, what time of appearance hee had assigned his father. The Tribune hoping that he would betray his hated father, supposing that he had done herein a thankfull office for the yong man, he suffered him to see, (amongst other crimes he accused him of) how hee had banished and driuen him out of his house: which when the yong man discovered, getting him alone in a secret place, he drew his dagger which hee had hidden in his bosome, and said, *Except thou sweare to crosse this personall aduowment of my fathers, I will thrust thee through with this weapon: It is by his power to chosse which of these two waies, my father shall haue no accusor*. The Tribune swore and kept touch with him: but he made it knowne in an assembly of the Romaine people, why he had desited from this accusation. It had not bene possible for any other man to haue ouer ruled the Tribune after this manner, and to escape vnpunished.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Diuers examples might I produce of many other memorable children, who haue deliuered their parents from danger, that from a base degree haue raised them to high estate, and from the meanest and ignoblest race of men, haue giuen them eternall indefinite honours: It cannot be exprest by any force of words, or facultie of wit, how great a worke it is, how praise worthy, and how perdurable and lasting in mens memory; iustly to be able to say, thus much I haue obeyed my parents: I haue fulfilled their commandements in whatsoever were, either right or wrong; I haue shewed my selfe obseruant and submissive, in this only thing I haue bene willfull, that I would not be ouer-come by them in benefites: Fight valiantly therefore, I pray you yong men, and though you were defeated, yet reinforce the fight anew. I heare that ouer-come shall be happy, They that shall be ouer-come shall bee no lesse blessed; what person can euer receiue more honour, then that yong man, who may say vnto himselfe (for it is not lawfull for him to say it to another) I haue ouer-come my father in well doing? Is there any old man more happy, then he that may van in all places, and before the whole world, that he hath bin ouer-come by his sonne in well doing, and benefitting? What greater happinesse is there for a man so to yeeld.

The end of the third Booke.

Two yong men of Sicily, the one called Antigonus, the other Manlius.

3. Of Antigonus.

See Cicero 3. de Officijs, and Lucius in his 7. Booke, as touching this Manlius.

A conclusion including a new and contriuation to yong men.



LVCIVS ANNAEVS

SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE handled curious matters for the most part, but (according to his usuall custom) intermixed with those that are profitable. Hee demandeth whether a benefit or favour may be simply in it self desired? Hee proneth the affirmative against the Epicures, who measured all things by their profit. Amongst other arguments he teacheth by this, that the Gods also give benefits, which hee proneth very amply against those that denie the Gods. Then he remoueth some objections, which seeme to teach, that profit is common in benefitting. And so he cometh to thanksgiving, and sheweth that it is onely to be yielded in regard of honestie, not of profit. Then hee demandeth whether a benefit is to be given to him, whom thou knowest will be vngratefull: he distinguisheth in this point, and partly affirmeth, and partly denieth.

CHAP. I.



QUall those things (my *Abitius Liberalis*) whereof we haue entreated, there is nothing so necessarie to be knowne, or (as *Salust* saith) more carefully to be taught, then that which is now in hand; namely, whether to giue a benefit, and to restore the like, be things which ought to be desired for the loue of themselves. Some men there are which respect not honestie, but for profit sake, and admit not vertue without aduantage (which hath nothing magnificent in it selfe, if it hath any thing that is mercinarie.) For what is more loathsome, then for a man to make reckoning how much we ought to estimate an honest man, when as vertue is neither inuited with gaine, nor terrified with losse, and is so farre from corrupting any with hope or promise, that contrari-

Whether to doe a pleasure or to restore a courtesie, be things to be desired of themselves.

wife he commandeth them to spend all their substance on her, and for her sake; and more often contenteth her selfe with that which is giuen freely without demand? To follow her, a man must tread all profit vnder foote: whiche sooner she calleth, whither sooner she fendeth, he ought to goe, without respect or interest of his estate or priuate affaires: and sometimes also hee must let forwards with the hazard of his owne blood and life: neither must hee euer refuse her commandements. What reward shall I then haue, saiest thou, if I doe this thing valiantly, or that thing gratefully? The deede it selfe: nothing is promised thee besides. If any profit casually befall thee, number it amongst thy casual advantages. The price of honest things is in themselves. If then that which is honest be to be desired for it selfe, and a benefit be honest, the condition thereof cannot bee different from honesty, because they are both of one nature. But that the thing which is honest is to be desired for it selfe, it is often and abundantly proved already.

CHAP. II.

IN this point I must wage warre with the nice and effeminate troope of Epicures, that talke of Philosophie at their banquet, with whom vertue is the vassall and hand-maid of vicious pleasure; them shee obeyeth, them she serueth, them she beholdeth and preferred aboue her selfe. Is not pleasure (saith hee) without vertue? But why is voluptuousnesse advanced before vertue? Thinkest thou, we dispute of the order? no, the question is of the whole matter, and the power thereof, it is not vertue if it dance attendance after delight. The chiefe place is hers, she it is that must leade, command, and haue the superiortie: thou biddest her aske the watch-word. What skilleth it thee, saith the Epicure? I also maintaine, that a blessed life cannot be without vertue. I condemne and contemne the pleasure it selfe which I follow, and to which I haue made my selfe a bond slaue, if vertue bee removed from it. The only question is in this, whether vertue be the cause of the chiefe good, or the chiefe good it selfe. Admit that this be the only thing in question, thinkest thou that there is but the only change of place and order betweene them, that breedeth the difference? This is a very confusion, this is a manifest bliuendesse, to preferre the last before the first. I am not displeased because vertue is placed after pleasure, but because it is any wayes or at all compared, or paralleled with pleasures. She is the displer and enemy of pleasure, and estrangeth her selfe farre from her, more familiar with labour and sorrow, more fitly to be inserted into manly incommodities, then into this effeminate felicitie.

CHAP. III.

Euery thing (my *Liberals*) were to be spoken of, because a benefit, (whereof we now entreate) is an act of vertue, and foule shame it were to giue it for any other respect, then to haue giuen it only. For if wee doe a curtesie in expectation of a recompence, then should we doe it to the wealthiest, and not to the worthiest. Now we preferre a poore man vnable to requite, before a rich man. It is no be.

Hee argueth the Epicures, who make vertue subiect to voluptuousnesse and vice.

To what intent and end we ought to doe good.

benefit, that hath reference to Fortune. Besides, if onely profit should entice vs to doe good, they should doe least good, that haue most meanes. Such as are rich men, powerfull men, and Kings, because they haue least need of other mens helpe. The Gods likewise should with draw their so many liberalities, which, without intermission, day and night they powre vpon vs. For why, their proper nature and being sufficeth them in all things, and maketh them abundant, secure, and inuolable euery way. To none therefore should they giue their benefits, if their only cause of giuing proceeded from no other intention, then to thinke on themselves and their owne priuate commodities. This is no benefit, but a loane vpon vs, to respect not where you may best bestow it, but where you may place it most gainefully, whence you may most readily receiue it. Which intention, seeing it is farre estranged from the Gods, it followeth, that they are diuinely liberal. For if the only cause of giuing a benefit, were the giuers profit, and no profit is to be hoped or expected by God at our hands; there is no cause, why God should be bountifull vnto vs.

CHAP. IIII.

Know well what answer is made herunto, which is, that God bestoweth no good vpon vs, but is altogether carelesse and regardlesse of vs, and not daring to cast his eyes vpon this world, busieth himselfe about other matters, or (which seemeth to the Epicure to be the chiefe felicitie) hee doth nothing, neither doe benefits or injuries touch him. He that thus saith, heareth not the vowes of those that pray, neither the cries nor vowes which euery one maketh, as wel in priuate, as in publike, lifting vp their ioyned hands vnto heauen: which undoubtedly would not bee done, neither would all mankind consent vnto this madnesse, to implore a deafe deitie, and inuocate such gods as had no power to helpe them, if they knew not assuredly that the Gods giue benefits, sometimes of their owne proper motion, other whiles vpon prayers, that it is they, from whom we receiue so many great graces in their due times and seasons, and that by their assistance we are put out of feare, of such imminent and eminent mischiefs, as daily threaten vs: * Who is he that is so miserable, and reiecteth by Heauen? Who is he that is so disgraced, and borne to continuall affliction and trauel? that hath not sometimes felt these great fauours and liberalities of the Gods? Doe but behold, I pray you, euen those who incessantly complaine of their miseries, and who liue so mal-contented with their fortunes, yet shalt thou find, that they are not wholly exempted, and destitute of succours from Heauen, and that there is no man on whom there hath not fallen some drops from this sweet and gracious Fountayne. Thinkest thou, that it is a small matter which is equally distributed to all those that are borne in this world? And (to omit those things which the Gods bestow at their pleasure, with all proportion of measure) is it a small matter that Nature hath giuen vs, when thee hath giuen vs her selfe?

These are the Epicures reason, full of blasphemie and impietie.

* O pious acknowledgement of a Heauen, if ignorance had not blinded him, and hid the cause why God is gracious vnto man. This secret is to be taught in his sacred Word.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

In this chapter
followeth a no-
ble contemplati-
on of Gods bene-
fits, and vnto
negligence, and
cruellie con-
sideration thereof.

DOth not God bestow all benefits vpon vs? From whence then halt thou all those things whereof thou art possessed? which thou giuest? which thou deniest? which thou keepst? which thou takest vnwisly? From whence comes this infinite of things which delight the Eyes, affect the Eare, and please the understanding? From whence is this abundance, that furnisheth our riotous excess? For they haue not onely provided for our necessities, but we are tendered by them euen vnto delicate alio. From whence haue wee so many T rees, bearing sundrie sorts of sauiour fruit, so many wholesome herbs, for the maintenance of our healths; such varietie of meats, seruing for all seasons through the whole yeare, that an idle sluggard may find by casualtie sufficient sustenance vpon the earth, to feed and nourish him. Whence come so many sorts of Beasts? whereof some are bred on the Earth, other some in the Water, and others descending from the Aire, to the end there might not bee any part of Nature, that should not bee tributarie vnto vs of some rent? The Rivers likewise, whereof some enuiron the Playnes with their pleasant renoulements and roundnesse, other streame thorow their hollow and nauigable Channels, bring vs merchandise from foren Seas, of which some, at certayne prefixed times, take wonderfull encrease, so as the fudden force of the Sommers floud moyseneth and watereth those grounds, which are situate and planted vnder the droughtie and burning Zone. What shall I say of the vaines of some medicinable Waters? What shall I speake of the bubbling and boyling vp of hot Baths, euen vpon the very shores?

2. Gew.

*And what of thee, O mightie Lake, and thee
Proud billowed Benac, swelling like the Sea.*

CHAP. VI.

He enuironeth
his consultation
of the Epicures
impetie, and
prooeth that all
good cometh
from God.

IF a man had giuen thee a few Acres of Land, thou wouldest say that that thou hadst receiued a benefit at his hands, and deniest thou that the vnmeasurable extent of the barren earth is no benefit? If a man should giue thee money, and fill thy coffer (for that seemeth a great thing in thy sight) thou wouldest terme it a benefit. And thinkest thou it no fauour, that God hath hidden so many metals in the Earth, spread so many Rivers on the Sands, which floting, discoueryng of masse Gold, Silver, Brasse, and Iron, which hee hath hidden euery where; that hee hath giuen thee means and knowledge to find it out, by setting marks of his covert riches on the vpper face of the Earth? If a man should giue thee a house enriched with marble pillars, that wouldest highly esteemeth this present of his? God hath builded thee a great Palace, without any danger of feare or falling downe, wherein thou seest not little pieces, smaller then the Chizzell it selfe, wherewith they were carued, but entire huge masses of precious stone, all fittined and fashioned after a diuers and different manner, the least piece whereof maketh thee wonder at the beautie of the same: the

Roofe

Roofe whereof shineth after one sort by day, and after another by night: and wilt thou then denie that thou hast receiued any benefit at all? Again, where-as thou settest great store by that which thou hast, thinkest thou (which is the point of a thanklesse person) that thou art beholding to no body for them? Whence hast thou this breath which thou drawest? Whence cometh this light, whereby thou disposest and orderest the actions of thy life? From whence hast thou thy blood, in the motion and flowing whereof, thy naturall heate is maintayned? Whence come these meats, which by thy delicate tastes and pleasing sauiours, inuite thee to cate farre more then thy stomacke can digest? Whence come these things, which awaken thy pleasures and delights, when thou art wearied? Whence cometh this quiet and repose, wherein thou restest and witherest away? Wilt thou not say, if thou beest thankfull:

From God springs this repose, and euermore

Him for my God ile honor and adore.

Vpon his Altar, to performe my vow,

A firstling Lambe my Pastures shall allow:

For he it is, as thou dost plainly see,

That yields my mandring teame their pasture free,

He lets me tune at pleasure, as they feede,

My Countrie layes vpon mine Oaten reede.

It is that God, which hath not onely permitted vs to feede a small number of Neate, but that hath filled the whole world with great troops of Cattell, that nourisheth all beasts which wander here and there, in so many and diuers places; that giueth them new Pastures in Sommer time, after they haue eaten vp their Winter prouision: which hath not onely taught vs to play vpon a Reed, and after some manner to tune a Reed, and delightfully sing to it; but also hath inuented so many Arts, so many varieties of Voices, and so many sounds, to yeeld sundrie tunes, some by force of our owne breath, and some by a borrowed and externall Aire. For thou canst not call those things ours, which wee haue inuented, no more then thou canst call it our owne doing that wee grow, or that the body hath his full proportion, according to his determinate times. Now our teeth fall in our infancie, anon after we passe into an Age, which in a few yeares giueth vs all our encrease; againe, ripe age after our young and springing yeares, making vs become more strong, fetter vs in a perfect and manly age. Finally, wee are come to the last period, which maketh an end of the care and course of our life. The seeds of all Ages and Sciences are hidden in vs from our birth, and that great Worke-man, God, produceth out of the hidden, all naturall infinites.

Fig. 1. Eclog.

CHAP. VII.

NATURE, saith he, yeeldeth meall these. * Vnderstandest thou not that in speaking after this manner, thou changeist the name of God? For what else is Nature but God, and a diuine being and reason, which by his searching assistance reledeth in the World, and all the parts thereof? As often as thou liest thou mayest call

which is the will of God, wee strive to do as he will, and forget God himselfe. * Natural things haue two manners of principles and causes, the one are intrinsickall, as matter and forme: the other are extrinsickall, as the efficient causes. Both these two principles, as such they are intrinsickall, as the first and principall of the externall, are called by the name of Nature. But here our Seneca taketh this name Nature but for the first extrinsickall principle or beginning of things, which is God, Aristotle taketh it for his knowledge of things, him,

Here appeareth
a Stoicall error
which a Christi-
an must charily
read, to hisy-
cally-
blissing Nature.

him, sometimes the Author of all things, and sometimes *Iovis*, (most good, and most mightie.) Thou mayest also well terme him the Thunderer, and establisher, who had not that name giuen him, because (as the Historiographers write) that after the Romans had made their vov'es vnto him, he reinforced their hearts, and discomfited armies in their behalfe: but because all things stand and are established by his benefit, he is therefore so called. Thou shalt not also lye, if thou call him *Destinie*, for whereas Fate and *Destinie* is but an immutable ordinance, which holdeth all causes tied and chained together: he it is, that is the first of all, and he on whom all the rest that follow doe depend. Thou mayest fit him with any other names whatsoever thou wilt, provided that they signifie and containe the force and effects of celestiall things. In briefe, he may haue as many names, as he hath attributes of graces, wherewith he besteedeth vs.

CHAP. VIII.

Her Stoicks likewise suppose, that he is Father *Liber*, that he is *Hercules*, and *Mercure*. Father *Liber*, because all things haue had their being and originall from him. Because that by his meanes we first of all found out, and knew the power and vertue of seedes, which should afterwards nourish vs with a sweet and honest pleasure. *Hercules*, because his force is invincible, which when it shall be wearied in performing actions, and producing inferiour things, shall returne into fire. *Mercure*, because it is he from whom reason proceedeth, and the iudgement, numbers, ranks and order of things, and all those sciences, which we terme Liberaill. Whither soeuer thou turnest thee, there shalt thou see him meet with thee: nothing is void of him. He himselfe filleth his worke to the full. Thou preuailest nothing then (thou vngratefulllest man of the world) when thou auowest, that thou art no waies indebted to God, but to Nature: for neither is Nature without God, * nor God without Nature. Both these two are but one, and differ not. If thou shouldst confesse that thou owest to *Annæus* or to *Lucius*, that which *Seneca* hath lent thee, thou shouldst only change the name, but not the Creditor. For whether thou callest him by his name or surname, it is alwaies one man. Call him then as thou pleasest, either Nature, or Fate, or Fortune: it makes no matter, because they are all the names of the selfe-same God, who diuersly vseth his diuine providence. Euen as Iustice, Integrity, Prudence, Magnanimitie, Temperance, and the goods and vertues of the soule, if any of these please thee, it is then the soule that pleaseeth thee also.

CHAP. IX.

By least by these discourses I should fall into a forraigne dispute, I say that God bestoweth many and mightie benefits; one was, without hope of interest or recompence: for he hath no need of our tributes, neither can we also giue him any thing. A benefit therefore ought to be desired, for the loue of it selfe; the only thing that is respected therein, is the profit of the receiver: herein lets vs employ our selues, forgetting our owne priuate commodities. You say (saith he) that

A confirmation of the aforesaid matter by the diuine names which the ancient Romans gave vnto God.

* This must be thus understood by taking in this place, Nature for God himselfe: For otherwise, it may not bee admitted he is not without Nature.

He returneth to his purpose, and sheweth that God is gracious vnto vs, without hope of receiving requitall from vs.

that we ought to make diligent election of those on whom we will bestow our benefits (considering the labourers and husband-men themselves, will not commit their seeds vnto the sands) which if it be true, we follow our profit in giuing benefits, as we doe in labouring and sowing our land: for, to sow, is not a thing that should be desired onely of it selfe. Furthermore, you aske vs to whom wee ought to giue our benefits? which should not be done, if to giue a benefit were a thing to be desired of it selfe. Furthermore, after what manner soeuer it was giuen, it was a benefit: for we follow that which is honest, for no other respect, but for the loue of it selfe. Yet although no other thing be to be followed, we require what we shall doe, and when, and how, for that honestie consisteth of these circumstances. When therefore I make choice of a man on whom I will bestow a courtesie, I doe it to the end that I may neuer faile to doe a benefit. Because if it be bestowed vpon an vnworthie man, it can be neither honest, nor a benefit.

CHAP. X.

Restore a thing which a man is put in trust withall, is a thing to be desired of it selfe; yet ought I not to restore it alwaies, nor in all places, nor at all times. Sometimes it skilleth not whether I deny, or whether I restore the same in all mens sight, I will respect his profit to whom I am to restore it, and perceiving that by my restitution I shall doe him iniurie, I will deny him his right. The same will I doe in a benefit: I will see when I giue, to whom I giue, how I giue, and why I giue. For nothing is to be done without reason: it is no good turne, except it be done vpon reason, because reason ought to accompany all honest things. How often haue we heard men, that haue reproved their owne inconsiderate largesse, and cast forth these words, *I had rather haue lost it, then to haue giuen it to such a one*. It is the most villanous manner of losing that may be, for a man to giue foolishly, and without consideration: and it is much more distastefull to haue employed a benefit badly, then to haue receiued any. For it is another mans fault, if we receiue not, but it is our owne. For it is another mans choice in bestowing it. In making my choice, I will respect nothing lesse then thou thinkest, namely from whom I shall receiue satisfaction. Oftentimes he that neuer requiteth is grateful, and he vngratefull that hath made requitall: my estimation aimeth at nothing, but the minde and heart. And therefore will I ouerpasse the rich vnworthie man, and will bestow my courtesies on the poore good man: for in his greatest wants he will be thankfull, and when all things faile him, his mind and true heart shall not faile him. I seeke to raise no profit for my courtesies, neither affect I pleasure or glorie: I content my selfe that I can pleasure one man. I will giue to this onely intent and end, that I may giue that which I ought: and that which I ought to doe, is not to be done without choice and election; which, of what qualitie it shall be, doe you aske me the question?

The method of restitution.

CHAP. XI.

To whom wee
ought to show
friendship.

I Will chuse an honest, simple, mindfull, and grateful man, that vsurpeth not vpon another mans fortunes, nor niggardly boardeth vp his owne, or intendeth euill vnto any man. When I haue made this election, although Fortune hath left this man no power to yeeld any satisfaction, yet haue I accomplished my desire, and obtained my wish. If profit or base consideration maketh me liberal, if I profit no man, but to the end that he may pleasure mee: I will not giue a gratiuitie to him that trauaileth into diuers and torren Countries: I will not giue vnto him that will be alwaies absent, I will not giue vnto such a one, who is so sicke, that there is no hope of his recovery; I will not giue, whereas I am dying my selfe, for I shall haue no time to receiue friendship againe. But to let thee know, that a benefit is a thing that ought to be desired for the loue of it selfe: we succour strangers, that are vpon the instant cast vpon our coasts, and will presently depart for another: wee giue and rigge a ship for such a one that hath suffered shipwracke, that it may carrie him backe againe into his owne country. He departeth suddenly, scarcely knowing him that was the author of his saluie, and making no reckoning euer more to returne or requit him againe. He assigneth the payment of his debt vnto the gods, and beleeueth them, that since he hath no means of satisfaction, that it will please them to be thankfull in his behalfe: meane while the conscience of a barren benefit doth content vs. For what doe wee when we are at deaths doore, and dispose our goods and possessions? when we make our Wills, doe we not diuide benefits which shall profit vs nothing? How much time is spent? how long are wee secretly deliberating how much and to whom we shall giue? For what skills it to whom we giue, if we shall receiue of none? And yet we neuer giue any thing more diligently, wee neuer more trauell and racke our iudgements, then when as setting all profit aside, we onely set honestie before our eyes: for so long are wee cuill Iudges of our owne offices, as long as hope, feare, & pleasure (the dishonestest vice of all) depraueth our iudgements. But when the assurance of death hath made vs lose the hope of all things, and hath sent a iust and vncorrupted Iudge to giue sentence, then seeke we out the most worthy, to whom we may deliuer our inheritance; neither dispose we any thing with more circumspection and regard, then those our possessions which appertaine no longer vnto vs.

CHAP. XII.

Of the content
ment, a willing
benefit, & delight,
and as answer
to the Epigrams
conclusion.

And vndoubtedly, euen then conceiueth a man the greatest contentment, when he thinketh with himselfe; *I will make such a one more rich then he is, by giuing him a peece of my possessions: I will increase the honor and nobilitie of his house.* In briebe, if we neuer giue, but when we hope to receiue againe, we must die intestate. Thou maintaineest that a benefit is a debt vnrepayable: but a debt is not a thing to be desired for it selfe. Ergo, benefiting or good doing, is not a thing to be desired of it selfe. When we call it a debt, we vse a comparison and translation. So likewise say we that the law is a rule of iust and iniust; and yet the rule is not to be desired as a thing of it selfe, but we are constrained to vse these words, the better to expresse our

our intent and meaning. When I say a debt, it is to be understood as a thing trusted. Wilt thou know all? I adde further, vnrepayable, which shall neuer be satisfied; although there be not any debt, but either may or ought to be paid. It is so farre from it, that wee ought to doe a pleasure for our profit sake, that for the most part (as I haue said) we ought to doe it, though it were to our losse and perill. As for example; I rescue a man circumvented by theues, to the end he may be permitted to passe in securitie: I defend a guilty person, disgraced and oppressed by the credit of his aduersaries, and purchase to my selfe the displeasure and faction of great men for my labour, to receiue perchance by the means of the same accusers, the disgraces and miseries I freed the poore man of: whereas I might haue bene partie against him, or beheld a farre off, and with all assurance the debates and contentions which were entertained by other men: I giue caution for my friend adiudged, and suffer not execution to be ferued vpon his goods, but offer my selfe to bee bound for him to his creditors, and to saue him from the prescription, I come in danger to bee out-lawed my selfe. No man determineth to buy a place neere *Tuſco* or *Tiburine* for his health sake, or for the sweetnesse of the ayre, and auoyding the summer heats, that debateth for how many yeeres he shall buy it: but when hee hath bought it, hee must keepe it. The same reason is in benefits. For if you will aske mee, what profit will accrue thereby: I will answer, a good conscience. Askest thou what profit is yeelded by benefiting? I aske thee likewise, what profiteth it to doe iustly, to liue innocently, to bee valiant and stout in honourable dangers, to liue chastely, to be temperate, if thou seekest any other interrest then thyselfe?

Good deeds are
not to be done
and performed,
rather for the
honour or value
of them, but for
virtues sake.

CHAP. XIII.



O what end continueth the heauen his daily and vsuall course? To what end is it, that the Sunne enlargeth and thorneth the day? All these are but benefits, for they are made for our profit. Euen as it is the office of this Vniuerse, to turne about and dispose of the order of all things: as it is the office of the Sunne, where he may arise, and where he may set, and to performe all these faire, profitable, and wholesome effects for our sake, without hope of any profit from vs: so is it the duty of one man, amongst other things, to doe good vnto another. Askest thou me, why he giueth these benefits? Forsooth, to this end, that he may not be vpbraid with giuing nothing, and that hee may not lose the occasion of well-doing. But all your pleasure and delight, is to accustom your delicate bodiesto a lazie idleness, and to long for a securitie, resembling that of sleepe, to couch and lie hidden vnder a close couert and arbor, and to entertaine the dulnesse of your decayed minds, and to humort them with sweet and agreeable thoughts, which you call tranquillitie, and repose of spirit, to pamper your vnwelddie carcasses while they wax wretched with meates and drinks, in the caues and cabinets of your gardens. Contrariwise, wee feelee a pleasure truly worthy a man in giuing benefits (although that they breede vs much sorrow and labour) provided they set them out of trouble for whom we doe them (although they be full of danger) provided that wee releue others from their miserie: although all be to the losse and diminution of our substance,

By the example
of the course of
the heauen, he
showeth it is a duty
of a good man.

* Mango is one
that properly
selleth flours,
young buyers or
girls, as their
disaffection was.

He that giueth
to receive a profit
is cowardly the name of a
benefactor.

provided that another mans pouerty and necessitie bee releued. What haue I to doe to receive benefits at an other mans hands? When I haue receiued them, I must imploy and bestow them. A benefit respecteth not our particular, but only his profit to whom it is giuen; otherwise wee giue vnto our selues, and not vnto others. And by this reason many things which breede another man great profit, lose their grace, because they are done for gaine. The Merchant is very profitable for the Citie, and the Physitian for the sicke, and the * Regrater for goods that are to be sold. But because all these are not profitable to any, but to enrich themselves, they oblige not those who receive good by them.

CHAP. XIII.

Tis no benefit that is imployed to profit. This will I giue, this will I take, is but open sale and chaffering. I will not call her modest that repulseth her louer, to the end to enkindle his loue the greater, that either feared the Law, or her husband: as *Ouid* saith,

She gave that did not giue because she could not.

Not vnderferuently is thee numbred amongst the sinners, that rather consecrath her honesty to feare, then to the respect of her owne selfe: In like manner he that hath giuen a benefit to the intent he might receive a requitall, hath not giuen it. Shall we say that we doe good vnto beasts, when we fatten them for our seruice, or nourish them to yeeld vs foode? That wee doe good to our fruit-trees, or the Gardens, wherein they grow; when wee digge about them, lest through drynesse or hardnesse of the earth (if they were not well looked vnto, or timely, and oftentimes remoued) they should grow barren and withered? no man manureth his fields for the loue of Iustice and honestie nor doth any other businesse, without hope of interest or gaine. A covetous thought, and addicted to gaine, will neuer breede in vs a desire to doe good: but a humane and liberal heart, which after it hath giuen any thing, desireth still to giue more, and redouble new curtesies vpon the old: a heart that thinketh not what profit shall arise to him that giueth: for otherwise it is a base contemptible and abiect matter to doe good vnto another, for a mans particular interest and profit: what magnificence is it for a man to loue himselfe? to thinke on nothing but his owne thrift? to trauaile no wayes but for himselfe? But the true desire of doing good vnto another, withdraweth vs from all this; and laying hold on vs, draweth vs to our losse, and disdayning our particular good, highly reioyceth in the act of well-doing only.

CHAP. XV.

As an iniuriy is a
thing euill in it
selfe, the benefit
which is directly
opposed against it
is then to be desired
of it selfe,
since there is no
smart which subjecteth more pleasure to him done a curtesie.



As it be doubted, but that iniuriy is contrary to a benefit? Like as to doe an iniuriy, is a thing to bee eschewed and shunned of it selfe; even so to doe good is a thing to be coveted for it selfe. In the one, the shame preuaileth against all the rewards that encourage vnto wickednesse: and in the other, the appearance of honestie, which hath great power and efficacie of it selfe, sufficiently inuitheth vs.

I shall

I shall not lie if I say that there is not any one but loneth his owne, and that there is not any man of so mortified a will, that conceiveth not a great contentment, to see him whom he hath oftentimes pleased, and hath not a desire to further him farther, because he hath done for him once before. Which thing could neuer come to passe, except wee naturally tooke pleasure in our good deedes. How oftentimes maist thou heare some say, *I cannot abandon him whose life I haue saved, and whom I haue already drawne out of danger & bee beseecheth me to maintaine his cause against his aduersaries, who haue great fauour and authoritie: I will not: but what shall I then doe? I haue stood his friend once, and stande him againe.* See you not how in this case, there is a certaine peculiar vertue and power that constraineth vs to succour him, and further, to doe him this good in his vermost necessitie; first, because it behooueth vs to doe it; secondly, because before times we haue done him the like pleasure? And although at the beginning wee had no reason to succour him, yet at this time we will assist him, because wee haue already done it at another time. So farre is it that profit should impell vs to doe a pleasure, that contrariwise wee preferre to maintayne and nourish those things that are vnprofitable, and conferre them for the only loue we beare to our owne benefits, to which, though vnprofitably giuen, it is as naturall to giue pardon, as to wicked children.

CHAP. XVI.

These Epicures confesse that they themselves doe yeeld thanks, not for that it is honest so to doe, but because it is profitable, yet with little labour wee may easily approue that it is farre otherwise. For by these very arguments, whereby wee proue, that to giue benefits is a thing to be desired in it selfe; by the same also we shall gather and conclude this: It is a thing most assured, and from whence we gatherall our proofes for all this dispute, that wee prize not honestie, but only because it is honest. Who therefore dare draw it into question, that to remunerate a curtesie is not an honest thing? who is hee that detesteth not say of him (when thou hearest it reported) who is vngratefull and vnthankfull to his friend, for his many and mighty benefits, how wilt thou indure him, and interpret it, whether he haue plaid an vn honest part in so doing, or that hee hath dealt fondly, in omitting that which was for his commoditie and profit? I thinke thou wilt account him a wicked man, and imagine that hee rather deserueth some punishment, then needeth an ouer-seer to order his estate to his benefit and to be desired of it selfe. other things perhaps haue not their excellence and dignitie so apparent, and haue neede of an interpreter to expresse whether they be honest or no. But this is so apparent and so beautifull, that it can not be doubted, but that the clearenesse thereof will shine very brightly. What thing is so laudable, what so equally enterdayned and allowed in all mens iudgements, as to be thankfull for benefits?

He new ground
that thusly
giving for lengths
and pleasures
receiued, to lo-
ueth, can be
desired of it selfe.

C H A P. XVII.

An ungratefull
man neither
feareth nor
lovethe.

Tell me what cause induceth vs hereunto? Is it gaine? which, hee that despiseth not, is vngratefull. Is it ambition? and what foolish boast is it to haue paid what thou oughtest. Is it feare? The vngratefull man hath none, and therefore the Common-weale prefixeth no Lawes for giuing thanks, because that nature hath sufficiently commanded vs, and enioyed vs to bee gratefull. Euen as there is no Law that binderth vs to loue our Parents, nor to tender and cherish Children. For it is but lost labour to constrain vs, to doe that whereunto Nature summoneth vs of her selfe. And like as no man needeth to bee incited to selfe loue, because he hath it by kind: so is no man to be exhorted to follow honest things of himselfe, Vertue is so pleasing and gracious of her owne nature, that the wickedder fort also haue a certayne instinct to approue the better. Who is he that would not seeme to be bountifull? Who is hee that desireth not to bee accounted good, euen when he doth most wickednesse and wrong? and when he hath most exercised his tyrannic and crueltie, would not shadow the same vnder some surface of iustice, that driueth not also to make men thinke, that he hath done good vnto those whom he hath most of all offended? And therefore they suffer themselves to be entertaigned at their hands, whom they haue most of all afflicted, and sayne themselves to bee good and liberall, because they cannot approue themselves such: which they would not doe, except the loue of honestie, which is to be desired for it selfe, compelled them to seeke a contrarie reputation to their corrupt manners, and to concale and cloke their wickednesse, the fruit whereof is desired, but the thing it selfe is shamefull and odious to them: neither is there any man so farre estranged and sequestred from the Law of nature, and degenerated from man-hood, that would bee naught for his minds sake only. Aske any of these Gallants that liue by rapine and spoile, if they had not rather get their goods by any honest meanes, then by robbing and stealing? He that enricheth himselfe by spoiling and killing passengers, will rather wish to find those things he hath purchased, then take them by force; you shall find no man but had rather enioy the fruits of his wickednesse, without performing the wickednesse it selfe: we haue this great benefitar Natures hands, that Vertue permiteth each mans minde to bee illuminated with her beames; and they which follow her not, haue a full view of her.

C H A P. XVIII.

The miseries of
ingratitude:
which destroyeth
humane societie,
and maketh
worse then
death.

Nd to let thee know, that the affection of a gratefull minde is to be desired for it selfe, it is certayne that ingratitude ought to be fled and eschewed in it selfe. Because there is nothing that so much dismembeth and dissipate mens friendship, as this vice. For in what other thing are wee secure but in this, that we are helped by mutual offices, and interchangeable friendships? by this one and only commerce of benefits, our life is not only assured, but better defended against all sodaine incursions. Single vs alone, what are we? but a prey and sacrifice for rauinous beafts, neither is there any blood more vile or easier to bee

spilt:

spilt: for other beafts haue sufficient force to maintayne and defend themselves. Whatsoeuer beafts are bred to wander vp and downe, and to leade a solitarie and separated life, are armed, weakenesse giueth in and galeth man on every side: the force of his nailes, the sharpnesse of his teeth, hath not made him terrible to the rest, being naked and infirme: societie assurth and defendeth him. Two things hath thee giuen him, to wit, Reason and Societie, which make him (although he be expoled to all other dangers) most powerfull and puissant. And thus hee, that being alone and separated, was the least and feeblest of all the rest, is become the Master of all things. Societie gaue him the dominion ouer all liuing Creatures. Societie, whereas hee was borne for the Land, hath transmitted him into a Soueraigntie of an other nature, and made him Lord of the Sea likewise. Societie hath repressed the violence of infirmities, puruayed succours and assistance for old age, and giuen comfort against sorrow. Shee it is that giueth vs forces, and animateth vs to resist Fortune. Take Societie away, and thou shalt extinguish and cut off the vntie of mankind, whereby life is sustayned. But it shall bee taken away, if you bring to passe that a thanklesse mind is not to be eschewed by it selfe: but because that hee ought to feare some other thing. For how many vngratefull men are they, that may be vngratefull without punishment. To conclude, I call him vngratefull whosoever is gratefull for feare.

C H A P. XIX.

NO man of sound vnderstanding feareth the Gods, for it is a madness to feare those, from whom we receiue all our good, neither doth any man loue those whom hee feareth. Finally, thou Epicure, thou makest God forcelesse, thou hast dispoiled him of all his armes and power, and lest he should beefeared by any man, thou hast turned him out of the world. Being then after this manner begirt of the sight, and touch of mortall men, thou hast no cause to feare him, because he hath no meanes to doe either good or euill. Remaying alone betwixt the space and distance, which is betweene one Heauen and another, abandoned of all companie of Creatures and Men, disarmed of all things, he is out of danger of the ruines of the world, which hee seeth fall aboue him, and about him, vs. Yet wilt thou seeme to worship him as reuerently as thy Parents, with a gratefull mind, as I suppose, or if thou wilt not seeme gratefull, because thou hast no benefit of his, but that thy little Atomes and Mites, which thou hast fantastically coyned in thy braine, haue rashly and vnshurely formed and fashioned thee such as thou art, why doest thou worship him? It is (thou wilt answer) for the excellency of his great Majestic, and for his singular nature; I put the case that this be thus, at leastwise thou doest it without hope of any good, and without any perswasion or appearance of profit. There is therefore somewhat that is to be desired for it selfe, the dignitie whereof inuiceth and draweth thee to loue the same, and truly, that is, honestie. For what is more honest then to bee gratefull? the matter of this vertue extendeth it selfe as farre as our life.

It is not intended that the ingrat man hath no feare of God, if feare bee subject for one of the seven vices of the holy Ghost: but this place is to be vnderstood that feare, which is not compatible with that true wherewith good men loue God, but a seruile feare, which is not of children, but of slauers.

CHAP. XX.

*How something
is to be desired
of itself, and
what he gaineth
who acquir-
eth a bene-
fit done vnto
himselfe.*

BVt in this good, saith he, there is some profit likewise: for in what vertue is it not? But that is said to be desired for it selfe, which although it haue some commodities without it selfe, is notwithstanding well pleasing and acceptable, even when those commodities be removed and taken away. It is profitable for mee to be thankfull, yet will I be thankfull although it be to my harme: what I seeketh he that is thankfull? Is it to the end that his acknowledgement may get him new friends, and more benefites? what if in so doing he should purchase other mens displeasure? if a man bee assured that he shall gaine nothing in restoring the good which he hath received, but contrariwise that hee shall lose much of that he hath already gotten, and boarded vp in his coffers; would he willingly light vpon this losse? vndoubtedly, that man is vngratefull that fixeth the eye of his desire vpon a second good turne, when hee satisfieth the first, hoping to make profit of that pleasure, whereof he acquirith himselfe. I call him vngratefull that sitteth by a sick man, and continually attendeth by him, because he is to make his last will and testament, or hath so much leasure as to thinke of any inheritance or legacie. Although hee doe all things which a good friend (or such a one as is mindful of his dutie) ought to doe, if he conceiue in himselfe any interable hope, he layeth a snare, or as a Fisherman armeth his bait, if he expect and linger after the death of the partie, and houer about his carcasse like carion Crows, which stand spying neere at hand for the fall of some cattel by the rot, hee will giue an occasion for each man to thinke, that he doth but expect the death of his good friend; and doth but houer and haunt about his person.

CHAP. XXI.

*Two sorts of
men who are not
vngratefull, and
of two manner
they haue to ac-
knowledge a benefite.*

A Thankfull heart conceiue no pleasure, but in the onely vertue of his good intent. Wilt thou know that this is true, and that a thankfull man is not corrupted by profit? There are two sorts of thankfull men. He is said to be thankfull, that maketh satisfaction in some sort for that he hath received. This man peradventure may vaunt himselfe, he hath somewhat whereof to boast, and to speak of. He is called thankfull, that hath received a benefite with a good mind, and oweth it with as good. This man hideth himselfe in his owne conscience: but what profit may he reape of an affection so deeply hidden? But that other man, although he wanteth meanes to doe more, yet is he thankfull: hee loveth, he oweth, he desireth to yeeld satisfaction, whatsoever thou requirest more, he wanteth not. A workman is a workman, although he want his tooles to exercise his Art; and a cunning Musitian is a Musitian, although his very voyce cannot be heard for muttering and noyce that is made about him. I will giue thanks. After this, there remaineth something for me to doe, not that I may be thankfull, but really acquit of my obligation. For oftentimes hee that recompenseth is not thankfull, and contrariwise, many that doe it not, are thankfull. For as of all other vertues, so the whole estimation of this hath reference to the minde, if he be obseruant of that which concerneth her,

*The minde and
intent crowne
the action.*

what.

whatsoever otherwise is deficient, is the error of Fortune. Euen as a man crafte not to be eloquent, although he be silent, nor strong, although his hands be bound and fettered, neither a good Pilote, although he be vpon the firme land, because hee wanteth no perfection in his science, although there be some impediment that letteth them from vying the same. Euen so also is hee thankfull, that hath onely a will to be thankfull, and hath no other witness of his willingness, but himselfe. Nay I will say thus much more, sometimes euen hee is thankfull, which seemeth vnthankfull, and whom mis-deeming opinion traducth for the contrarie. Wherein then repositeth this man his trust, but in his conscience, which reioyce in it selfe, although it be oppressed, which reclaimeth and gain. sayeth all that eloquence can vrge, or fauour detract: and repositeth all things in her selfe? And though the seeth neuer so huge a multitude of men that reprove her intentions, she maketh no reckoning of the contrary opinions, but thinketh to iustifie her selfe in her owne secret iudgement. And albeit she perceiue, that her faithfulness beare the punishment of perfidiousnes, yet she abateth no whit of her courage, neither is abashed thereat, but standeth still aloft, about her punishment.

*A good con-
science contenteth
appetites, being
erect and con-
firmed in itselfe.*

CHAP. XXII.

I HAVE (saith he) that which I would, and that which I desired: I haue not as yet repented me, neither will I euer repent my selfe: neither shall Fortune (how aduerser soeuer she be) fix in mee this pusillanimities, as to make me say: *What is that I intended? where-
so hath my good will now profited mee?* It profiteth me when I am on the racke: it profiteth me being in the middelt of the fire, which if it should be applied to euery member of my bodie, and by little and little should enuiron and deuour the same on every side, although my bodie (fraught with a good conscience) should be put into a flaming fire, and tortured and burned therein, yet would the fire be pleasing to me, because thorow it my spotlesse faith would shine and appeare. I will now once more re-inforce that argument which I haue used in times past. Why is it, that when we die we are desirous to be grateful? Why examine we euery particular mans defects? Why endeavour we to refresh the memorie of all our life past, to this intent, that we might seeme to be forgetfull of no mans kindnesse. At that time, there remaineth nothing for hope to linger vpon, and yet standing at the pits brim, our desire is to depart this world, to euery mans satisfaction. The reason is, because the proper act of thanksgiving draweth with it a most great reward of it selfe, and the force of vertue is very great, to draw mens hearts vnto it, and the beauty of honestie so enuironeth and surpriseth mens minds, that it rauisheth them with the admiration of the light and brightnesse thereof, yea many commodities ensue thereby. For that life in the better sort is more assured, which is attended with loue, with the fauourable opinion of the best, with secure age, innocencie, and a gratefull mind: Nature hath dealt vnwisly with vs, if these had made vs partakers of so greata benefite, with miserie, danger, and vncertaintie. But, consider I pray you, although thou mightest easily, and without danger attaine very often to this vertue by an assured and easie way, whether thou couldest not find in thy heart to make thy way therunto, by vnaccessible rocks, through stony waies, full of Serpents and sauage beasts.

*A good con-
science is a great
comfort in ad-
uersities, and why
wee ought to
desire to doe
good euen then
when we are re-
ad to die.*

*Innocencie in
danger is con-
fident, in pros-
peritie milde, in
all encounters
happy.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

He proueth against the Epicure, by the consideration of the celestiall bodies that a good thing is to be desired of it selfe.

Admiration of these things accompanied with diuotion, what admirable effects worke they in the Soule?

** A Stoicall error, who ascribe Diuine to the Starres.*

An application of that which hath bene said before.

Might ought we not to say, that a thing should not be desired for the loue of it selfe, because it is accompanied with some forraigne profit that attendeth it. For wee see almost daily, that the fairest things are attended with accessory endowments, but yet so as they draw these commodities after them, and they themselves goe before. May it be doubted, but that the course and circular motion of Sunne and Moone, doe temperate this dwelling place of mankind by their diuers changes? Or that by the heate of the Sunne, all bodies are cherished, the earth is relaxed and opened, superfluous moistures abated, and the irksomenesse of Winter that bindeth all things allayed, or that by the effectuall and piercing warmth of the Moone the ripening fruits are moistened? Or that the fruitfulness of man is answerable and correspondent to the course of the Sunne: but that by his proper motion he maketh the yeere discernable, and the Moone by her circumsolution in shorter space maketh the month. But letting these passe, were not the Sunne of it selfe worthy to be beheld and admired in our sight, though he did but swiftly passe before our eyes. Were not the Moone to be beheld by vs, although they ranne by vs but as an idle Starre? The heauen it selfe here oft by night hath it scattered his starres and shined so much through the innumerable appearance of them, whom hath it not left in admiration: who is he that seeing himselfe to be surprisid by so great a wonder, hath leasure at that time to thinke on the good and profit that they bring? Behold, these Starres that glide aloft in the still firmament, after what sort hide they their swiftnesse, vnder an appearance of a standing and immoueable worke? How much is done this night, which thou obseruest only for a reckoning and difference from the dayes? What a troope of things are vnfolded vnder this silence? What an order of destinies doth this certaine bound bring forth? These things which thou beholdest no otherwise, but as matters dispersed for beautifying, are euery one of them occupied in working. Neither art thou to imagine that these seuen Planets only haue their designed motions, and the rest stand fixed, we comprehend the motion of very few. But there is an infinite number of * gods, which are farre seuered and withdrawne from our sight, which both goe and come. And of those which are subject to our sight there are diuers, that haue obscure motions and hidden courses. What then? art thou not strooken with admiration to behold so huge a worke, although it rule thee not, preferre thee not, cherish thee not, ingender thee not, or moyten thee by his spirit.

CHAP. XXIII.

SO, even as these things, although they haue their first and principal vses, and are both necessary and profitable for our life, yet it is the maiestie of them that occupieth the whole mind. Euen so all vertue (and especially the vertue of gratefulnesse) yeeldeth very much profit, yet will it not be loued for the same, for it hath yet a further thing in it, neither is it sufficiently vnderstood by him, which accounteth it amongst gainefull things. Is a man thankfull because it concerneth his owne profit? Ergo, alfo he is thankfull, but for so much as implieth his profit.

fit. Vertue entertaineth not a couetous and base minded Louer, shee will be courted with open hands and a liberrall heart. The vngratefull man thinketh thus: *I would faine requite the curse I haue received, but I feare the charge and expence, I feare the perill, I am afraid of displeasure, I will rather doe that which is more profitable and secure for mee.* One and the same cause and reason, cannot make a man thankfull, and vngratefull: as their actions are diuers, so their intentions are different. The one is vngratefull, although it behoueth him not, because it is for his profit, the other is grateful although it be against his profit, because he ought so to be.

CHAP. XXV.

WE are resolu'd to liue conformable and agreeable to nature, and to follow the example of the gods. But in all that what ouer the gods doe, they follow nothing else, but the reason of doing that they doe, except haply thou imaginest, that they receiue the fruit of their labours out of the smoke of incenses, and the odour of the Incense which is consumed in their sacrifices. Consider how great things they achieue and compasse daily, with what abundant fruits they replenish the earth, with how seasonable and fauourable winds (silly seruing to conuey vs into all forraigne Coastes) turne they and mooue they the Seas, with how many and sudden showers mollifie they and moyten they the earth, and replenish the dried veines and fountaines, and renew them by insuling nutriment, by the hidden and secret Spring-heads. All these things doe they without any recompence, and without any profit that may accrue vnto them. This example also ought our reason to obserue (if it disagree not from this patterne and president) lest it follow honest things, as if hired and engaged. Let vs be ashamed to sell the least courtlesse that we do. The Gods expect no recompence for that they doe.

CHAP. XXVI.

IF thou wilt imitate the Gods (saith hee) thou must pleasure euen those that are vnthankful: for the Sunne riseth vpon the wicked, and Pirats haue the sea open vnto them. In this place they demand, whether a good man is to imploy his benefits on an vnthankfull man, knowing him to be such a one? Giue mee leaue to speake somewhat by the way, lest I be entangled with a doubtful question. There are, according to the opinion of the Stoicks, two sorts of vngratefull men. The one vngratefull, because he is a foole, and wanteth iudgement; but he that is a foole, is consequently euill, and an euill man is replenished with all kinds of vices, and therefore is vngratefull. In like manner wee terme all men euill, intemperate, and dissolute, couetous, prodigall, and malicious, not because all these are knowne and notorious vices to all, but because they may be, and are, though vndiscovered. An other is vngratefull, and in all mens iudgement and voyces is termed so, for that by nature he is prone and inclined thereunto. To that vngratefull man, that so is not free from this vice, as hee is free from no vice, a good man may doe a courtlesse and kindnesse: for should he but

A confirmation by the example taken from the beauty of the Gods.

Whether a man may doe a courtlesse to an ingratefull man, knowing him to be such a one.

What a barren heart is ingratefull to his benefactor?

reicct

The description
of a Coward.

reiect those of this condition, he should doe good vnto no man? But vnto this vngratefull man, which is a defrauder of benefits, who naturally hath his heart addicted to ingratitude, he shall no more giue a benefit, then to trust his money to a banquerour, or leaue a pledge in his hands, who hath heretofore defrauded many others of their right. We call him Coward who is a foole; for this followeth those wicked persons, who are indifferently feazed of all kinds of vices: but properly we account and call him a Coward, who naturally is afrighted with the least trifling noice he heareth. So a foole hath all vices, but is not naturally wicked vnto all: one is subiect to avarice, the other to prodigalitic and outrageous expences, the other to shamelesse petulancie and wantonnesse.

CHAP. XXVII.

He reprehendeth
those who will
despise not will
the offer of the
Souldier.
For hee was cal-
led Atrides
Iulius.

Hey then are deceived, who question with the Stoicks after this manner. What then, is *Achilles* a coward? What then, is *Atrides* (to whom Iulius gaue his name) vniust? What then, is *Fabius* (who by constations and delay, restored his decaying Common-weale) rash? What then, feareth *Decimus* death? Is *Mutius* a traytor? Is *Camillus* a forsaken? Noe, we intend no such matter; neither say wee that all sorts of vices are so inseparably vniited in all men, as in some there are particular faults, and they more eminent. But this we say, that a foolish and wicked man is subiect and endined to all vices, in so much as wee acquit not the bold man of feare, nor discharge the prodigall man of niggardize. Euen as man is naturally endowed with all his five senses, and yet all men are not so quick-sighted as *Linceus*: so he that is a foole hath not all vices, so vehement and disordinate as some of them, haue some vices. All vices are in all men; yet are not all of them eminent in euery man. Nature impelleth one man vnto couetousnesse, this man to lust, that man the addiceth to wine, or if not as yet addicted, yet is so he formed, that his disposition draweth him thereunto. For this cause (that I may returne vnto my purpose) I say that there is no man that is not stained with ingratitude, and that is euill: for hee hath all the seedes of wickednesse in him, yet properly he is called vngratefull, who is more inclined to that vice. On such a one therefore will I bestow no benefit. For like as hee hath very little care of his daughter, that marrieth her to a contumelious and often-divorced husband: and as he is esteemed an ill husband and houlholder, who preferreth to the stewardship of his house, and gouernment of his patrimonie, one already condemned for ill managing his Masters businesse. And as he committeth a great folly, and maketh a mad will, that leaueh such a one Tutor and gouernour of his heire, that hath bene a spoyler, an ouerthrow of innocent Orphelins. So shall hee bee reputed to bestow his courtesies very inconsiderately, who maketh his choyce of vngratefull men, on whom hee may bestow that which is sure will bee lost.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.



He Gods also (saith he) giue many things to vngratefull men: but these, had they prepared for the good, yet befall they the euill also, because they cannot be separated. And more reason is it to profit the euill for the goods sake, then to abandon the good for the euills sake. So those things thou speakest of the day, the Sun, the intercourse of Winter and Summer, the temperate sweetnes of the Spring and Autumne, the raines, the water-springs, and the ordinarie blasts of windes, were deuised by the Gods for all men in generall, they could not feare and separate them, onely for those they intended good to. The King giueth honors to those that are worthie, but he oftentimes yeeldeth publike larges, and presents of victuals to those that deserue it not. The theefe, the periured man, the adulterer (provided alwaies that he be a Citizen) receiued the publike larges of wheat, and whatsoeuer, without respect of his manners (when there is any thing that is giuen as to a Citizen, not as to a good man) both good and euill equally share the same. God like a ise hath giuen some things in generall to all mankind, from whence no man is excluded. For it could not be, that the winds should be fauourable to the good, and contrary to the wicked. It was the good and profit of all nations, that the seas were open and nauigable, for the good of the merchants traffique, and to extend the Kingdome of mankind. Neither could there a law be prefixed to the raine, that it should not overflow the lands of the wicked and vniust. There are certaine things which are common, both to the one, and to the other. Cities are built, as well to entertaine the good as the euill: the monuments of learned mens wits are published and vented abroad, to be read as well to the reprobate, as the vertuous. Medicine ministereth helpe euen to the most debauched. No man euer concealed the composition of wholesome medicines, for feare lest the vnworthie should bee healed. Seek thou a strict account and valuation of persons, in those things which are giuen feuerally vnto a man, as a man worthie, and not in these things which confusely admit the common sort. For there is a great difference betwixt chusing a man, and not repelling him. The Law is open to all men, the Murtherers themselves enioy the peace, and they which haue stolne another mans goods, recouer their owne. Such as are quarrellers, and readie to strike any man, in time of peace, are defended from the enemy with a wall in time of warre. Those that haue most oftentimes offended the Lawes, are maintained and conserued with all assurance, vnder the authoritie thereof. Certaine things could not happen to particular men, except they were giuen to all. There is no cause therefore, why thou shouldst dispute of these things, wherunto wee are publicly induced. That which in my choyce and iudgement I would giue to any vertuous man, I will carefully provide that I call it not away on such a one, whom I know to be vngratefull.

How and where-
fore God is be-
neficent to the
wicked.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

An obligation
upon the former
discourse, and
what good a
man may re-
fuse to doe vnto
an vngratefull
man.

The difference
betwene appro-
priable worke
and a benefit.



Will thou not then (saith hee) giue counsell to an vngratefull man, who would take thine aduice in his affaires: nor permit him to draw water out of thy fountaines: nor shew him the way if he be out of it? or wouldst thou doe these things for an vngratefull man, yet refuse him afterwards all other sorts of good? I will distinguish in this point, or at least will endeavour to distinguish the same. A benefit is a profitable worke, but euery profitable worke is not a benefit. For some things are of so small moment, that they deserue not the name of a benefit. Two things must concur in making of a benefit. First, the greatnesse of the thing, for some things there are, that vndergoe the measure of this name: who euer accounted it a benefit, to haue giuen a shiue of bread, or a peece of bare money, or to haue permitted a neighbour to enter and kindle fire in his house? And yet sometimes these things doe a man more pleasure then farre greater: but the basenesse of them diminisheth their reputation, euen then, when the necessitie of the time maketh them needfull. Againe, we ought to consider that which is principall and of greatest force: which is first of all, that I doe it for loue of that person, to whom I would giue my benefit, and whom I account worthe to receiue the same. Finally, that I doe it with a good will, and that I feel in my selfe a great ioy and pleasure that I doe it. Of which points there are none at all in these things that we speake of; for wee bestow them not as vpon worthy men, but carelesly as small things, and we giue it not vnto the man, but vnto humanitie.

CHAP. XXX.



Honour enli-
eth good spirits,
and matchles-
slye playng.

This Sextus
Pompey was
the Sonne of
Sextus Pom-
peius, who was
consul the year
1118.

These were of
the Fabian
Familie.

Denie not but that sometimes I may bestow some things on those that are vnworthie for other mens sakes. As cit-times in the pursuit of honours and dignities, the ancient Nobilitie of houses hath borne the cause, that those men were preferred, who were vnprofitable, and of base estimation, before those that were learned and of good spirits. Not without cause is the memory of great vertues sacred; and many men affect goodnesse with greater delight, when they perceiue that the honour of good men dieth not with them. What merit made Ciceroes sonne Consul, but the memorie of his father? What thing is it that caused Cinna of late (returning from the Enemies campe) to be honoured with the Consulship? why was Sextus Pompey, and the rest, that haue borne the name of the Pompeis, preferred in the like manner, but for the excellencie and verue of one only man, whose greatnesse was so great, that his ruine and death could raise so many of his posteritie, to so worthe estimation? What made Fabius Persicus lately (that was so hatefull in the most abiectest mens eyes, that they disdained to kisse him) attaine vnto the Priesthood of so many Colleges, but onely the fame of the Verrucosians and Allobrogicks, and of those three hundred, that opposed one family against the intrusion of their enemies in their Countries defence? So much are we indebted vnto vertues, that wee ought to respect them, not onely while they be present, but also when they are most distant and out of sight. Euen as those vertues wrought this effect, that they pro-
fited

fired not only one age, but left their benefits behind them to all ages: so let vs not be gratefull to one age only. This man hath begotten noble children, he is then worthy of good turnes, whatsoeuer he himselfe is, because hee hath brought forth such. Another is borne of noble Ancestors, whatsoeuer hee himselfe is, let him be shrouded vnder the shadow of his Ancestors. Like as obscure and vncleane places are lightened by the repercussion of the Sunbeames, so let idle and vnworthy men be illustrated by the light of their fore-fathers.

CHAP. XXXI.



ON this place, my *Liberalis*, I intend to excuse the gods. For sometimes we are wont to say, Whereat aymed the prouidence of the gods, when they committed the gouernement of a Kingdom to * *Aridens* hands? I thinkest thou it was giuen him? It befell him for his fathers and his brothers sake. Why gane she the Empire of the whole world to *Caius Caligula*, a man so insatiate of mans blood, that he commanded the same to be shed before his eyes, as if hee had a desire to drinke and deuoure it with his mouth? What, thinkest thou, that this greatnesse was giuen him for his owne merit? No; it was giuen to his father *Germanicus*; it was for his Grand-fathers and great Grand-fathers sake, and to others no lesse famous men their predecessors, although they led a private and ordinary life. What, when thou madest *Scaurus Mamecius* Consul, didst thou not know, that he receiued with open mouth the monthly excrements of his vnchaste chamber-maids? For, did he dissemble? Would he seeme to be pure? I will relate vnto thee a speech of his owne, which was ordinarie in euery mans mouth in my remembrance, and was commended in his owne presence: *Asinius Pollio* being on a time laid vpon his bed, hee said vnto him (but with words vnworthy to be named) that he would doe that vnto him, which he had rather suffer himselfe. And seeing that *Pollio* was displeased therewith, and that hee began to bend his browes, if I haue spoken any euill (said he) I would it might fall vpon me and on my head. This saying of his hee himselfe blafed abroad. * Hail thou admitted a man so openly shamelesse and impudent to the Maces, and Tribunall of Consuls? Verily, when thou berthoghest thee of that old *Scaurus*, the Prince or prime man of the Senate in times past, thou couldest not suffer his race and posteritie to be abased or extinguished.

* Alexander
Brother.

* This speech is
obscure, not in
Liberalis, but
to Prouidence.

CHAP. XXVII.



Aske it is for vs to perceiue how the gods deale more fauourably with some for the merits and deserts of their fathers, and predecessors, and with other some for the towardnesse that shall bee in their children, and childrens children; and in those that hereafter shall descend from their posteritie. For they know the successiue order of their works, and they haue an infallible science of all those things which are to passe through their hands, although they are farre remote from our knowledge and vnderstanding. The things that we suppose to be casual and sudden, are foreseene and familiar to them. Let these bee Kings (say they)

A confirmation
of his former in-
tent, and why
the diuine pro-
vidence sheweth
the wicked in
often times.

All these reason-
s he vrbeth in the
person of God.

** From hence, to the end of the chapter all is digressed.*

they) because their ancestors haue not bene, but imagined it to be a true Kingdome, to be iust and abstinent. And because they haue not vied the common-weale for their profits, but dedicated their persons to the seruice and increase thereof. Let these men raigne because some good man was their great grandfather, whose mind was greater then his fortune, who in ciuill discensions chose rather to be vanquished, then to vanquish; because it stood with the profit of the Common-wealth. His goodnesse could not be requited all this while. In respect of that man, let this man haue preeminence ouer others, not because he is of knowledge and abilitie how to vie it, but because the other hath deserued it for him: for peradventure this man is in body mishapen, in countenance loathsome, and will be a slander to the place and persons of his aduancement. * Now will men find fault with me, and say, that I am blind, and rash, and ignorant where to bestow the things that are due to the chiefeist and excellentest persons. But I know that the giuing of this thing to the one, is a satisfaction of it to the other, to whom it was duelong since. Whereby do they know such a certaine man, who was such a contemner of glorie, when it followed him, that hee aduenced vpon perill with the same countenance that others escape it, and that neuer made difference betwixt his owne profit and the profit of the Common-wealth? Where is this man? who is hee? how know you him? These reckonings of such receipts and payments are striken out of my booke. I know what and to whom I owe. To some I make payment after long time, to other some I giue aforehand, or else I deale with them according as occasion and the villitie of my Common-wealth requireth.

C H A P. XXXIII.

In returninge to his purpose, he sheweth how a man may doe good to him that is vngratefull.

SOME things I will then giue to an vngratefull man, yet will I not giue it for his owne sake. But if (saith hee) thou knowest not whether he be thankfull or vngratefull; wilt thou expect, vntill thou know the same? or wilt thou not lose the opportunitie of giuing the benefit? It is too long to expect: for (as Plato saith) it is hard to coniecture what a mans mind is, and not to expect is rashnesse. To him we will answer, that we will neuer expect a certaine comprehension and knowledge of things, because it is a difficult matter to find out the truth; but that wee follow that way whereunto the similitude of truth leadeth vs. All mens offices and actions proceede this way; vnder this hope we sowe our lands: thus saile we, thus vndertake we warre, thus marry we, thus bring wee vp our children; whereas the euent of all these is vncertaine. To those things adresse we our enterprises, whereof we beleue that we may hope the best. For who can warrant a rich haruelt to him that soweth, a safe Port to him that sailerth, victory to him that warreth, a modest wife to him that marryeth, toward children to him that begat them? Wee follow those things whereunto reason inducerth vs, not those whereunto truth draweth vs. If thou expectest to doe nothing except thou be secured of the good successe, if thou lingerest vntill such time as thou hast found out the truth, thy life will become vnprofitable and idle, neither shalt thou euer dare or attempt any thing: whilst the appearance of truth impellecth me to doe this or that, I will not feare to giue a benefit to him, who in my opinion, and in all likelyhood, will approue himselfe thankfull.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXIIII.

MANY things may chance (saith hee) whereby wee may take a bad man to be good, and a good man to be bad, because the appearances of things whereunto we giue credit, doe oftentimes deceiue vs. Who denieth this? But I find nothing else, by which I should gouerne my thoughts. By these foot-steps mult I pursue the truth, more assured I haue none. This will I indauour to examine with all diligence, neither will I assent vnto them ouer quickly. For so may it fall out in war, that being deceiued by some false appearance, I may ayme mine arrow against my fellow Souldier, leauing mine enimie vntouched and in safetie, but this both seldome times falleth out, and not by mine error: whose purpose was to wound mine enimie, and defend my fellow Citizen. If I know him to be vngratefull, I will giue him no benefit. But hee coseth me, hee deceiued me; here is no fault of him that giueth, for I gaue it as to a thankfull man. But If (saith hee) thou hast promised to doe a man a pleasure, and afterwards thou findest him to be vngratefull, wilt thou giue it or no? if thou dost it, thou offendest willingly, for thou giuest to him, thou oughtest not to giue: if thou deniest, in this case likewise thou offendest, because thou performest not that which thou hast firmly promised. Your sect in this place flaggereth and trippeth, and that proud promise of theirs, that a wise man neuer repenteth himselfe of that which he hath done, neither euer reformeth his actions, nor changeth his counsaile, beginneth to be shaken. A wife man changeth not his counsaile, as long as the cause and circumstances continue the same, as they were, when he determined. And therefore neuer repenteth hee himselfe in any thing, because nothing could be better done at that time then was done, nor nothing better ordered then that which was ordered. Finally, all things he vnder taketh, hee attempteth them with this condition, if nothing fall out that may interrupt his sage designs. And therefore say we, that all things befall him to his wish, that nothing hath betided him contrary to his expectation, because hee presumeth in his mind, that sundrie things may fall out which may crosse his purpose. Fooles are they, that are too confident, and who promise vnto themselves ouer peremptorily, that Fortune will fauour them, but a wise man considereth her both wayes: he knoweth very well what sway error beareth, how vncertaine worldly things be, and how many things binder mens determinations: he followeth variable Fortune, and the hazards of humane affaires, with an vncertaine and doubtfull hope, expecting with assured counsaile the vncertaine ends thereof. But the conditions, without which hee beginneth and enterpriset nothing, warrantifie him sufficiently herein.

C H A P. XXXV.

IHAUE promised to doe a pleasure, except there fall out some occasion, whereby I am letted from giuing that I intended: but what if the Common-weale command me to giue that vnto her which I haue promised my friend, if a publike Law bee made that no man shall do that which I haue promised my friend to performe. I haue past my word to giue thee my Daughter in marriage, and afterwards thou

He satisfieth two obediens against the former answer, and sheweth that a wife man knoweth to whom, when, and how he ought to doe a pleasure.

Sapientis est mutare consilium.

Hee sheweth, where a man is not bound to doe an other mans pleasure, although he hath promised it.

The Law of
I will be to him
that is ungrate-
full.

thou art conuicted to be a forraier, with whom wee are forbidden to contract matrimonie. The Law that prohibiteth, that, defendeth also my cause: then shall I breake my word, then shall I be iustly taxed with inconstancie; if all the circumstances continuing as they were when I promised, I neglect to performe the same: Because otherwise whatsoever thing is changed, giueth me libertie to determine a new, and discharge me of my former obligation. I haue promised to plead thy cause, and afterwards I find that the prosecution thereof will in the end redound to my fathers preiudice. I haue promised thee to take a long journey with thee, but afterwards vpon better instructions, I vnderstand that the way is dangerous and full of thecues, I intended presently to come and visit thee about thine infant businesse, but my childes sicknesse, or my wifes falling in labour, kept me at home. All things ought to bee in the same estate, they were, when I promised thee, if thou wilt that my faith bee obliged vnto thee. But what greater change may there happen then if hereafter I am informed that thou art an vngratefull and wicked man? That which I saue thee, as to a worthy man, I will refuse thee as a man vnworthy, and furthermore I shall haue a iust cause to be angry with thee, because thou hast deceived mee.

CHAP. XXXVI.

An exception
upon the former
article, that were
ought to con-
sider what thing
it is whereby is
promised.

ET will I neerely examine the greatnesse of that I haue promised. The value of the thing, which I haue promised to bestow, shall giue me counsaile. If it be a small matter, I will giue it; not because hee is worthy, but because I haue promised. Neither will I giue it as a benefite, but only to redeeme my word, and hereafter will I take better heede, and by my losse I will chastise my rashnesse in promising; and to the end I may haue a more feeling and sensible apprehension of the same, and henceforward be more circumspect in that I speake, I will, (as the common prouerbe faith) pay a fine for my tongue. But if it be a thing of greater price, I would not, (as *Alceus* faith) spend two hundredth and fiftie thousand crownes, to buy mine owne blame: I will diligently compare both these things betweene themselves. It is something to keepe a mans word when he hath promised, and againe it importeth very much to take care that we giue to such a one as deserueth the same: yet must wee consider how great our promise is; If it be a thing of small value, I will giue it as though I winked thereat. But if it may be either greatly to my losse, or greatly to my shame, I had rather excuse my selfe once for not doing it, then condemne my selfe alwaies for giuing it. All the weight of the matter consisteth (as I say) in this to know of what value and estimate the promise is that I haue made. I will not only retaine that which I haue rashly promised, but I will redemand also that which I haue giuen amisse. He is out of his wits, that performes a foolish promise.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

PHILIP of Macedon had a valiant and braue Souldier, who had faithfully serued him in all his warres, to whom in remuneration of his vertue, he had often-times giuen a good part of that which hee had taken from the enimie, and encouraged him with rewards, he being a man of a mercenarie mind. It fortuned that this Souldier was shipwrack, and that the tempest & billowes cast him on the shore neere to a certaine Macedonian dwelling place, who being aduertised of this his fortune, ran vnto him, and recovered him to life, being wel-nigh dead. He carried him vnto his owne house, he lodged him in his owne bed: he entertained this forlorne man so carefully and kindly, that he recovered his forces, he maintained him thirty dayes at his owne charge, hee releued his necessitie, and gaue him monie and meanes to bring him backe againe to the armie. This Souldier, vpon his departure, told him this very often; *If I euer chance to see my Prince againe, I will requite this thy kind entertainment.* Certaine dayes after being arriued at the campe, he failed not to tell Philip of his vnhappy shipwrack, but he concealed who had succoured him, and forthwith brought him to giue him a certaine manslands, and this was his heritage who had so graciously entertained him, and with so much care and diligence had preserved him from death. You may see (by the way) how Kings now and then, (but especially in warre) giue many things, their eyes being shut: no one man alone is able to satisfie so many armed desires; there is not any man that at one time can be a good man, and a good Generall. How shall so many thousands of vnstatiable men be satisfied? what shall they haue, if euery man may keepe his owne? This said Philip to himselfe, when hee commanded him to bee put in possession of those Lands he demanded. This man thus violently thrust out of his possessions, smothered and smoothed vp this iniurie, not as a Clowne, but with much silence and sufferance, contenting himselfe with this, that though they had vsurped his possessions, they had not restrained him of his libertie, and priuily wrote a short and stout letter vnto Philip, wherein hee discovered the iniurie which was done him, vpon the reading whereof, Philip was so displeased, that he presently commanded *Pausanias* to restore the land to the former Lord, and as for the other probate and dishonest Souldier, vngratefull guest, and couetous cast-away, to brand him in the forehead, to witnesse that he was an vngratefull and vnthankfull guest. Truly, he was worthy, not that these letters should be written, but engrauen on his forehead, that expulsed and exposed his Host, like a naked and shipwrack wretch, on that very shore, where once he had succoured him. We shall afterwards see what more greater punishment hee deferred: meane while those goods were to bee taken from him, which hee had so iniuriously vsurped. And who would be moued at his punishment, who had committed such a hainous crime, that might bee the cause, that no man hereafter should count misfable the miserie of the most miserable?

A notable ex-
ample of the in-
feriour Philip
vsed toward an
vngratefull
man.

A lesson for
Princes that are
often times thus
deceiued and
blinded.

The reason why
this vngratefull
man was to be
punished.

I 3

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A short praise of Philip for punishing an unjust and thanklesse man.



Had Philip be constrained to performe his word vnto thee, because he hath promised thee, although he ought not to doe that, though he injury another man, though hee commit a hainous crime, although by this one act of his, he locketh vp the Hauens, and shutteth vp the Ports against those that are shipwrack? It is no lenitie to forsake a knowne and damned error. And ingeniously we are to confesse, I thought otherwise, I am deceived. But this is a peruerse in an arrogant foolishnesse to say, That which I haue spoken once, whatsoever it bee, I will abide by it, and make good my word. It it no shame to change a mans opinion, when the businesse is changed. Goe to, if Philip had left him in possession of these demesnes, and that sea-coast which he had gotten by his shipwracke, had he not barred all miserable men from reliefe? It is better (saith hee) that thou shouldest carry throughout my kingdome these letters ingrauen in thy most shamelesse forehead, more worthy to be written in thine eyes. Shew thou in thy punishment, how faced atting the table of hospitalitie is. Let all the world read this my Law, enregistred in thy countenance, by which is decreed, that it is no capitall matter, to entertaine any miserable person into a mans house. So shall this constitution of mine be more strongly ratified, then if I had engrauen the same in brasse.

CHAP. XXXIX.

An objection against the all of Philip, contrary to that of Zeno, with an answer thereunto.



Hy then (saith he) did your Zeno, when hee had promised a certaine man to lend him five hundred pence, and had found him to be insufficient, and not able to repay him (contrary to the aduice of his friends, who counselled him not to doe it) perseuer in trusting him, because he had promised him? First, there is one condition in a debt, another in a benefite. If I haue lent my money to an euill debter, yet haue I meanes to recouer it againe: I may call any debter into iustice, when the terme of payment is come, and if hee breake or play the bankrupt, I shall haue a portion of my debt, but the benefite is wholly lost instantly. Moreouer, this is the act of an euill man, that of a bad husband. A gaine, neither would Zeno haue perseuered to credit him, if the summe had bene greater, it was but five hundred pence; put case (as it is commonly said) that he had spent it in a sicknesse, it was so much worth not to reuoke his promise. I will come to supper (although it be cold) because I haue promised, but if it snowed or were bad weather, I would not step out of my doores. I will arise out of my bed to accompany a Bridall, because I haue promised (although I haue not sufficiently slept or digested my meate) but not at all, if a fagor surpris me. I will come and giue my word for thee, because I haue promised, but not if thou wouldest make me stand bound for an vn certaine thing, or if thou wilt bind me to the Exchequer. I tell thee, there is alwaies a secret condition implied; so I be able; so it be lawfull; if these things shall be thus. If thou wilt haue me keepe my promise, set the matter in the same state, that it was in when thou demandedst, that it was in when I promised. It can be no point of lightnesse to disappoint one, if there happen any alteration by the way: why wonderest

dereft thou if I change my counsell, when the conditions of my promise are changed? I am readie at this time to be the same I was then, if thou shew mee all things in that estate I left them: wee promise to make appeareance for my friend, yet is it not performed. For if there be any one that is hindered by force, or by a lawfull cause, he is excused by esoyne.

CHAP. XL.



He same also will serue for an answer to this demand; whether a courtlesie is to be requited in any wise, or whether a benefite be euer way to be restored? I am bound to yeeld a thankfull heart, but sometimes mine infelicitie suffereth mee not to make requittall; and sometimes his felicitie, to whom I am indebted: for what can I, being poore, restore to a King or a rich man? whereas some suppose it to be an iniurie to receiue a benefite, and oftentimes burthen their benefits with other benefits. What other satisfaction can I make vnto such persons, then to be willing to acknowledge their goodnesse. For I ought not to reiect a new benefite, because I haue not satisfied for the former, I will receiue a benefite as willingly as it is giuen me: I will offer my selfe vnto my friend as a sufficient matter, to exercise vpon mee all his good thoughts, and liberalitie. Hce that will not receiue new courtlesies, is offended with the old. I, but I render not the like: what is that to the purpose? the delay is not in mee, if either occasion faile, or abilitie be wanting: when he did me a pleasure, he had the meanes and the commoditie. Whether is he a good or euill man? if he be a good man, my case and cause is good enough; if he be an euill man, I will not plead before him: neither thinke I it meete also to bee ouerhastie in yeelding recompence, contrarie to the mindes of those who haue done vs pleasure, or that we importune them to receiue, when they are vnwilling to take it. It is no requittall of a good turne, to render that which thou hast willingly receiued, to him that is vnwilling to accept the same. There are some, who if a friend send them some little present, doe suddenly after requite them with another, to the end they may vaunt they are not any wayes obliged. This is a kind of refusal, when a man will make requittall so soone, and by this meanes deface so suddenly one present by another. Sometimes also I will not restore a benefite, when I am able; namely, when I shall detract more from my selfe, and doe my selfe more hindrance, then I shall profit him; when as he shall feele himselfe nothing amended by receiving it, and I shall find my selfe greatly impaired by forgoing it. He then that hasteth to restore and requite a kindnesse, hath not the mind of a gratefull man, but of a debter. And to conclude in few words, he that is desirous to pay ouer soone, doth owe vnwillingly; hee that vnwillingly oweth, is vngratefull.

**

The end of the fourth Booke.

The condition of the Prince may alter the Cause, &c.

How a man in what state hee is, may acknowledge a courtlesie.

Hastie restore of fauour is rather a defacing of a benefite, then a satisfaction.

LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

The Argument of LVIVS LIPSIUS.

THe two speciall parts being concluded and determined: Now a benefit should be given, and how it ought to be received: Hee saith that hee passeth over to certaine things, that are not so much in the matter, as of the matter, and both neare and united to the same. Then annexeth he certaine questions, and first of all this. Whether it be a loathsome matter to be overcome in benefits? He denyeth that he may be overcome, and approueth him to be alwaies equal, that is desirous to make recompence in good will, if in act he cannot. The second question is: Whether any man may give himselfe a benefit? Hee denyeth it, yet argueth the matter on both sides. The third question be useth is, Whether any man according to the Stoicks doctrine may be called vngratefull? hee affirmeth and teacheth it. His fourth question is, Whether all are vngratefull? he saith no; although he confesse many. Then as depending of the said question: How farre and whither we are bound one for another, as the Sonne for the Father, and such like? He answereth by a distinction, and rather denyeth. The fifth question is, Whether an vnpleasing benefit may be given to a man unwilling to receive? It may. The last question, Whether a benefit may be redemanded?

CHAP. I.



IN these my former Bookes, mee thought, I had consummated and accomplished my principall intent, when as I had intreated and discovered, after what manner a good turne is to be done, and in what sort it is to be received, because these two points are the Poles, on which the Sphere of this discourse is moued. Whatsoever I intreat of, or linger on further, is not of the necessitie of the matter, neither much impertinent therunto, which we ought to follow, whither it leadeth vs, nor whither it inuiceth vs. For continually there

will some arguments arise, that will allure and entertaine our mind with the sweetness thereof, which is rather not necessarie then superfluous. But since you will haue it so, hauing ended all that which appertained to the matter, let vs perseuer,

*The intention
of Seneca in
the precedent
and subsequent
bookes, wherein
Liberalis ver-
tues are lic-
ently discoursed.*

An extraordinary commendation of Brutus Liberatus.

Brutus is redoubled to the worthy benefactor.

This is intended as a debt, not as a gift.

perfeuer to searoh out these things, that are annexed vnto it, but not coherent, which whosoever doth curiously looke into, neither performeth a matter of great moment, neither looseth his labour. But vnto thee (my *Brutus Liberatus*) who art a man of the best nature, and so inclined to curtelie, no praise of these benefits may suffice: I neuer saw any man so fauourable an esteemer of the smallest good offices, as thou art. And thy bountie hath already attained so farre, that thou esteemest the curtelie done vnto thy selfe, which is imployed on any other man. Thou art alwaies ready to give satisfaction for the vngrateful, lest any man should repent him of his bountie and kindnesse: and so farre art thou from all arrogancie and ostentation, so desirous art thou to disburthen those whom thou hast obliged, that whatsoever thou bestowest on any man, thou wouldest not seeme to haue giuen it as a benefit, but to haue repaid it as a debt. And therefore, such things as thou bestowest after this manner, returne vnto thee more plentifully. For commonly good turnes attend vpon him, that intendeth not to redemand them. And, as glorie and reputation doe most of all fallen vpon, and follow those who flie from the fame; so the fruit of benefits is more graciously correspondent vnto those as giue men leaue to be thankfulle, if they list. It shall not be through thy default, but that they who haue receiued benefits at thy hands, may freely redemand an other, neither wilt thou refuse to beflow other, and to add more and greater to those thy benefits that are either suppressed or dissembled. The intent of a generous man, and such a one as hath a noble mind, is so long to forbear, and winke at an vngrateful person, vntill he hath made him thankfull: neither will this manner of dealing deceiue thee euer; for naturally vices submit themselves vnto vertue, and looke their courage, if thou hasten not too much to hate them.

CHAP. II.

How conceiuest likewise a singular pleasure, to heare this magnificent saying, that it is a shame to bee overcome in giuing benefits, which whether it be true or no, it is wont to be enquired vpon a good ground, and I think it farre different from that which thou imaginest. For neuer needest thou to feare any affront or dishonour in suffering thy selfe to be overcome in the noble competencie of vertuous actions, if so thou shalt forsake not thine armes, but being once overcome hast a will to overcome againe. Every man in a good purpose hath not the same forces, the same faculties, and the same fortune: which onely temperateth the ends of the best actions. The will of him, that keepeth the right way, deserueth to be praised, although a more swifter runner hath set foote before him. It is not in this case as it is in the publique prizes, set out for spectacle, wherein the victorie proclaimeth the better man; although in them also casualtie hath often preferred the worst. When we speake of dutie, and both the one and the other desire to acquit themselves fully; if the one of them had had more means, if hee haue had matter at hand correspondent to his minde, if fortune hath permitted him to doe what him listeth: And contrariwise, if the other hath had as good a will, although that which he hath restored is of lesse value then that which he hath receiued, or if he haue not satisfied at all, yet if hee haue a good minde to make a future satisfaction, if hee bend himselfe wholly to that business, if he duly thinke on nothing but the fame, he is no more overcome then

he

he that dieth manfully fighting, whom his enimie could sooner kill then put to flight. That which thou supposist to be dishonorable or dishonest, cannot befall a good man; that is to say, to be vanquished: neuer will his heart faile him, neuer will he giue ouer, hee will be alwaies ready to acknowledge, euen vntill the last houre of his life. He will dye in this station, and will confesse himselfe to haue receiued great benefits, and will protest that he hath a desire to repay them with the like.

CHAP. III.

He *Lacedemonians*, forbad their Citizens to fight at buffets or braces, where he confessing himselfe to be vanquished, doth shew him to be the weaker man. The runner that first obtaineth the goale, out-strippeth his companion in swiftnesse, but not in courage. The wrestler that hath fallen, and been soiled three times, hath lost the palme, but hath not yeilded it to his aduersarie. Whereupon the *Lacedemonians* being desirous aboue all other things, that their Citizens should be inuincible, they inhibited & forbad them the vse of all such games, in which the victory is giuen not by the opinion of the iudges, or by the issue of the game, but by the voice of him that yeeldeth, and his that commandeth him to submit and yeeld. Vertue and a good heart giue vnto all men, that which the *Lacedemonians* doe obserue amongst their Citizens, vertue and good will yeeldeth all men that they shall neuer bee vanquished, becaue euen amongst those that are overcome the minde continueth inuincible. No man therefore saith, that the three hundred *Fabii* were conquered, but slaine. And *Regulus* was captiue amongst the *Carthaginians*, but not conquered, and all else whatsoever oppressed by the force and waight of enraged and cruell Fortune. The care is often, is not for all this vanquished. It may be that the benefits of one, are overcome by those of another, in respect of those things that are giuen, and are receiued. But if thou wilt make a comparison betwixt the giuer and him that receiue (whose minds must be estimate also by themselves) there is neither of them shall haue the palme. For we are accustomed to say, that he who is wounded in diuers parts, and he that hath a slight hurt, haue departed on euen hand from the combat, although one may seeme to haue receiued the foile.

refector. *b* Thus were three hundred Citizens of Rome, for the most part of one Family, who looke vpon themselves the charge of the warres against the *Poenians*.

CHAP. IIII.

No man therefore can be overcome in benefit, if he know that hee oweth, if hee haue a will to recompence, and if that which hee cannot attaine in act, he equalleth in mind and will. This man, as long as he is constant herein, as long as he hath a good intent, approving his gratefull mind by outward signes: what skiller thin whether part more presents may bee numbered? Thou hast the power to giue much, and I onely the power to receiue the same: good fortune is on thy side, and good will on mine, yet am I so equal with thee, as some naked, or flight-

*Pancratia-fles, was a fight not only with a ked hand and fists, but with kniues and whole bodye contained in the fight.

Collus was he, that with a ned hand, or hea- uie battens, or weight of liuesse, iron, or lead, charged his ad- uerserie, a by the ordi- nances of the *Spartans*, and the example of the *Fabians*, and of *Regulus*, and the stouid- itude of two combats, hee sheweth that in matter of bene- fit hee that recei- ueth is not infe- rior, provided that he continue alwaies his in- crease afflicion towards his de- mitor.

The will to re- compence rele- ueth the worst. A confirmation of the precedent difficulty, ex- cited with the comparison of *Socrates*, and *Dioniges* with *Alexander*.

The true propo-
sition of riches ap-
pareth by this,
that he is more
rich who dispo-
sith, then he that
enjoyeth riches.

The second con-
firmation by Se-
neca's words, and
by consideration
of the benefits
received from
our parents.

slightly armed, are equal to some that are armed at all poynts. No man there-
fore is overcome in benefits. For every one is as thankful, as he would be. For
if it be an affront and dishonour to be overcome in kind offices, we ought not to
receiue a benefit at mightie mens hands, to whom we can in no sort yield any
satisfaction. I speake of Kings and Princes, whom Fortune hath entertained in
that estate, that they may doe much, and bestow great largesse, but they cannot
receiue but verie little, and farre inferior to their owne gift. I say, Kings and
Princes, to whom notwithstanding there may be seruice done, whose greatnes
and power is not suitayned but by affection, and the common consent which
their subiects haue to obey them. But there are some that are vnattainted with
any couetousnes, that are scarcely touched with any humane desires; to whom
Fortune her selfe can giue nothing. I must needs be overcome by *Socrates* in
benefits. I must needs be conquered by *Diogenes*, who marched naked amidst
the riches & most precious moueables of the Macedonians, and trampled their
Kingly treasures vnder his feet. Did not he then (yea and that deserved) both
in his owne cies, and other mens sight (whose cies were not sealed vp from see-
ing the truth) seeme more eminent aboue him, vnder whose greatnes all things
lay subiect? Hee was then more powerfull and more rich then *Alexander*,
who at that time possessed all things, for there was more, that this man would
not receiue, then he was able to giue.

CHAP. V.

THIS is no shame to bee overcome by such as these, for neither am
I lesse valiant, though you match mee in fight with an enemy
that cannot be wounded. Neither therefore can the fire burne
lesse, if it light vpon a matter inuolable by fire. Neither therefore
hath the tooke lost his force in caruing, if the stone be so hard that
it cannot be pierced, and if naturally it be so rebellious against all things that are
hard, that it will rather breake in peeces then yield. The same doe I answer of
a thankfull man, it is no dishonour for him to be overcome by the benefits which
he hath receiued at their hands, whose fortune is so great and mightie, and ver-
tue so excellent, that it hath barred all returne of benefits vnto him. We are for
the most part overcome by our parents, for so long do we hate them, as long as
we iudge them to be troublesome and insupportable, and as long as we vnder-
stand not their benefits. But now, when as our yeares haue taught vs some ex-
perience, and we begin to perceiue, that they ought to be beloued by vs, for
those things, for which they were mistak; (I meane their admonitions, their
seueritie and diligent ouer-sight of our inconsiderate youth) then are they
snatched and taken from vs. Few there are, that haue liued so long as to reape
the true fruit of their childrens towardnesse, the rest haue felt a burthen by
them, and discontent: yet is it no shame for children to be surmounted by their
parents. And why should it be shamefull to be surmounted by them, since it
is no disgrace to be vanquished by any whatsoeuer? For sometimes wee are e-
qual, and vnquall to one and the same person; wee are equall in good will,
which is onely required, which we onely promise and professe: but we are vn-
equall in fortune, for want whereof, if a man be hindered from being thankfull,
he ought for that cause to be ashamed and blush, because he is vanquished. It
is no dishonour to be vnable to ouertake, so a man pursue and follow still.

Some

Sometimes we are enforced, before we haue restored the old, to craue new be-
nefits. Neither therefore surceale we to aske, or demand we disgracefully and
dishonestly, because we runne further in debt, before we be able to repay the
former, because the fault is not through our default, but for that disability
preuenteth our gratuite. But some thing will fall out otherwaies, which
will keepe vs from satisfying, yet will wee not bee over-matched in minde,
neither will wee be shamefully overcome in these things, which are not in our
power.

CHAP. VI.



ALEXANDER King of Macedon, was oftentimes wont to boast,
that neuer any man could overcome him in benefits. There is no
cause why this ouer-haughty minded Prince, should call his eyes
on the Macedons, Greeks, Carians, Persians, and other Nations
which were bound vnto him by way of conquest. He should not
thinke that that great Kingdome, which extended it selfe from the furthest
confines of Thrace, to the banks of the vnknowne Sea, had giuen him the
meanes to accomplish and doe this. *Socrates* himselfe might vaunt that he had
done as much, and *Diogenes* also, by whom he was overcome. Why should
he not be overcome that verie day, wherein the man (swelling aboue measure
with humane pride) beheld some one, to whom he could neither giue, nor from
whom he could euer take any thing. King *Archelaus* intreated *Socrates* to
come and visit him; to whom (as it is reported) *Socrates* returned this answer:
*That hee would not come vnto him, from whom he should receiue a benefit, which
hee could not requite againe.* First of all, it was in his power not to receiue a-
ny thing: Secondly, it was he that began to giue a benefit. For he came vnto
him vpon his request, and gaue that which the King could neuer equall or fa-
tisfie. Moreover, *Archelaus* was to giue him gold and siluer, but was him-
selfe to receiue the contempt of gold and siluer. Could not *Socrates* therefore
requite *Archelaus* courtlesie? Had he not equalled the good which he was to
receiue, had hee made him see a man perfect in the skill of liuing and dying,
knowing the true ends of them both? If he had taught the King (who saw not
at mid-day) the secrets of Nature, whereof he was so ignorant, that vpon a day
when the Sunne was in Eclips, he caused the dores of his Palace to be shut; and
(as men were wont to doe in time of mourning and great miserie) he cut off his
sonnes haire: How great a benefit had it bene, if hee had drawne him loaden
with feare out of the lurking places where he lay hidden, and had encouraged
him, saying, This is no defection or obfuring of the Sunne, but the encounter
of two Planets, when as the Moone, shaping her course the way lower, hath
placed her Orbe vnder the Sunne it selfe, and by her interposition, holdeth his
light obfured from our sight: sometimes couereth no more then a small part
of his bodie, when in the coniunction she passeth no more but on one side o-
therwhiles, the eclipticeth a greater part of his light, when she fetcheth her selfe in
his front, and before him; otherwhiles, she couereth him wholly, if with a iust
and equall counterpoise, shee intirely setteth her selfe opposite betwixt the Sun
and the earth: yet the swiftnesse of these starrs shall suddenly separate the one
from the other, the earth hereby shall recover her light: and this order shall
continue in all ages to come; which haue certaine and destined daies, where-

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in

The miserable
man then is to
be excused, un-
lesse hee can be
faultie in ma-
king satisfaction.

A third confir-
mation by the
example of A-
lexander and
Archelaus, two
great Princes,
with Diogenes
and Socrates,
two great Phy-
losophers.

This is against
Astronomie:
neuer was Ec-
lipse at full
Moon natu-
rally, but in
Christs death
supernaturally.

hath gratified himselfe, and hath forthwith restored, euen when it was done, and a doing. Nature, the mother of all things, is said to loofe nothing; for whatsoever is taken from her, returneth to her againe: neither can any thing perill, because it can find no place where to issue out of it selfe, but returneth thither from whence it departed. But what resemblance (saith he) hath this example to our matter in question? I will tell thee: Put case thou bee vngatefull to thy selfe, the benefit will not be lost, because hee that gaue it, retaineth it still: Put case thou wilt not receiue it, it is in the possession, before it is repaid thee. Thou canst loofe nothing, for that which is taken from thee, is not withstanding gotten for thee. The wheele is turned within thy selfe; receiving thou giuest, and giuing thou receiuest.

CHAP. IX.

*Hee praesenteth
an other fable
of the same
nature, and re-
solveth it.*



Man (saith he) must doe good vnto himselfe, and consequently he must be thankfull to himselfe. First, that is false, wherein the squall dependeth. For no man giueth himselfe a benefit, but obeyeth his owne nature, by which hee is composed and framed to loue himselfe, whence there groweth in him an especiall care to avoid those things that are harmefull, and to desire those things that are profitable. For which cause, neither is he liberall, that giueth to himselfe, nor pitifull, that pardoneth himselfe, nor mercifull, that is touched with his owne miseries. That which (were it employed on other men) might iustly be called liberalitie, clemencie, and mercie: in regard of our selues, is but nature. A benefit is a voluntarie thing, but to profit a mans selfe, is a necessarie matter. The more benefits a man hath giuen, the more bountifull is he. Who euer was applauded for succouring himselfe? for deliuering himselfe out of the danger of theeuers? no man giueth himselfe a benefit, no more then he entertaineth himselfe in his owne house, no man giueth to himselfe, no more then he lendeth to himselfe. If any man giueth himselfe a benefit, he alwaies giueth, he giueth without intermission, he can neuer keepe iust reckoning of the number of his benefits. How can he then returne a recompence, when as in that very thing wherein he satisfieth, he giueth a benefit? for how can he discerne whether he giue or restore vnto him selfe a benefit? whereas the matter concerneth but one only man? I haue deliuered my selfe out of danger: haue I giuen my selfe a benefit? Once more I preferue my selfe in perill, do I my selfe a good turne, or do I restore it? Moreover, although I should grant that first, that we giue a benefit to our selues, yet will I not grant the consequent. For although we giue, we owe not. Why? because we presently receiue: First, must we receiue a benefit, and then owe it, and then requite it. But here is no time of owing, in so much as we receiue againe without any delay. No man giueth but to another man, no man oweth but to another man, no man restoreth but to another man. All that which in this sort requirerh two persons, cannot bee done in one.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.



Benefit is that whereby something is profitably giuen, but this word, to haue giuen, appertaineth to others. Shall he not be supposed to be a mad man, that saith, he hath sold any thing to himselfe? because a sale is an alienation of a mans substance and right, and a translation thereof vnto another. But euen as in selling, so in buying any thing we ought to make a reall surrender of the thing, and to leave that which a man hath, to suffer another to enjoy the same. Well, if benefiting be of the same nature, then can no man benefit himselfe, because no man can giue ought to himselfe. For then should two contraries concur in one, so as giuing and taking should be all one thing. But there is great difference betwixt giuing and taking. And good cause why, considering that both these words are placed as contraries, the one against the other, but if a man may giue himselfe a benefit, there is no difference betwixt giuing and receiuing. I said a little before, that there were some words that appertaine to others, and are so formed that their whole signification departed from our selues. I am a brother, but another mans brother: For no man can be his owne brother. I am equall and like; but to some man: for who is equall with himselfe? That which is compared, is not to be vnderstood without another; that which is vnited, cannot be without another: If both, that which is giuen, is not without another, so likewise a benefit is not without a receiuer. And this appeareth in the word it selfe, wherein this is contained to haue benefited. But no man benefiteth himselfe, no more then hee fauoureth himselfe, or taketh part with himselfe: I might prosecute this thing longer, and with larger examples, and why not? when as a benefit is numbred amongst those things, which require a second person. Some things which are honest, praise-worthy, and of great vertue, haue no place, but with another. Faithfulnesse and integritie is commended and praised by euery man, and are esteemed amongst the greatest blessings which appertaine to mankind, and yet haue you euer heard, that any man hath benee faithfull to himselfe?

*Continuation
and resolution
of the answer.*

CHAP. XI.



Come now to the last part. He that requirerh a good turne, must employ somewhat of his owne, as he doth who repaierh the money he oweth: but he layeth out nothing who satisfieth himselfe, no more then he giueth, who giueth to himselfe. A benefit and a remuneration must passe from one vnto another: for in one person there is no vicissitude or change: He therefore that requirerh a good turne, pleasureth him againe, from whom hee hath receiued any thing. Hee that is gratefull to himselfe, whom profiteth he? himselfe. But what man is hee that thinketh not, that acknowledgement of a fauour is in one place, and the benefit in another? He that requirerh himselfe, profiteth himselfe; but what ingratefull man was there euer, that would not doe this? nay rather, who was not vngatefull that he might doe this? if we (saith he) ought to thanke our selues for that we haue done well, we ought likewise to yeeld some recompence to our selues. But we say, I thanke my selfe, because I married not that wife, and for that I contracted not societie with that man. When we say thus, we praise our selues,

*The conclusion
of the president
discourse, apper-
uing, this a be-
nefit hath as
well relation to
him that giueth,
as him that re-
ceiueth.*

K 3 and

and to approue our fact, we abuse the words of those that giue thanks. A benefit is such a thing which may not be restored, even then when it is giuen, he that giueth himselfe a benefit, cannot choise but receiue that which hee gaue, *Ergo*, it is no benefit. A good turne is entertained at one time, and recompensed at another; And in a benefit, the thing that is most probable, and of greatest repute, is, that he forgetteth his owne profit to doe an other man good, and taketh from himselfe, to giue vnto a second, this doth he not, that giueth himselfe a benefit. To giue a benefit is a sociable thing. It ioyneth that mans fauour, and obligeth this mans friendship: To giue to a mans selfe, is no sociable thing, it ioyneth no man, it obligeth no man, it incourageth no man to say, This man deserueth to be honoured, he did such a man a good turne, and will doe me the like. A benefit is that which a man giueth, not for his owne sake, but for his to whom he giueth it: he that giueth himselfe a benefit, giueth it for his owne sake; *Ergo*, it is no benefit.

CHAP. XII.

Supposist thou that I lie, and grow deficient in that which I promised in the * beginning? sayest thou that in stead of performing some laudable thing, I runne at randome, and thinking to doe well, haue lost my labour? Expect a little, I pray thee, and thou shalt say this more truly, (as loone as I haue led thee into these laborinthes, from whence, when thou hast escaped, thou shalt attaine no more, then to flee those difficulties into which it was in thine owne choice not to descend:) what profit receiuest thou to vnloose those knots which thou hast expressly knit with much trauaile, to the end thou mightest, when thou hast tied them, busie thy selfe to loosen them? But euen as some of them are so fastened (for delight and meriment sake) that it is a hard matter for an vnskillfull man to loosen them, whereas hee who hath tyed them, may easily slacke them, because hee knoweth the stops and entanglings thereof, and yet notwithstanding those haue some pleasure in them, for they try the sharpnesse of mens wits, and awaken them to more diligence: so these things which in appearance are subtil and deceitfull, exile securitie, dulnesse and sloth from mens mindes, to which sometimes easie passages are to be laid open, in which they may wander: sometimes some what difficult and dangerous is to be set in their way, through which they may hardly creepe without trauell, or in which they may not walke without difficultie. It is said that no man is vngratefull, and this is thus concluded. A benefit is that which profiteth, but no man can profit an euill man (as you Stoicks say) therefore an euill man receiue no benefit, and consequently also he cannot be vngratefull. Furthermore, a benefit is an honest and probable thing: with a wicked man there is no place, either for that which is honest or profitable, therefore not for a benefit, which if hee cannot receiue, he ought not to restore, and therefore is he not vngratefull. Again, as you say, A good man doth all things iustly; if he doth all things iustly, he cannot be vngratefull. A good man restoreth a benefit, an euill man cannot accept it. Which if it be so, neither any good or euill man is vngratefull: and consequently, this name of vngratefull is but a frivolous and imaginary name in this world. There is but only one good with vs, and that is honestie. This cannot an euill man apprehend, for he ceaseth to be euill, if vertue enter into him, but as long as he is euill, no man can

giue

*The third
Paradox.
He said in the
beginning of the
first chapter of
the first Booke,
that although he
had not to con-
sider of things
true, yet the
lawe should
not be layd.*

giue him a benefit, because good and euill things are at odds, and cannot be reconciled: therefore no man profiteth him, for whatsoever befalleth him, hee corrupteth it with euill vs. For euen as the stomacke being troubled and corrupted by long sickness, and oppressed by cholier, changeth whatsoever meates it receiue, and conuerteth all the nutriment it receiue into the cause of his griefe: euen so a blinded mind, whatsoever thou committest to him, it maketh the same his burthen, his bane, and the occasion of his miserie. They then which haue most riches, and possesse most goods, are subiect to most stormes and tempests, and the lesse find they themselfes, the more they fall into a greater occasion of impiety and disturbance: nothing therefore may befall the euill, that may profit them, nay rather, nothing that doth not hurt them. For whatsoever befalleth them, they conuert into their owne nature, and those things which in outward appearance are pleasing and profitable, if they were giuen to a better man, are pestiferous and harmefull to them. Therefore also can they not giue a benefit, because no man can giue that which hee hath not, and for that they want a will to doe good.

CHAP. XIII.



Ve although all this were true, yet may an euill man receiue such things as haue a similitude and resemblance of benefits, which being vnrecompensed, hee shall bee iustly termed vngratefull. There are goods of the mind, goods of the body, and goods of fortune. Those goods of the mind are such, as foolish and bad men are vn capable of them. To these is he admitted, who can both receiue the same, and is tied to restore them; and if he restoreth them not, he is vngratefull. And this is not our constitution only. The Peripatetiques also (who preface such large and ample bounds to humane felicitie) say, that the smaller sort of benefits befall the euill men. These, who soeuer restoreth not, he is vngratefull. We therefore esteeme them no benefits, which cannot better and ennoble the mind, yet denie we not, but that they are commodities, and such as are to be desired, these may an euill man giue, and receiue from a good man; as money, garments, honour, life, which if he requite not, he falleth into the name of an vngratefull man. But how call you him vngratefull, for not restoring that, which thou deniest to be a benefit? There are some things, which although they are not truly such, yet for the similitude and likeness they haue with them, are comprehended vnder the same word. So call wee a Boxe, both of that which is of gold, as that which is of silver: so terme we him vnlearned, that is not wholly rude, but as yet vntrayned and taught in higher discipline: so he that seeth a man ill clothed, and in ragged garments, saith that he hath seene a naked man. These are no benefits, yet haue they a resemblance of benefits. As these are but benefits in appearance, so seemeth he to be vngratefull, yet is not he vngratefull. This is false, because that he that giueth, and he that receiue, call them benefits. So also he that hath deceived vnder pretence and colour of a true benefit, is as vngratefull as he is held to be a paysoner, that giueth a stupifying medicine, when he beleueed it was payson.

*An answer to
the previous
Paradox, by the
distinction of the
goods of the
mind, of the bo-
dy, and of for-
tune.*

*And yet is cal-
led a Boxe, from
the Box-tree,
of which boxes
first were made,
in answer to
the Grecke word
oxis.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

A transformation
of the answer,
by the answer of
Cleanthes.



LEANTHES vrgeth this more vehemently; Although (saith he) it be not a benefit which he receiueh, yet is he vngratefull, because he would not haue restored it, although hee had receiued it. So is he a theefe (yea euen then before hee hath polluted his hands) because he is already armed to kill, and hath a will to spoile and murder: wickednesse beginneth not, but is exercised and opened in the action. That which he receiued was no benefit, but was so called. Sacrilegious persons are punished, although they lay not their hands on the Gods. How (saith he) may a man be vngratefull towards a wicked man, when as a benefit cannot be giuen to a wicked man? Verily in that respect, because he receiueh of him some of those things, which amongst vulgar and ignorant persons are called goods; whereof, if euill men haue abundance, he also in the like matter ought to be gratefull, and restore those things, whatsoever they be, for good, whereas he receiued them for good: he is laid to owe another mans money, both he that oweth gold, and he that oweth leather coyned with the publicke stampe, such as was currant amongst the *Lacedemonians*, that standeth in stead of readie money: In that kind wherein thou art obliged, in the same yeeld satisfaction.

CHAP. XV.

The fourth Per-
adox, that all
men are un-
gratefull.



Hat benefits are, and whether the greatnesse and dignitie of a name so honourable should be employed in this abiect and humble matter, it appertayneth not to you, a true benefit belongeth vnto others. Compose you your minds to the resemblance of a true benefit, and whilst you say that thing is honest, whatsoever it be, if it be reputed and esteemed for honest, esteeme and praise that: Euen as (saith he) no man in your iudgement is vngratefull, so againe by your reckoning all men are vngratefull. For as you say, all fooles are euill men, but hee that hath one vice possessed of all, and all men are fooles and euill, therefore all men are vngratefull. What then? doth not the reproach generally light vpon all mankind? Is it not a publike complaint that benefits are lost, & that there are few which requite not euill, for such as haue deserued well? neither hast thou cause to conuince that this is our particular misconcert, or deceit, and that we alone repute all things euill, and deprauid, that fall not out euen and iust, with the rule of right. Behold, I know not what veine it is, or whence it is lent, which cryeth not out of the Philosophers house, but from the midst of the multitude, condemning People and Nations.

Nor from the Hoste the guest can be secured,
Nor from his Sonne in law the Father freed,
Nor Brother from his Brother be assured:
But Man and wife haue either's death decreed,

But this now is more, benefits are turned into banes, and their blood is not spared, for whose defence wee ought to spend our owne. Wee follow and gratifie benefits

benefits with Sword and Poyson. At this time it is reputed dignitie and greatness to violate and spoyle a mans Country, and to oppresse her with her owne authoritie. He that hath not tridden the *Common-wealth* vnder his feete, supposeth himselfe the basest and ignoblest in the same. These Armies that were leuied by her, are armed against her, and the Generall declaimeth thus, Fight against your Wiues, fight against your Children, assault your Altars, Houses, and household gods. You that should not enter the Citie (not to triumph) without permission and command of the Senate, and to whom bringing home their victorious Armies, audience was giuen without the Citie walles, enter the Citie now with displayed ensignes, murdering the Citizens, and bathed in the blood of your nearest kinsfolks. Let libertie be silent amidst these warlike ensignes. And let that conquering Nation, and that people which hath established peace thorow their whole Empires, and driuen warres out of their Provinces, and allayed all terror and feare, now besieged and terrified within their owne walls, be afraid of their owne Standards and Eagles.

CHAP. XVI.



Ungatefull was ^a *Coriolanus*, too late pious and penitent after his wickednes committed: he laid aside his armes, yet so laid hee them aside, that it was in the height and midst of euill parricide. Ungatefull was ^b *Catiline*. It is a small matter with him to surprise his Country, except hee vterly ruinate it: except hee leade the regiments of the *Sauoyes* and *Dalphins* to spoyle the same; and these enemies whom hee had leuied on the other side of the *Alpes*, had satisfied and glutted their old and mortall hatreds: except the *Romane* Captaines had payd their long due anniuersaries of infernall sacrifice to the Sepulchres of the *Gauls*. Ingratefull was ^c *Caius Marius*, who was raised from a common Souldier to a Consular: who except hee had equalled the *Romane* Funerals with the *Cymbrian* slaughters, except hee had not giuen a signe of euill slaughter and murder, but himselfe had beene the murderer, hee would haue supposed that his fortune had beene changed very little, and that hee had not growne greater: but was buried in his former obscuritie. Ingratefull was *Lucius Sylla*, who heald his Countie with harder remedies then the dangers were; who when hee had marched from the towre of *Præneste* to the gate *Collina*, through the blood of slaughtered Souldiers, waged new battels in the Citie, executed new slaughters, and slue two legions (O cruelty) after victorie, and (that which was most impious) when hee had driuen and gathered them into a strait, hee murdered them notwithstanding, after hee had faithfully promised them their pardon, and inuented a proscription (O soveraigne Gods) that hee who had slaine a *Roman* Citizen, should not only be discharged and exempted from punishments, but receive reward, and, which is more, receive the reward done to him that preferred a Citizen. Ingratefull is ^d *Cincus Pompey*, who for his three Consulships, for his three triumphs, for so many honors; which for the most part

These examples
of ungratefull men
drawn from
Common-wealth.

a This was a
valiant Captaine
amongst the Ro-
mans, who be-
ing banished, re-
turned, and re-
covered of the
Cite (as Titus
Livius sayes)
b Hee who se-
ized the Ro-
me, and wrote
Caudina) was
forced to en-
ter into a trea-
ty with the
Volscians,
that being an
humiliation to
him, he began to
make his Coun-
trie, and the
Cite, more
valiant, by
the sword of
the Volscians,
he ended from
the Citie.

c This was an
other valiant
Citizen of Ro-
me, who tempo-
rarily lost of
his Country.

his naturall Country-men and Strangers, intended to destroy the same, had hee not beene prevented by Cicero's wisdom, in which he became a Citizen. d This was another *Romane* Citizen, who being a seuerely borne, and of valiant constitution, for his strength for a seuerely borne, and after being mentioned against the Citizens, hee was slaine for a seuerely borne. (saith Titus Livius) hee committed long murders in the Citie. e Hee was executed in the affairs of the *Common-wealth*, when hee was but threentie three yeeres old.

e The Romans had in their Cities three round Courts, or Circles, whither they resorted to see their Sports played, whereof this was one, which was to represent the Flaminian Circle or Round, because a Consul called Flaminius builded the same. f This was a King of the Etruscians, who might warre against the Romans, to inflame Tarquinus the Proud, and plucke his colours as Iulius Caesar did, more to the Flaminian Round or Theatre, g Dictator was the highest dignitie and Magistracie that was in the Roman Common-weale. See Aldus in his Booke, de legibus Romanis.

Bines examples of the ingratitude of a Common-weale towards private persons.

* All those were valiant Citizens of Rome, who employed themselves in many notable services, and received dignities for their good desert. This Island is not exempt from such like ingratitude.

were thrust vpon him, during his immature and yong yeares, returned the common-weale this requital, that he feared others of the possession of the same, supposing thereby to discharge himselfe of that enuie, that might bee conceited against his greatness and authoritie, if that which were lawfull for no man might bee admitted in many, whilst hee longed after extraordinarie changes and commands, whilst hee distributed Provinces, to make choice of that which best liked him, whilst in such sort hee diuided the Common-weale into the hands of the Tribunes, that two parts thereof remayned alwayes in his owne house, he reduced the Roman people to that extreme, that they could not be discharged or secured, but by their seruitude and losse of libertie: Ingratefull was he, who was both *Pompeys* Enemie and Conquerer, who drew the warre from the vttermost bounds of *Germanie* and *France*, before the walls of *Rome*. He it was (that pretending popularitie, and so great loue and tender care of the Comminaltie) that pitched his Tents in the * *Flaminian Round*, nearer then the place where *Porcenna* encamped. True it is, that hee tempered the power which the Law of Armes and Victorie allotted him, and performed that which hee was wont to say, and neuer lye any, except such a one as was armed and addrest to fight against him. But what importeth all this? The rest exercised Armes cruelly then hee did, yet were they satisfied at length, and laid them downe, but this man sheathed his sword quickly, but neuer laid it aside. Ingratefull was *Anthony* towards his *Dictator*, whom he pronounced to be iustly slaine, and assigned to his murderers great Prouinces and Governements: and hauing torne and tyred his Countrie with proscritptions, incursions, and ciuill warres after so many euils, he decreed, that, that generous Common-weale, which in times past had giuen liberties, exemptions, and particular priuiledges to the people of *Schais*, and the *Rhodiens*, and many other famous Cities, should her selfe become tributarie, not to Roman Kings, but to infamous Eupuchs and Geldings.

CHAP. XVII.



He day would faile me, if I should reckon vp all those that were vngratefull, euen with the vtter destruction of their Countreies. And no lesse endlesse labour would it bee, if I should begin to relate how vngratefull our Common-weale hath bene towards the best, and most tenderly affected Citizens the had, and how as often thee hath sinned in ingratitude her selfe, as others haue sinned against her. Shee sent * *Camillus* into exile, dismissed *Scipio*, banished *Cicero* after *Catlines* conspiracy, shee rased his house, spoiled his goods, and exercised against him all those cruelties which *Catiline* himselfe could haue done, had hee bene Conquerer. *Rutilius*, in reward of his innocencie, was banished into *Asia*, to liue there in obliuiscence. The Roman people denyed *Cato* the Praetorship, and would neuer grant him the dignitie of a Consul. In briefe, we are all of vs generally vngratefull. Let every one examine himselfe; there is not any man that will not complaine of some ones ingratitude. And it cannot be that all men should complaine, except there were some cause also to complaine of all men. All men therefore are vngratefull. Is this all? and are they thus only? All are couetous, the world likewise is subiect to auarice, all are malicious, all fearefull, and they especially, who seeme to be most confident. Furthermore, all men are ambitious,

rious and all men are wicked: But thou must not be displeased and grieved hereat, all of them are mad. I will not recall thee to vncertainties, as to say vnto thee, see how vngratefull youthis. Who is he (bee he neuer so innocent) that wiltheth not that his Father had breathed his last? who is he (how modest soeuer he be) that gapes not after his death? who is he (how religious and pitifull soeuer he be reputed) that thinketh not of his Fathers death? what husband so feareth the death of a good wife, as he counteth not the gaine he shall receive if she die? what man is he, I pray you, who being intangled in the Law, and deliuered by another mans diligence, that bethinketh him of so great a benefit any longer, then vntill a second action? This is confessed and certaine without all exception: Is there any man that dieth without complaining? who at his last gasped are say thus:

*My daies are done, now haue I brought to end
The course of life, that Fortune did me lend.*

Virgil. *Aeneid.*

Who dieth not vnwillingly? who departeth not mournfully? But this is the part of an vngratefull man, not to content himselfe with the time that was lent him. The daies will be alwayes few, if thou number them. Thinke that the chiefest good is not in time, and how little soeuer it bee, take it in good part. It addeth nothing to thy felicitie, if the day of thy death be prolonged, because by delay life is not made more blessed, but more long. How much better is it to giue thanks vnto the gods for those honest pleasures, which we haue received, and not to busie our selues in numbring other mens yeeres, but to esteeme our owne thankfully, and to put them in the account of our gaires: hath God thought me worthy of this? this sufficeth me: might he haue giuen me more? but this also is a benefit. Let vs be thankfull to the gods, let vs be thankfull to men, let vs be thankfull vnto those, that haue done vs any curtesie, and thankfull to those likewise, who haue done any kinde of good to any of ours.

A pious counsaile from a Pagan, fit to be followed by Christians.

CHAP. XVIII.



Thou obligest mee infinitely (saist thou) when thou saiest Ours, prefixe therefore some end. Hee that bestoweth a benefit on the Sonne, as thou sayest, bestoweth it likewise on the Father. First, I aske where, and whether, and afterwards I desire thee likewise to informe me, whether a pleasure done vnto the Father, be likewise done vnto the Brother, the Vnckle, the Grand-father, the Wife, the Sonne in law? Tell me where I should end; how long wilt thou that I follow the order and pedigree of so many persons? if I haue tilled thy land for thee, haue I not done thee a pleasure; if I haue quenched the fire that would haue burned thy house, or if I haue repaired it, for feare it should fall vpon thee, (shall I not giue thee a benefit? if I haue thy slaues life, shall I impute it vnto thee? if I preserve thy Sonne, hast thou not received a benefit at my hands?

A question, whether he that doeth a pleasure to any particular man, doeth it likewise to his Parents,

CHAP. XIX.

An answer to
the former
question.

Make a glimpse
of charity even
in a Pagan.

THou settest downe vnlke and different examples, because that he who tilleth my Land, giueh not the benefit to my Land, but to me: and he that vnder-propeth my house, lest it should fall, doth the pleasure to me: for the house it selfe is without sence. I must needs be in his debt, because none else is. And he that manureth my Land, doth it not to deserue well of the soile, but of my selfe. The same will I say of my seruant, for he iustly appertayneth to mee, It is for my profit he is preferred, and therefore I am indebted for him. My sonne is capable himselfe of a benefit, and therefore he receiued it; I am glad of the fauour done him: it concerneth mee somewhat, yet I am not obliged. Yet would I haue thee answer mee, who thinkest thou art not indebted, whether thy sonnes good health, felicitie and patrimouie appertayneth to the Father? He shall be more happy if his sonne be whole and safe, and vnhappy if hee lose him. What then? he that is made happier by mee, and deliuered from the perill of a mighty infelicitie and misfortune: hath hee not receiued a benefit? no (saith he) for certaine things are bestowed vpon others, which extend also vnto vs; but every thing ought to be required at his hands, on whom it is bestowed: as money is required at his hands who borrowed the same, although the same came in some sort into my hand. There is no benefit, the profit thereof toucheth and extendeth not to our neighbors, and sometimes also to those that are farthest off from vs. The question is not, whether the benefit be transferred from him to whom it is given, but where it is first placed, thou must alwaies redemand it from the principall debtor, and he that ought it first. What then I pray thee? saith thou not thou hast giuen mee my sonne, and if had perished I should not haue liued? owest thou not a benefit for his life, whose safety thou preferrest before thine owne? At such time as I saved thy sonne, thou fallest downe at my feete; thou payest thy vowes vnto the gods, as if thou thy selfe hadst bene preferred? These same hast thou done in succouring my sonne, as in sauing mine owne person: make account that thou hast saved two, and me especially: Why saiest thou this, if thou receiuest no benefit? because although my sonne hath borrowed money, which I will repay vnto his creditor, yet shall not I be indebted: and if my sonne hath bene taken in adulterie, I may haply be ashamed, yet shall not I therefore be the adulterer: I say that I am bound vnto thee for my sonne, not because I am, but because I will offer my selfe vnto thee a voluntary debtor. But a great pleasure hath befallne me by his safety; inestimable is the profit I conceiue thereby, and which is more, I haue escaped the grievous wound and corsuue of being child-lesse. The question is not now, whether thou hast profited profited mee; but whether thou hast giuen me a benefit; for a liuing creature, an herbe, a stone profit me, yet giue thee me no benefit, which is neuer giuen but by such an one as is willing. But thou wilt not giue vnto the Father, but to the Sonne; and in the meane while thou knowest not the Father; when therefore thou saiest, Haue I not therefore giuen a benefit to the Father, because I haue saved his sonne? Argue thou this contrariwise: How could I therefore giue a benefit to the Father, whom I neuer knew, or euer thought vpon? and why fallest it not out sometimes, that thou shalt hate the Father mortally, and yet bee desirous to saue his sonnes life? Wouldst thou say that thou gapest a benefit to the Father, whose

Resolution of
the doubts.

whose mortall enemie thou wert at that time? But yet dismissing these cauling disputes I may answer like a Lawyer; The minde of the giuer is to bee respected. He gaue him the benefit to whom he intended it; euen as if hee did it in honour of the Father: the Father receiued the benefit, not the sonne, so is not the Father bound for a benefit bestowed vpon his sonne, although hee enjoy it. Yet if occasion be offered, the Father shall not doe amisse, to be willing to giue somewhat, not that he is constrained by necessity to pay any thing, but that he might haue found a sufficient cause to begin to doe a pitifull. A benefit therefore ought not to bee redemanded at the fathers hands, for a curtesie done vnto the Sonne; and if he voluntarily shew himselfe gratefull for the same, he ought rather to be esteemed iust, than thankfull. For otherwise there would neuer be an end; if I giue a benefit to the Father, the Mother, the grand-father, the Vncle, to the children, kinsfolke, friends, seruants, and countries: where e then beginneth a benefit to rest? For me thinks I am faine into an argument which the Grecians call *Sorites*, which hath neuer an end, because it slealeth on by litle and litle, and cealeth not continually to passe on further. Men are wont to debate vpon this matter: T wo brothers are at deadly feude the one against the other, if I preferue the one; haue I profited the other, who will bee sorrie; that his brother, whom he hateth, hath escaped with life? There is no doubt; but that it is a benefit, although it be against his will that receiueh the same: euen as contrary wise, he hath not giuen a benefit, that profited against his will.

CHAP. XX.



Allest thou that (saith he) a benefit wherewith hee is offended and vexed? many benefits haue a harsh and distastfull appearance; as when we cut and cauterise, to heale; and imprison, to amend. We ought not to respect, whether a man bee sorrie for a benefit receiued, but whether bee ought to reioyce. The coynne is not bad, which a barbarous and ignorant person accepteth not for curiant and rightly stamped money. He hateth the benefit and yet he receiueh the same, if it be profitable vnto him; and hee that hath giuen the same, hath done it to the end that it should bee profitable: it makes no matter though a man receiue a good turne with an euill will: So to let vs turpie this the contrary way: A man hateth his brother, whose life importeth and profiteth him much: him haue I saue. This action of mine is no benefit vnto him, although he say it is, and reioyce thereat. Most traitorously doth he hurt, who receiueh thanks for doing harme. I do than see, something is profitable, and is therefore a benefit: hurtfull, and therefore is no benefit. Behold, I will giue thee that which is neither profitable, nor hurtfull, and yet it is a benefit. I haue trauesed a desolate place, and found some mans father stark dead, and haue buried his body: neither haue I profited him that was saue (for what concerned it him after what manner he were consumed?) neither was it profitable for his sonne, for what could he gaine hereby? I will tell you what he hath gained, hee hath discharged by my necesse a necessitie and solemne office. I haue done that to his father: which he himselfe would haue done, nay more, which in duty he ought to doe. Now If I did it not for common pietie and humanities sake only, as I might haue buried any other dead mans body, but knew the carcase and thought vpon the sonne at the same time, and did it for his sake, then is it a benefit. But if I burie a dead man that is

thee entreat into
new questions,
and first of all,
regardeth this,
whether for sa-
ving a brothers
life mortally
bated by his o-
ther brother,
both of them bee
tyed to acknow-
ledge the benefit.

L

vnknowne

vnknowne to me, no man is indebted to me for this office, because it was but a point of publique humanitie. Some one will say vnto me: Why art thou so busie to enquire, who it is, to whom thou hast done a pleasure, as if thou wouldest hereafter redemand the same? There are some, that iudge that it should neuer be claymed againe, and alledge these causes: The vnworthy receiuer will not repay the same, although redemanded, the thankfull and worthy receiuer will of himselfe yield recompence. Besides if thou hast giuen to a good man, be not too earnest in clayming it, lest in demanding the same thou doe him wrong; as if he would not haue satisfied thee of his owne free will. If thou hast giuen it to an euill man, haue patience. Corrupt not thy benefit by making it a debt. Besides, that which the Law biddeth not to bee redemanded, it forbiddeth. These things are true, as long as nothing vtgeth me, as long as fortune inforceth me nothing. I will rather craue a benefit then redemand it. But if it be to faue my childrens liues: if my wife be in danger of hers, if the libertie and good of my Country constraineth mee to goe thither, whither I would not, I will command my bashtulnesse, I will protest that I haue done my vttermost, that I might haue no neede of an vngratefull mans helpe. Last of all, the necessitie of receiuing a good turne, shall ouercome the shame of clayming it. When therefore I employ a benefit vpon a good man, I fo giue it, as if I would neuer redemand the same, except necessitie inforce me:

CHAP. XXI.

But the law (saith he) not permitting to demand, forbiddeth to claime. There are many things, which neither haue law, nor action, to which the custome of humane life (more powerfull then any law) giueth entrance. No law commandeth vs not to discouer our friends secrets, neither doth any law in like manner tyevs to keepe promise and our word with our enemy. What law tyeth vs to performe that which we haue promised to any man? yet will I iustly complaine of him, that hath discouered my secret, and be displeased with him, that hath giuen me his word, and hath not kept it. But thou (saith he) makest a debt of a benefit. Nothing lesse: for I doe not exact it, but redemand it; neither doe I redemand it, but admonish: neither shall my extreamest necessitie inforce me to this, to come vnto him, with whom I shall be forced to vse long contestation. Who so is so farre plunged in ingratitude, that he will not be content to be aduertised and admonished, I will let him passe, neither will I thinke him worthy to be inforced to bee thankfull. Euen as some vsurer raketh not vpon those debtors, whom he knoweth to haue played the bankrupts, or to bee so poore, that nothing is left them to lose, that may make them ashamed, so will I ouerpasse some that are publicly and obtinately thanklesse; neither will I redemand a benefit at any mans hand, but from him onely, from whom I shall not take away by force, but freely receiue it.

CHAP.

*A replication
upon the ques-
tion precedent
touching the re-
patriation of be-
nefits.*

CHAP. XXII.

MAny there are that neither know how to denie the good they haue receiued, nor to restore it when it is needefull: who are not so good as the gratefull, nor so euill as the vngratefull: slacke and idle debtors, yet not euill. These will I not challenge, but admonish: and since they forget their duty, I will make them remember themselves, so as they will presently answer me in this sort: *Pardon me, I pray you, in good faith I knew not that you had neede hereof: for had I thought so much, I had offered it you of my selfe: I beseech you account mee not vngratefull, I remember well what kindeesse you haue done vnto me.* Why should I feare to make these men better to themselves, and to me also? I will bind whomsoever I can from sinning, much more my friend from offending, and especially against my selfe. I giue him an other benefit, if I suffer him not to bee vngratefull, neither will I rudely vpbraide him with the good turnes he hath had of me; but as mildly as I can, will I only refresh the memory of them, to the end hee may haue occasion to restore mee some such pleasure: I will pray him to doe mee a good turne, to the end he may vnderstand, that I doe it to redemand mine owne. Now and then will I vse sharpe and bitter words, if I conceiue any hope that he may be amended: for a desperate person, who hath lost all shame, I will not exasperate him, lest of an vngratefull man I make him mine enemy. For if we remit and forbear to admonish sharply, and call on those that are vngratefull, wee shall make them more slow to requite our curtelies. But some, that may be amended, and who may be made good, if any thing touch their conscience: shall we suffer them to be lost for want of admonition, wherewith the father hath sometimes corrected his sonne, and the wife recalled and reclaimed her straying husband, and a friend refreshed the languishing faith of his friend?

CHAP. XXIII.

Some there are that so sleepe, that they are not to be awaked by striking, but by iogging. In like manner there are some that want not the will to yeeld satisfaction, but they are too slacke and slow in the performance thereof, let vs awaken it. Bee not thou the cause that thy benefit be conuerted into an iniurie. Thou shouldest iniure me, if thou wouldest not redemand the pleasure, which thou hast done me, for this cause, that I might become vngratefull. What, if I know not what thou wantest? what if distracted by occupations, and employed otherwise, I haue not obserued the occasion? I shew me what I may, and what thou wouldest. Why dispairest thou, before thou triest me? why art thou so hasty to lose both thy benefit and thy friend? whence knowest thou, that I will not, or I know not, or whether my mind, or meanes be deficient; make trial of me. I will aduise and admonish him then, not bitterly, not openly, but so modestly, that he may thinke, that of himselfe he hath called the matter to memory, and was not put in mind by me.

L 2

CHAP.

*What extremi-
ties a man ought
to vse in such a
case.*

CHAP. XXIII.

A notable example to that purpose, of a stout Souldier, and a gratefull Emperour.



Certaine old Souldier, who had vsed some violence toward his neigh bours, was drawne in question before *Tulius Cesar*, and seeing himselfe ouer-charged, and like to lose the proceſſe. *CAESAR* (saith he) remember you not, how you once spent your ancle in *Spaine* neere to *Sucro* a riuer of *Valentia*? when *Cesar* had answered him, that he remembered it well, the Souldier continuing his purpose, said thus: Doe you remember likewise, that being couched under a Tree (that gaue but little shadow, and desirous to rest your selfe, to ſtie the heate of the ſcorching Sunne, in a barren and rockie soile, in which there was not but that only Tree, that grew from amongst the craggy cliſſes) there was one of your Souldiers, that ſpied his cloke vnder you. When *Cesar* had answered, yea marry, why should I not remember it: for when I was nigh dead for thirst, because I was not able to goe to the next spring, by reason of my foote, I would haue crept thither vpon all foure, but that a Souldier of mine, a man both stout and valliant, brought mee water in his Helmet. *Emperour* (said this souldier) do you now know that man, and that helmet, if you see them. *CAESAR* answered, that he knew not the Morion, but that he knew the Souldier very well, and further said (displeased, as I suppose, for that he interrupted the pleading of the cause, to listen to that old storie, which he had told him) I am sure thou art not he. *Cesar* (said the Souldier) I blame thee not, in that thou hast forgotten me, for when this was done, I was whole and sound, afterwards I lost an eye at the battell of *Munda*, certaine splinters of my skull were taken out of my head, neither would you know the Helmet if you should see it, for it was cleft in pieces by the stroke of a Spaniſh Curtelaxe. Here vpon *Cesar* commanded, that he should not be troubled any further, and gaue vnto his Souldier those small parcels of Land, through which the way lay, that made this strife betwixt him and his neighbors.

Or Mistrust, a people of Andalusia.

CHAP. XXV.



What then? should he not re-challenge the benefit at the Emperors hands, whose memory was confuled through the multitude of his affaires? whose great fortune in disposing of his army, sufficed him not to remember and reward every private Souldier? This is not to redemand a benefit, but to resume it againe, being ready at hand, and laid vp in a good place, and yet if a man will haue it, hee must stretch out his hand. I will therefore redemand the same, if I be constrained to doe it, either by necessitie, or for his sake, of whom I must require it. A certaine familiar of *Tiberius Caesars*, pretending some suite vnto him in the beginning of his Empire, began his speech thus: Sir, remember you not? to which he answered, before he vttered any further tokens of their former and ancient friendship, I remember not, what I was. From such as this Prince was, not only should a good man forbear to aske recompence of former curtesies, but also he ought to desire and procure, that he might forget them vtterly. He disdained the memorie and knowledge of all those persons, whom he reputed either for his friends, or equals, before his Empire, his only desire was, that they should respect that present fortune and authoritie, wherein hee was placed, that

that only would he haue to be thought vpon, that only to bee spoken of; hee reputed his ancient friend for a bulie Inquisitor. It is better to redemand a pleasure thou hast done in times past in time and place, then to require & craue anew. Moderation of words is to be vsed, that the vngratefull man whatsoever, cannot pretend to haue forgotten them. If we liued amongst men of science and conscience, we might hold our peace and expect, and yet it were better to giue them notice of our affaires, and the estate of our necessities. Wee pray vnto the gods, who know all things; our prayers obayne not that which we demand, they only aduertise them of that which we would intreat at their hands. That Priest which speaketh in *Homer*, representeth vnto the gods the honour, which was done vnto them: and those Altars which were devoutly addressed, and dressed for them, to the end they might be fauourable to his petitions, and attentue to his prayers. It is a second vertue, both to be willing to be admonished, and to be able to entertaine good aduertisements. The mind is to be reigned softly this way and that way: few there are that are perfectly governed by the same, but they that by honest aduertisements returne into the right way, hold the second place; and from these wee ought not to take the guide that conducteth them. The eyes that are shut haue a light, but without vse, which then grow in vse, when the day-light (which the gods send vs) calleth them forth and awakeneth them to performe their offices. Instruments and tooles lie by and serue no vſes, except the workeman moue them, and employ them in his labour: meane while theris a good will in his soule, but either idlenesse or delight benummeth it, or the ignorance of his art maketh him erre. We ought therefore to amend our will, and not to suffer it through despite to languish long time in error: but following the custome of Schoole-masters, who instruct yong children, we ought patiently to endure, and discretely to pardon them, if they haue forgotten any thing through defect of memory. And euen as in telling them a word or two, they fashion them to contriue their whole lesson: so by some little admonition we ought to reclaime such as are forgetfull, and fashion them to acknowledge a Benefit.

The will is to be awakened, lest it languish in error.

The end of the fift Booke.

LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE SIXT BOOKE.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

A Gaine continueth he his questions after the manner of CHRYSSIPPVS. First, he enquireth, whether a benefit may be taken away? hee differently disputeth thereupon, yet concludeth that the vse thereof may be taken away, but not the benefit it selfe. His second question is, whether we be indebted to him, who either profited vs willingly, or ignorantly? he denieth. His third is, whether wee bee obliged to him that profited vs for his owne sake? if only for himselfe, he denieth it; but if for mine also, he admitteth it. Hee mixeth subtilties with examples. The fourth is, whether it be lawfull to wish another man an euill turne, to the end thou mayest restore him his benefit? it is not lawfull, and he condemneth it. Hee openeth another way of restitution, euen to those that are happy, yea to Kings, by counsailes, admonitions, and doctrines.

CHAP. I.



Here are some things (my *Liberals*, the worthiest of men) which are only drawne in question to exercise the spirit, and haue no vse in them. There are other things also, which not onely moue delight, whilest they are disputed vpon, but after they are debated, are greatly profitable vnto vs. I will present thee with all sorts of them. Thou mayest, as it pleaseth thee, aduise me, either whether I shall finish those that are begunne, or that I present them only on the Theater, for show and ostentation sake: and although thou commandest them to be incontinently retired, yet will there some profit arise thereby: for although there are some things which are vnnescessarie to be spoken of, yet it auaieth vs somewhat to know them. I will therefore be at thy disposition and becke, and shap my proceedings according to thy pleasure: some will I debate vpon more amply, other some will I expell, and suffer to perill.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THe question is, whether a benefit may be taken away. Some deny that it may, for a benefit is nothing but an action, even as the gift is one thing, and the giver another, and hee that sailleth one thing, and the Navigation it selfe another thing. And although the sick man be not without sicknesse, yet is not he that is sicke and the sicknesse it selfe all one: so the benefit it selfe is one thing, but that which commeth to each one of vs by the benefit, is another thing. A benefit is a thing incorporeall, which cannot be frustrated, the matter thereof is tossed hither and thither, and changeth his master. When therefore thou takest the same away, Nature it self cannot vndoe those things she hath done. She stoppeth the course of her benefits, but cutteth them not off. He that dieth, yet hath liued, and he that hath lost his sight, hath formerly seene. It may be brought to passe, that those things that are come to vs, may not be: but that they may not haue bin, it is impossible; but the part of the benefit, and the most certaine is that which was. Sometimes we hinder the vie and long possession of a benefit; the benefit it selfe cannot be razed out. Though nature summon all her forces to this end, yet hath she no power ouer that which is past. Thou mayest take away the house thou gauest mee, the money thou lendest me, the slave I bought, and whatsoeuer else, wherein the name of a benefit consisteth, but the benefit it selfe is stable and immutable, no force can effect this, that the one hath not given, and the other hath not received.

CHAP. III.

MARCVS ANTONIVS (as the Poet * Rabirius setteth it downe) seeing his fortunes translated to Augustus, and that no other refuge was left him, but the priuiledge of death, and that that also (except he tooke hold of the present occasion) would quickly be taken from him, cried out in my opinion most heroically.

*That onely now I haue,
Which I to others gaue.*

O how much might he haue had, if he would? These are the most assured riches which will continue at one stay, in whatsoever inconstancie and leuitie of humane fortune, which the greater they be, the lesse enuie will they haue. Why art thou so sparing of that thou hast, as if it were thine owne? thou art but Fortunes factor. All these things which thus pusse you vp, that enflame you with pride, that seeme to make you more then men, cause you to forget frailtie. These therefore which you keepe within iron walls, with armed hands, these goods which you haue purchased with others mens blouds, and defended with your owne, for which you rigge forth whole Nauies to staine the Seas with bloud, for which you beleager Cities, and yet ignorant, what store of weapons Fortune hath prepared against those, who are opposed against her. These for which two ambitious pretenders of Empire (the lawes of amitie, friendship and confederacie beeing broken) haue so oftentimes caused the

world

world to be so crushed and confounded, are not yours; they are but as things in trust left in your hands, and shall suddenly bee translated to another Master. That enimie, from whom you haue pillaged them, or some successeur of his enmitie and hatred shall come and force them from thee. Askest thou me, how thou mayest make them thine owne? I answer thee, by well bestowing them. Be prouident therefore in thy affaires, purchase vnto thy selfe an assured possession of those things which can neuer be taken from thee: thy riches shall not only be more secure, but also more honest: that which thou admiest and priest so much, that which in thy iudgement maketh thee rich and powerfull, as long as thou detainest it in thy hands, retainest no other title but the villanous name of avarice, as for example, thy house, thy slave, thy money; but after thou hast giuen them, they are accounted and reckoned for benefits.

CHAP. IIII.

THou confessest (saith he) that sometimes we are not obliged and indebted to him, of whom we haue received a benefit: *Ergo*, it is taken from vs. There are many causes, which discharge vs of the obligation, whereby we are tyed for the good we haue received, not for that it is violently taken from vs, but because it is corrupted by an other meanes. A certayne man defendeth me, being accused and guiltie of some capitall crime, and afterwards vseth infamous violence to my wife, and rauisheth her; he hath not taken away the good that he did me, but opposing an equall iniurie to the same, hee discharge me of my debt; and if he hath hurt me more then he profited me before, the good turne is not only extinguished, but I haue free libertie both to complaine, and to reuenge, where, in comparison of the benefit, the iniurie ouer-weigheth it: so the benefit is not taken away, but over-pressed and drowned. What? are not some fathers so hard-hearted and wicked, that it is both lawfull and rightfull to lothe and shun them and not to acknowledge them? haue they therefore taken from them that which they gaue them? nothing lesse: but the impietie of succeeding times hath taken away the commendation of euery former office and kinnesse: the benefit is not taken away, but only the thanks, which ought to bee acknowledged for the same, and it is brought to passe, not that I haue it not, but that I owe it not. As if a man lend me money, and afterwards burne my house, his debt is satisfied by my damage; I haue not paid him, and yet I owe him nothing. Even so standeth the case here: though a man hath done me some friendly good turne, though he hath dealt with me somewhat liberally, yet if afterwards he many wayes vse mee proudly, contumeliously and cruelly, hee hath left me at that stay, that I am as free from him, as if I had neuer receiued any thing at his hands, for the fault is his owne; and hee himselfe hath violated his owne benefits. The Land-lord cannot constrain his Tenant to pay his Rent (although the Deeds remayne in force vncancelled) if hee tread downe his Corne, sell downe his fruit-trees, not because he hath receiued that which hee conenanted, but for that he himselfe is the cause, that his Tenant cannot satisfie him. So is the Creditor oftentimes endamaged towards his Debter, if he take more for some other pretext, then that which he lent did amount vnto. The Iudge sitteth not between the Creditor and Debter to say only this, Thou hast lent him money: what then? thou hast driuen away his Cattell, murdered his

Seruant,

*All greatest is
transferrable, the
perdurable good
is least apprehended.*

*How sometimes
we are excused
from satisfying
pleasures due
vnto vs.*

*A confirmation
of the answer, by
an Apothegme
of Marke An-
thonio, who gi-
ueth a notable
instruction vnto
great Lords,
who may doe
much good by
the meanes of
their riches and
credit.*

** This was a
noble Port that
wrote the cruell
wars, and com-
mended by
Ouid.*

Seruant, taken possession of his land, which thou neuer payedst for; when all these things shall be well considered of, and valued: depart thou a debtor, who camest a creditour. There is therefore a iust rating and valuation betwixt benefits and iniuries to be made. Oftentimes, I say, the benefit remaineth, and we are not obliged to satisfie the same, if he that gaue it, repented himselfe afterwards; if he say he was vnhappy in that he gaue the same, if when he gaue he sighed, or bent his browes, if he beleued he hath lost, and not giuen: if he hath done it for his owne profit, or at least not for mine; if he hath not ceased to insult, bragge, and boast euery where, and make his benefit bitter and distastfull to the receiuer. The benefit therefore remaineth, although it be not due, euen as certaine moneyes are due, but not exacted, because the creditor hath no law to recouer them.

CHAP. V.



Whether a man may or ought to acknowledge a benefit, and reuenge himselfe of an outrage done him by one and the same person.

Hou gauest a benefit, and afterwards diddest an iniurie, there is both a thanks due to the benefit, and a reward for the iniurie, for I owe him no thanks, nor he me any punishment; the one satisfieth the other. When we say, I haue satisfieth his benefit, we say not thus, that we haue restored that which we receiued, but this for that, for to restore, is to giue one thing for another. Why not? because euery payment restoreth not the same, but as much in value: for we are said to haue satisfieth our debt, although we haue paid siluer for gold, and although we pay no money at all, but either by assignement to other, or by way of exchange we make our satisfaction. Me thinks thou tellest me, that I lose my labour: for what profiteth it me to know, whether that which is not due remaineth still in obligation? These are but impertinent subtilties of the Lawyers, who say that no man can acquire the possession or dominion of an inheritance, but onely the goods thereof, as if the heritage were ought else, then those things which are in the inheritance? I had rather thou shouldst distinguish me this (which may be pertinent to the matter) namely, when as the same man had done me a courtesie, and afterwards offered me an iniurie, whether I ought to requite his kindness, and not withstanding reuenge my selfe for the iniury offered me, and make a severall satisfaction, as it were, for two different debts, or recompence the one with the other, and not to take any more care of it, so as the benefit be taken away by the iniurie, and the iniurie by the benefit. For I see that this is obserued in the Courts of pleas: what the resolution of your Schoole is, you your selues know. The actions are fencrall: and conformably to the course of our pleadings, so answerably are we dealt withall. For otherwise there should be a great confusion in the Judgement-seat, and course of Law: if he that should leaue in my custodie goods or money in trust, should afterwards steale from me, I should enter my suite of felony against him, and contrariwise he plead against me, for the money left in trust with me.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.



Hose examples (my *Liberals*) which thou hast proposed, are contained vnder certain lawes, which we must needs follow, for one law is not confounded with another, each one keepeth his one way. As for the matter in trust, there is a distinct action, so is there also for the theft. A benefit is not subiect to any law, only I that receiued the same, am the arbitrarie Iudge thereof: I haue authoritie to compare together, how much good another man hath done mee, or what damage I haue receiued by him: whether I be indebted more vnto him, or hee obliged more to me. In iudging by law and ordinances I haue not any power, thither must wee goe, whither they leade vs. But in matter of benefit, all the power and priuiledge is mine owne, and therefore I iudge them, and seuerate not the actions, I summon the benefits and iniuries before our Iudge: otherwise, thou commandest mee at one and the same time, to loue and hate one and the same person, to complaine of him, and to giue him thanks, which nature cannot permit: nay, rather by comparing the benefit and wrong together, I shall see, whether any thing be owing me of surplussage. Euen as he that imprinteth other lines aloft vpon my writings, taketh not away the former letters, but only raceth and hideth them: euen so an iniurie that succedeth a benefit, blemisheth it so, that it cannot appeare.

An answer to the former question

CHAP. VIII.



Vt thy countenance (to whose direction and becke I submitted my selfe) beginneth to frowne, and thou benedist thy browes vpon mee, as if I strayed from my purpose, mee think I heare thee say:

Whither so farre disloyed from the port,
Dost thou vpon thy right hand saile before?
Fly hitherwards, vnto thou haue resort,
And leaue the maine, and loue and like the shore.

Pardon me, I can keepe no neerer. If therefore thou thinkest that I haue satisfieth and sufficiently debated on this matter: let vs passe onward to the other, and examine whether wee be indebted to him that hath done vs a pleasure against his will. I could speake this more plainly, but that the proposition ought to be more confused, to the end that the distinction which followeth presently after, should shew that we dispute both the one and other point: that is to say, whether we are bound vnto him that hath procured our good, and meant it not, and also whether we be beholding to him, that hath done vs good, and knew it not. For if any man by compulsion hath shewed vs any kindness, it is a matter so manifest, that he obligeth vs not, that there need no words to be spent to this purpose. And this question may easily be answered, and whatsoever may be objected of the same nature, if wee often conuert our thoughts to this generall principle: That there is no benefit but that which is accompanied with a good thought towards vs, and such a thought and intent likewise, as is both friendly and bountifull. And therefore we thanke not the giuers, although they

whether we are obliged to him that hath assisted vs willingly, or at vnwares.
Virgil Aeneid. 5

they beare great ships, and with a large and perpetuall chanell, fleet along to furnish vs with commodities, & although wooing the wondring eye, and full of daintie fish, they steale along and moulen our sarned fields: neither will any man iudge that he is indebted to *Rhine*, or displeased therewith, if it hath ouerflowed and drowned his land, or too slowly growne to ebbe: neither doth the wind befriend vs, although it blow a gentle and prosperous gale, nor the victualls we eat, although they be profitable and holtsome. For he that properly will giue a benefit, must not onely profit me, but haue a will to doe me good. Therefore men are not indebted to dumbe beafts: yet how many hath the swiftnesse of a horse deliuered out of danger? nor to trees, and yet how many troubled with heat, hath the shadow of their branchie armes deliuered and covered from the scorching Sunne? what concerneth it me, whether he that did mee good, know not that he doth it, or be not able to know it, when both of them wanted will to doe it? And what difference is there, whether you command me to owe a benefit to a ship, or a chariot, or a speare, or to such a one, who, as these, had no purpose to doe good, but was profitable vnto me only casually?

CHAP. VIII.



Man may receive a benefit vnwittingly, but no man doth good without knowing of the same: euen as many men haue been healed of their infirmities, by some casual accident, and yet for all that they are no true remedies: As some men haue recovered their health by falling into a river in an exceeding cold day: As a quartaine ague hath been driuen from some men by whipping, and a sedaine fright hath disappointed the expected houre of an ague, by fixing the imagination on an other distillfull euill, and yet none of these, although they haue beene the cause of recouery, can be said but to be a soueraigne remedie, so some men profit vs while they would not, or rather because they will not doe vs good, yet are we not indebted to them for the benefit. What if fortune hath altered their pernicious counsailes, and drawne them to a better end? Supposest thou that I am any waies bound vnto him, whose hands striking at me, light vpon and hit mine enemy, which would haue hurt me, except it had swarued? Oft-times a witnesse whilest he manfully forswearth himselfe, hath detracted from their credit, who were true witnessses, and hath made the Iudges to commiserate the prisoner, supposing that it was but some slanderous circumuention and conspiracie. Oft-times the very great power and authoritie of the aduersary, hath deliuered the delinquent out of the Iudges hands, who would not condemne him vpon the credit and fauor of the accuser, whom otherwaies they had convicted by the iustice of the cause. Yet did not these giue a benefit, although they profited, for the question is, whereat the dart was aimed, nor where it lighted: and it is the minde, and not the euent, which distinguisheth a benefit from an iniurie. Mine aduer'sarie, whilest he speaketh contraries, and offendeth the iudge by his pride, and rashly dismisseth one of his best witnessses, giueth great advantage to my cause. I aske not, whether hee erred to pleasure me, because his intention was to hurt me.

CHAP.

By diuers reasons and similitudes, he proueth, that we are not obliged to him that hath done vs good, in thinking to doe vs iniurie.

CHAP. IX.



Erily, to approue my selfe gratefull, it behoueth me to haue a will to doe that which he hath done: if he would that I should take it for a benefit, he ought to haue a will and intent. For what is more vnuit then that man who hatch him, that hath kicked him in a throng, or soyled him with dirt, or thrust him thither, whither he would not? But what other thing is there that may exempt him from the blame whereas there is an iniurie in the action, then that he knew not what hee did? The same thing that priuilegeth the one from being iudged to haue done iniurie, exempteth the other also from being thought to haue done a pleasure. It is the will that maketh vs either friends or enemies. How many hath sicknesse discharged from warfare? Some haue beene letted from being oppressed with the ruine of their owne houses, by keeping their day of appearance at the suit of their enemies. And some by shipwrack haue escaped the hands of Pyrates, yet are we not obliged to these misfortunes for any benefit, because casual events haue no correspondencie with amitie; nor to our enemy, who would trouble vs by process, and detaine vs vnder arrest. It is no good deede that proceedeth not from a good will, except he that gaue it acknowledge it. Hath a man pleased me, and know not of it? I owe him nothing. Did he doe me good when he would haue hurt me? I will doe the like to him.

No benefit denotes the name, except it be accompanied with a good will.

CHAP. X.



Et vs returne againe to the first poynt: Thou wilt that (to the intent I should be thankfull) I should doe somewhat, and yet he that did me kindnesse, hath done nothing. Let vs speake now of the other. Thou wilt haue me giue thanks to this man, and that I should willingly restore that which I haue receiued, from him that gaue vnwillingly. For what shall I say of the third, whose iniury is exchanged into a benefit? If thou wilt haue me to owe thee a good turne, it is not enough for thee to be only willing to doe me good: but to make mee vnbeholding to thee, it is enough that thou meanest it not towards me. For the bare will cannot make a benefit. But euen as that should not be a benefit, if a good & free will were abandoned by fortune; so likewise is it not a benefit, if the will marcheth not before the fortune. For if thou wilt haue me beholding to thee, thou must not only doe me good, but also thou must doe it with a will to profit.

A continuation of the precedent resolution.

CHAP. XI.



LEANTHES vseth this example, I sent, saith he, two Boyes into the Academic to seek out Plato, and to bring him vnto me. The one of them sought him out in all the Galleries and Porches, where he was wont to walke, and ranne through all other places wherein he had any hope to find him out, and at length being wearie with his way, and frustrate of his hope, returned home. The other stood gazing at the next lugler, or mountebank, or whilst he wandreth vp and down

A confirmation of the precedent, by the example of Cleanthes two messengers.

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and plaiceth with his fellows and companions, seeth *Plato* passing by, and found him whom he sought not. I, saith *Cleantes*, will commend that Boy who performed that he was commanded to his vttermoſt, and will chaſtiſe that other who was more fortunate in lazineſſe. It is the will that is the lawfull Maſtris of theſe actions, the condition whereof muſt be conſidered, if thou wilt haue me to be thy debter. It is a ſmall matter to with a man well, except thou pleaſure him; It is a ſmall matter to haue pleaſured, except thou haſt a will to doe it. For put caſe a man had a will to giue, yet gaue not, vndoubtedly I haue his hart, but not his benefit, which conſummataeth and perfecteth both the thing and the will: euen as I owe him nothing that would haue truſted me with his money, but did not: ſo will I be a friend, but not obliged to him, that would haue done me a curteſie, but could not: and I ſhall haue a will to doe him good, becauſe he had a will to pleaſure me. Notwithſtanding, if fortune be ſo favourable vnto me, as that I may haue the meanes to giue him any thing, it ſhall not bee to gratifie his curteſie, but to giue him a benefit. It ſhall be his dutie to yeeld me thankes, and the beginning of the debt ſhall be deriued from me.

CHAP. XII.

*Of choſe that be-
neit others, for
the loue of them-
ſelues.*

Perceiue now already what thou meaneſt to demand: thou needeſt not to tell me, thy looks expreſſe thy thoughts. Are we indebted in any ſort to him (ſayſt thou) who, to profit himſelfe, hath done vs a pleaſure? For of this thing oft-times I heare thee complaine, that there are ſome men, who reckon that kindneſſe to be done vnto another, which they giue to themſelues. I will ſatiſſie thee herein, my *Liberalis*: but firſt of all I will diuide this little queſtion into two parts, and ſeparate that which is iuſt, from that which is vniuſt. For there is a great difference, whether a man giueſt vs a benefit for his owne ſake, or for our behoofe, or for his owne and ours. He that ſolely reſpecteth his owne commoditie and profit, and profiteth vs notwithstanding (becauſe otherwiſe hee cannot further himſelfe) ſeemeth, in my iudgement, to be all one with him who provides prouender and ſummer-fodder for his cattell; or him that feeds his captiues liberally, to the end they may be the better ſold; or him that fattens and carries his Oxen, to make them more vendible; or that Maſter of kirmiſh and defence, who exerciſeth his family of Fencers with great care, & adorneth them moſt diligently, to the end they may get him maintenance. There is a great difference (as *Cleantes* ſaith) betwixt a benefit, and a negotiation or bargaining.

** The Romans
had a cuſtome,
amongſt their
common ſports,
to ſee certaine
ſhermiſhes or
combats, with naked weapons;*

and theſe combats were ſuch men as long time before had bene taught by a Maſter of fence. And to choſe the ſturdy men to buy, while ſiſſes, from the Emperour, was to provide combatants for theſe ſports. And theſe ſtallers of fence that had the moſt valiant and able to fight, receiued the greateſt profits and gaine from the ſpectators.

CHAP. XIII.

*we ſhould not
deſire that our
neighbour ſhould
profite vs, but
his owne diſad-
uantage.*

Gaine, I am not ſo neglectfull or euill, as to forget my acknowledgement towards him, who in being profitable vnto mee, was as prouident and careful to procure his owne good. For I doe not exact this, that without reſpect of his own eſtate, he ſhould aduance mine: but rather I wiſh that the benefit which is giuen

uen me, ſhould moſt of all redound to his profit that gaue me the ſame. As long as he that gaue the ſame had a reſpect vnto two in giuing it, & diuided the ſame betwixt himſelfe and me. Although he for the moſt part poſſeſſeth the ſame, if he hath admitted me as a co-partner with him, if he thought on two: I am not only vngratefull, but vniuſt, except I reioyce that he found profit by that which was profitable to me. It is an effect of exceſſiue malice, not to call that a benefit, except it be ſuch a thing as returneth the giuer thereof ſome incommodity. I will anſwer him after another maner, who giueſt the benefit for his own ſake: why wilt thou ſay, that thou haſt rather profited me, then I pleaſured thee? Put caſe (ſaith he) that I cannot otherwiſe obtaine a Magiſtracie, except I redeeme ten captiue citizens, amongſt a number of others that are in thraldome and ſeruitude: ſhalt thou owe me nothing, when I haue deliuered thee from ſeruitude and bonds? yet will I doe this for mine owne ſake. To this I anſwer: Herein doſt thou ſomewhat for thine owne ſake, and ſomewhat for mine. It is for thine owne ſake that thou redeemeſt me, and for my ſake that thou choſeſt me. For it is enough for thee, in regard of thine owne profit, to haue redeemed any whatſoeuer. I therefore am indebted to thee, not becauſe thou haſt redeemed me; but becauſe thou choſeſt me: for thou mightſt haue attained as much by another mans redemption, as thou doſt by mine. Thou diuideſt with me the profit of the thing, and makeſt mee partner of that benefit which ſhould profit two. Thou preferreſt mee before others, thou doeſt all this for my ſake: if therefore the redemption of ten captiues ſhould make thee Pretor, and we were only ten captiues, none of vs ſhould any waies be indebted vnto thee, becauſe thou ſhouldeſt haue nothing that were with-drawne from thy profit, that thou mighteſt impart to any of vs. I am no malicious interpreter of a benefit, neither deſire I, that the pleaſure ſhould redound only to my ſelfe, but to thy ſelfe likewiſe.

CHAP. XIII.



Hat therefore (ſaith hee) if I had commanded all your names to be caſt into lots, and your name amongſt the number of ſuch as were to bee ranſomed, were admitted to paſſe, ſhouldeſt thou owe me nothing? vndoubtedly I ſhould be indebted vnto thee but very little. And, what this is, I will let thee know, thou doeſt ſome-what for my ſake, becauſe thou admitteſt me to the fortune of redemption: becauſe my name was regiſtred amongſt the reſt. I owe this to fortune that my name was drawne amongſt the reſt, to thee that it might be drawne. Thou gaweſt me an entrance to a benefit, the greater part whereof I owe vnto fortune: but the abilitie I had to be indebted to fortune, that owe I to thee. As for thoſe whoſe benefits are mercenary, I will wholly ouer-paſſe them: becauſe they reſpect not to whom they giue, but for what aduantage they gaue, and ſuch a benefit as this, returneth euery way to his hands that gaue the ſame. A certaine man hath ſold me corne. I cannot liue except I buy the ſame, yet am I not obliged to him for my life, becauſe I bought the ſame: neither eſtimate I, how neceſſarie it was without which I could not liue, but how freely it was beſtowed, which I ſhould not haue had, except I had bought it. In the conueyance whereof vnto mee, the merchant thought not, how much ſuccours hee ſhould bring me, but how much profit hee ſhould breed vnto himſelfe. That which I bought, I owe not.

*Of euill and
mercenary be-
nefits.*

CHAP. XV.

Of the acknowledgement due to our Physitians and Masters: and whether he that buyeth receiveth a benefit from him that selleth.

IN this manner (saith he) thou wilt say, that thou art no wayes indebted to the Physitian, except it be for some smal fee, not to thy master, because thou hast paid him some money: but amongst vs wee yeeld them much reuerence, and offer them more loue. To this I answer, that there are some things more precious, then we prize them. Thou buyest at the Physitians hands an inestimable treasure, to wit, thy life and health: from thy master and instructor in good Arts, liberall studies, and the certaine ornaments and riches of thy mind. To these therefore we pay not the price of that they giue vs, but the reward of their labours, because they serue vs, and abandon their owne particular affaires to intend ours. They receiue the reward, not of their merit, but of their trauaile. Another answer may bee giuen to this, more answerable vnto truth, whereof hereafter I will intreat, when I haue first of all made it apparant, how this may be disproved. Certaine things (saith hee) are more worth then they were sold for, and therefore although they are bargained for and bought, thou owest mee somewhat ouer and besides for them. First of all, what skilleth it, how much they are worth, when as both the buyer and seller are agreed vpon the price? Again, he sold it not at his own price and valuation, but at thine: it is more worth (saith he) then it was sold for; but it could not be sold for more. And the time is it that giueth the price vnto all things, when thou hast praised them to the vttermoſt, they are worth but as much as may be gotten for them; besides, he oweth nothing to the seller, that hath bought it cheape. Moreover, although these things are more worth, yet is it no thanks to thee, considering that the estimation of these things dependeth not vpon the vse and effect of them, but vpon the custome and scarcitie of them. What pay dost thou allor him, that crosseth the seas, and hauing lost the sight of land, cutteth thorow the middest of the waues an assured and direct course, and fore-seeing future tempests, euen then when there is greatest appearance of securitie, commandeth suddenly to strike the sailes, to stoop the top-sailes, and to be addressed to endure the sudden assault of a storme? yet pay we the reward of so great a merit, no otherwise, then with an ordinarie fare. How much valueth thou a lodging in a desert, a sheade in a shower, a stoue or fire in cold weather? yet know I, how much I shall pay for this, when I come to mine Inne. How greatly befriendeth he vs, that keepeth our house from falling, that vnderproppeth it with great cunning, and vpholdeth it in the aire, being cleft and wind-shaken from the very foundation? yet neither the supporting nor vnder-setting cost me very much. The wall of a Citie keepeth vs in safetie from our enemies, and the sudden incursion of the enemies: Yet, is it well knowne what wages the Mason deserued by day, that builded those faire Towers and strong Bulwarks, that were raised for the publique securitie of the Inhabitants.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

He returneth to his former purpose, and increaseth of the obligation which we owe to our Physitians and Masters.

IT were an endlesse matter for me, if I should gather together those plentie of examples, whereby it might appeare that there are great and precious things, which cost vs verie little. What then? Why is it, that I owe some great matter to my Physitian and Master, and faile in the satisfaction of that which they haue worthily deserued? Because, of a Physitian and Schoole-master they become our friends, and oblige vs not by the Art they sell vs, but by their gracious and familiar good will. To the Physitian therefore (who doth no more then touch my pulse, and numbeth me amongst one of those his patients, whom hee ordinarily walketh to, and visiteth, prescribing me without any particular affection, what I ought to doe, and what I ought to eschew :) I owe no more, and am no whit indebted: because he visiteth me not as a friend, but for that I had enioyned him to come vnto me: neither haue I cause to reuerence my Master, if he hath made no more account of mee, then of one of his ordinarie Schollers, if he thought me not worthe of priuate and peculiar care; if he had neuer setled his thoughts vpon me, and when generally he imparted his knowledge to the rest of his Schollers, I rather gathered from him, then learned of him. What is the cause then, why I should owe so much vnto these? Not because that which they sold is more worth then we bought, but because in particular they haue giuen vs something ouer-plus. This Physitian bestowed more labor on mee then he was bound to doe, he had more care of me then of his reputation and credit, he not onely contented not himselfe to prescribe me remedies, but also vouchsafed to apply and minister them. In the meane while, hee sate carefully by mee, and succoured mee, and prevented the suspected time, and rigor of my access, no office distasteth him; no paine disliked him, if hee had seene me bemoane my selfe, he was sorrowfull. Amongst all those that called him, he had a particular care of me, hee implied no other time in visiting the rest of his sicke patients, then such wherein my infirmities remitted and gaue him oportunitie. To this man I am not tied, as to a Physitian, but as to a friend. Again, that other Schoole-master tooke great care and paines in teaching and instructing mee; and besides those lessons and common lectures which hee communicated to all particularly, hee reformed me in some points of importance, he quickened my spirits by good exhortation, and sometimes by praises he animated mee in my studies, and sometimes by admonitions disculled my sloth. Furthermore (if I may so speake it) he by the hand of his industry drew out and whetted my hidden and heavy wit, too much drowned in the prison of my bodie, neither lingeringly and subtilly dispensed he his knowledge, to the end I might haue longer vse and need of him, but desired, if he might, to communicate vnto me at one instant, all that which he knew. Vngratefull am I, except I loue him as one of my most gratefull and truest friends.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

*Of recompence
due unto Arti-
ficers, Labour-
ers, and Mas-
ters in any ho-
nourable pro-
fession.*

WE allow alwaies somewhat (ouer and aboute the ordinarie rate we buy at) to merchants and sailers (euen in the most mechanike and basest trades and offices) if we perceiue some extraordinarie diligence in the seruice we employ them in, and to the master of a ship and workman of a bafe price, how bafe soeuer they be, although they be but day-hirelings, we allow some ouerplus aboue his pay. Vnthankfull then is he, that in the best Arts, which either preferue or adorne mans life: that supposeth himselfe to be no more indebted, then for that he covenanted. Adde hereunto that the tradition of such studies vnitcheth and allieth minds together: when this is done, both the Physitian and the Schoole-master haue receiued the reward of their labour, but their affections and good minds rest yet vn-satisfied.

CHAP. XVIII.

*An example to
that purpose.*

WHEN *Plato* had crossed a certaine riuier in a ferry-boat, and the ferry-man had exacted nothing for his passage, supposing that it had bene done for his honours sake, he said vnto the Ferry-man, that *Plato* ought him a good turne; but anone after perceiuing, that with no lesse diligence he freely transported many others: Friend (said he) thou hast now discharged me of that obligation, whereby I held my selfe tied and bound vnto thee. For to the end to make me thy debtor, for any thing thou giuest me, thou art bound not onely to giue it me, but to giue it mee solely, as to my selfe: for that which thou giuest vnto a multitude, thou hast no reason to redemand at a priuat mans hand. How then is there nothing due for this? nothing, as for one in particular, I will pay with all that I owe thee withall.

CHAP. XIX.

*A confirmation
of the former
discourse, and
of benefites re-
ceiued in pub-
lique.*

IF thou deniest (saith hee) that he giue me a benefite, that freely and without recompence transported mee ouer the riuier of *Pae*. I denie it: he doth me some good, but he giue me no benefite, for he doth it for his owne sake, or at least wile not for mine. In summe, neither doth he himselfe iudge that he giue me a benefite, but he doth it either for the Common-weales sake, or for his neighbours sake, or for his owne ambition sake; and for this expecteth he some certaine other commoditie, then that which he is to receiue from euery priuate person. What then (saith he) if a Prince should giue immunities to all French-men, and discharge all Spaniards of paying tribute, should not euery one of them in this case be particularly bound vnto him? Why should they not be obliged? vndoubtedly they cannot be otherwise, yet not for a particular, but for a part of a publike benefite. But (sayest thou) he neuer thought on me. At that time when he did so much good vnto all men; he had no particular intent to giue me the Citie, neither addressed he his purposes to my profit: wherefore then should I be obliged to him in any thing, who no wayes thought on me at such time as he

*As Claudius
did at that time,
Seneca wrote
this.*

he was to act that which he intended. First, when as hee bethought himselfe to doe good vnto all the Gaules, he thought also of me, for I was a Gaule, and comprehended me, although not by my proper name, yet vnder the publike name of the nation. Againe, I shall not be tyed vnto him, as if the good were properly and particularly mine, but as one that partaked his fauour amongst the comminaltie. I will not satisfie as in mine owne behalfe; but I will contribute as for the common good of my country.

CHAP. XX.

IF a man lend a summe of money to my country, I will not say that I am indebted to him, neither will I acknowledge it as my debt, although I sued for a publike office, neither also if I were sued as a debtor; yet will I contribute my part in payment of this debt. Inlike sort, I denie that I am debtor for the fauour that is done vnto all my nation, because hee gaue it mee, yet not for mee; and in such manner gaue it me, that in giuing the same he knew not whether he gaue it me, yea or no: yet know I, that I must pay some portion thereof, because the good by one meanes or other appertaineth to me, and tyeth me to requite it. It must be done for me, that shall oblige me. In the same sort (saith he) neither owest thou any thing to the Moone or Sunne; for they are not moued for thy sake: but whereas they are moued to this end, that they may preferue all things, they moue for me also, for I am a part of the Vniuersel. Moreover, our condition and theirs are different: for he that profitteth mee, to the intent that by my meanes he may further himselfe, gaue me no benefite, because he made mee the instrument of his profit. But the Sunne and Moone, although they doe vs good, yet to this end profit they vs not, that by our meanes they should profit themselves: for, what can we be friend or further them in?

*How a particu-
lar man is obli-
ged for the good
and blessing
done vnto his
Country.*

CHAP. XXI.

I SHALL know (saith hee) that the Sunne and Moone haue a will to profit vs, if they had the power not to bee willing: but they cannot surcease their motion, neither can they abridge or intermit their accustomed traueil. See by how manie waies this may be refelld. A man is not therefore the lesse willing, because he cannot be vnwilling, nay, rather it is a great argument of a firme will, not to be able at any time to change. A good man cannot choofe, but doe that which he doth: for he shall not be a good man, except hee doe it. Therefore a good man bestoweth no benefite, because hee doth that which hee ought to doe, but hee cannot doe otherwise then that which he ought. Besides, there is much difference, whether thou sayest, He cannot chuse but doe this, because hee is compelled: or, He cannot be vnwilling to doe it. For if he must needs doe it, I am not tyed vnto him for his benefite, but to him that compelled him. But if the necessitie of his willingness proceede of this, because he hath nothing better that he can will, then is it he himselfe that compelleth himselfe. And so, looke for what thing I should not haue bene beholding to him, as compelled by others; for the same shall I be beholding to him, as to the compeller of himselfe. This

*What benefits
we may receiue
from Sunne and
Moone, and how
they shuld be
considered.*

will

CHAP. XXIIII.

*An apt example
to confirme the
contents of the
former Chapter.*

See thou not how parents in their childrens most tender infancie, constrain them to suffer those things patiently, which are most healthfull for them? With diligent care they nourish their tender bodies, and still them when they cry, and swathe them when they struggle; and lest continuall slacknesse might make them grow a wry, they bind them straight to make them grow right: when their infancie is past, they present them liberrall sciences, threatening them with the rodde if they be negligent: and finally, when they grow to more maturitie, they teach them to be sober, and counsell them to doe nothing that should breede their shame: they fashion them in good manners, and if their youth as yet bee not lyable to obedience, forcibly they constrain them by awe, which counsell could not effect: at last having attained to full growth and maturitie, and to have a feeling of their owne government, if either by intemperance or feare, they reject the counsells and remedies, which are given them for their profit, they vse greater violence and servitude. So that the greatest benefits which we receive of our parents, is at such time as we know them not, or when we refuse them wholly.

CHAP. XXV.

*He entereth into
another discourse
concerning those
that will as in-
commodities in
those that have
done them cur-
tise, thereby to
make them a
subject of their
vainglorious
satisfaction.*

TO this sort of vngratefull men, and such as refuse benefits (not because they desire them not, but for that they would not remaine indebted) are they like, who contrariwise will be overgratefull: and with that some aduersitie and mishap may befall those to whom they are obliged, in which they might approve their mindfull affection of the benefit they received. The question is, whether such sort of men doe well to desire and wish the same, and whether their desire be honest? These kind of thankfull men, in my iudgement, resemble them very much, who, inflamed with lascivious loue, doe with their lower banishment, to the end they might accompanie her in her distress and departure: or with to see her in necessitie, to the end they might relieue her miserie: or to see her sicke, to the end they might sit by her, and tend her: and finally, which vnder profession of loue, doe with whatsoeuer her enemy would haue wished vnto her. Assuredly, the issue of this foolish loue and capitall hate are wel-neere all one. Into this very inconuenience doe they fall, who wish that their friends were in misery, to the end they might afterwards relieue them, and make way to benefitting, by doing them wrong, whereas it were much better vnto them to desist, then to seeke occasion to doe a curtesie by meanes of wickednesse. What if a Master of a Ship should pray the gods to send them cruell stormes and tempests, that by the danger his Arte might be held more gracious? What if an Emperor should beseech the gods, that a great multitude of enemies might besiege his camp, and with sudden assault fill full the Trenches, and raze downe the Rampiers, and (to the great amaze of his army) aduance their colours even in the very entrance of his Fortifications, to the end he might receive more honour and glorie, in succouring his armie in this great danger, and at that very instant, when his whole campe imagined the field to bee lost, and the armie discomfited

*Non sunt faci-
enda mala, vt
inde euentiant
bona.*

comforted: all these conuey their benefits by a detestable way, who call the gods to plague him, whom they themselves would profit, and to hate them whom they themselves would relieue. Inhumane and peruerse is the nature of this gratefull mind, which wisheth euill vnto him, whom hee cannot honestly forsake.

CHAP. XXVI.

MY wish (saith he) hindereth him no wayes, because I wish the perill and remedie both at once. This is as much as if thou saidst, that thou hast committed some small fault, but that thou sinnest lesse, then if thou shouldst with him danger without remedie. It is meer wickednesse to plunge a man into a Riuier, to the end to draw him out: to ruinate, that thou maiest redifie: to imprison, that thou maiest deliuer. The end of an iniurie is no benefit, neither is it a part of kindnesse to withdraw that from one, which he himselfe had laid vpon him. I had rather thou shouldst not wound mee, then that thou shouldst not heale mee. Thou maiest deserue my thanks, if thou healest me, because I am wounded, but not if thou wound me to the end I may be healed: the scarre neuer pleased, but in comparison of the wound, for the healing whereof wee so reioyce, that we had rather not to haue been wounded: if thou shouldst wish this vnto him, that had neuer done thee good turne, the vow were vnhumane, but how much more inhumane were it to wish it him, to whom thou art indebted for a curtesie.

*An answer to
the objection of
such benefactors
as desire other
mens aduersities,
to the end they
may reuele
them.*

CHAP. XXVII.

IWith (saith hee) that presently I may yeeld him some succour. First, that I may preuent thee in the midst of thy wish; thou art already vngratefull. I heare not as yet, what thou intendest to doe for him, yet know I well, what thou wouldest he should endure: Thou wishest that care, feare, or some greater mischiefe should befall him, thou desirest that he may want helpe, and this is against him. Thou desirest that he may neede thy helpe; this for thee, thou wilt not succour him, but pay him satisfaction. He that halseth the matter thus, would himselfe be paid, not pay. So that the only thing that might seeme honest in thy vow, is vn honest and vngratefull, to wit, not to be willing to owe any thing. For thou desirest not, that thou mayest haue abilitie to requite a curtesie, but that he may haue neede to implore thy helpe. Thou makest thy selfe his superiour, and (which is a hainous wickednesse in thee) thou callest him downe at thy feete, that hath deserued well at thy hands. How much better is it to owe with an honest good will, then to pay by an euill meane? If thou shouldst denie that thou hast receiued, thou shouldst sinne lesse, for hee should lose nothing more then he had giuen. But now thy intent is, to bring him vnder thy subiection, even with the losse of his owne fortunes, and to bee drawne to that disaster by the change of his estate, that hee must lie lower then his owne benefit. Wilt thou that I report thee for a gratefull man? With it in his presence, to whom thou wilt yeeld profit. Temeest thou this a wish, which is as well diuided

*He continueth
his answer, and
insinuateth it with
many powerfull
reasons.*

uided betwene a friend, as an enemy? which vndoubtedly an aduersary or enemy would haue made, if the latter points only were excepted. Enemies also haue wished, that they might surpris certaine Cities, to the end they might preferue them, and to overcome some enemy of theirs, to the end they might pardon them: neither therefore are their vowes other then hostile, in which, that which is most courteous and calme, succedeth crueltie. To conclude, what kind of vowes iudgeth thou them to be, which no man would wish lesse prosperous vnto thee, then hee for whom thou voweest them? Thou dealest most iniuriously with him, to whom thou wilt, that the gods should hurt, to the end he may be helped by thee, and impiously also with the gods themselves, for thou putteth over the cruelty to them, and referreth the humanitie to thy selfe. Shall the gods be iniurious, to the end thou mayst bee courteous? If thou shouldest suborne an accuser, whom after wards thou wouldest remove, if thou shouldest entangle him, in some suite of law, to the end thou mightest deliuer and discharge him thereof, there is no man that would grow doubtfull of thy impiecie: what difference is there, whether this thing bee attempted by fraud, or by vow? saying that thou seekest more powerfull aduersaries for him. Thou canst not say, what wrong haue I done vnto him? Thy vow is either fruitlesse or iniurious, nay, rather it is wrongfull, although it be not successefull. What soeuer thou effectest not, it is Gods mercy, but whatsoeuer thou wilt, is mere iniurie. The matter is plaine inough. We ought no otherwise to bee displeased with thee: then if thou hadst effected it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

IF vowes (saith he) had bene any waies auailable, they had preuailed in this, that thou shouldest bee in safetie. First of all, thou wilt me an assured perill, vnder an vncertaine helpe. Again, suppose both are certaine, yet that which hurteth is formost. Furthermore, thou knowest the condition of thy vow: A tempest hath surpris'd me, vncertaine of either Haven or helpe. How great a torment, thinkest thou, is it to haue wanted, although I haue bene releued, although I was saued, yet that I was frighted, although I was acquitted, that I was called in question? There is no end of feare so pleasing, that a solid and vnshaken securitie is not more acceptable: with that thou mayst restore mee a benefit when I haue neede; not that I may haue neede. If that thou wilt, were in thy power, thou thy selfe wouldest haue done it.

CHAP. XXIX.

OW farre more honest is this vow? I desire hee should continue in that estate wherein he might alwaies distribute benefits, and neuer neede. Let the means and matter which hee so bountifully vseth in giuing and assisting, so follow and second him, that he neuer want occasion of giuing benefits; or repent him of that he hath giuen. Let the multitude of gratefull men stirre vp and prouoke his nature (of it selfe prone inough to humanitie) to mercie and clemencie: Whom let him neuer want to befriend, nor haue neede to trie. Let him be mercilesse to none, and haue no neede of being reconciled to any man. Let Fortune preferue

Continuation of
the precedent
refutations.

He reprooueth
the precedent
wish, and shew-
eth what was
ought to desire
for an other
man.

to

to be so equally fauourable vnto him, that no man may bee gratefull vnto him, but in mind and acknowledgement. How farre more iust are these vowes, which deferre thee not in expectation of any occasion, but make thee presently gratefull? For what letteth vs to be thankfull to those that are in prosperitie? How many means are there, whereby we may yeeld satisfaction to those to whom we are obliged, although they be happie? Faithfull counsell, diligent conseruation, familiar speech and pleasing, without flatterie, eares diligent, if he would deliberate, secret, if he would trust, familiaritie in conseruation. Prosperitie neuer raised a man so high, that by so much the rather he had not want of a friend, by how much he had affluence in all things.

CHAP. XXX.



His hatefull and damnable occasion is euery way to bee detested and driuen farre from vs. Mult thou needes haue the gods displeased, to the end thou maiest be gratefull? And vnderstandest thou not, that hereby thou sinnest more, because hee to whom thou art vngratefull, hath the better fortune? Propose vnto thy mind imprisonment, chaines, sincke, seruitude, warre, pouerty; these are the occasions of thy vow: if any man hath coucnanted with thee, by these he is dismissed. Why rather wouldest thou not haue him mighty and blessed, to whom thou art most indebted? For what (as I said) forbiddest thee to be gratefull euen vnto those that are indued with the happiest estate, whereas thou hast ample and seuerall matter and occasion to expresse thy selfe? What, knowest thou not, that men pay debts euen vnto those that are the wealthiest? neither will I constraine thee against thy will. Truly, although most powerfull felicitie hath excluded all things, yet will I shew thee what thing it is, that greatest estates are poorest in, and what things are deficient to those that possesse all things. Truly such a one that will speake truth, that will exempt a man (astonished and amazed amongst flatterers, and drawne from the knowledge of truth by the very custome of hearing rather pleasing then profitable counsailes) from the company and consent of deceitfull men. Seest thou not how extinguished libertie, and faith transformed to seruile obsequiousnesse, doth drive them head-long to their ruine, where no man perswadeth or dissuadeth a man then according to his conscience, but each man striueth who may flatter most, and the only office and contention of all their friends is, who can deceive most pleasingly. They knew not their owne forces, and whilst they suppose themselves to be so great, as they heare they be, they brought vpon themselves vnecessary warres, and such as should hazard their whole estates, they brake the true and necessary concord, and feeding their owne wrathfull spleene, which no man reuoked, they drew many mens blood, being at last like to lose their owne; whilst they seeke to get vncertainties for certainties; and thinke it no lesse disgracefull to be perswaded, then to be overcome, and suppose those things to be perpetuall, which being brought to the highest, doe most of all stagger. They ouer-turne great kingdomes vpon themselves and theirs, neither vnderstood they in that stage (glistering both with vaine and transitorie goods) from that time forward that they should expect very great aduersities; since when they could heare nothing that was true.

Benefits are in
hearts to be ac-
knowledgeed,
that the benefi-
ciar receiue not
in the all or wish
of our recom-
pence, any
harm.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The ruine of
greatnesse, in the
fallhood of stat-
ters.



Profitable pre-
diction of suc-
ceeding miserie.

When *Xerxes* proclaimed warre against Greece, there was no one but enkindled his proud and forgetfull mind, to what sicke and fraile things he trusted. One said, that they would not endure the first message of the warre, and that vpon the first rumour of his approach, they would turne their backs. Another, that it was not to be doubted, that not only Greece would be overcome by that huge multitude, but that it might be over-whelmed: that it was more to be feared, left they should find their Cities desert and desolate, and the vast solitudes left to their discomfited enemies, not having any opposites whereon to employ so puissant power. Another, that the whole world was not sufficient for him, that the seas were too narrow for his Naue, his camp for his souldiers, the fields to embattel his caullerie: nay, scarce the heauen large enough to containe the shafts that should be darted from euery hand. When after this manner many things were tossed and talked of on euery side, which incited the man, too much enraged and belotted with csteeme of himselfe. *Demaratus* the Lacedemonian was only he that said, that that very multitude so disordered and so mightie, which was so pleasing vnto him, was most of all to be feared by him that conducted them, because they were rather comberfome then strong, that ouer great things can hardly be ruled, neither indureth that long, which cannot be gouerned. Presently, said he, vpon the first encounter, the Lacedemonians will come and present themselves vnto thee vpon the first mountaine, that thou wouldest passe, and will make thee know what they are: Three hundred souldiers shall make stand thesē so many thousand men; they shall plant themselves strongly in the passages, and defend the straits committed to their charge, and stop them vp with their bodies: all Asia shall not remoue them from their places. A few men shall sustaine so great affront of war, and the charge almost of all mankind that intendeth to rush in vpon them. When Nature changing her Lawes, hath made thee passe into Greece, thou shalt sicke in the straites, and shalt esteeme thy future damages, when as thou shalt thinke how much the straits of *Thermopolis* cost thee. Thou shalt know that thou maiest bee put to flight, when thou vnderstandest that thou mayest be stayed. Haply in diuerse places they will giue thee passage, and retire, as if carried away after the manner of a torrent, whose first forces ouer-floweth with great terrour, afterwards they shall muster and charge thee on euery side, and shall ouerpresse thee with thine owne power. True it is, that is said, that thy shew of warre is greater then these regions can containe, which thou intendest to conquer. But this thing is against vs: for this very cause will Greece overcome thee, because thee is not able to containe thee, and thou canst not vse thy whole selfe. Moreover (which is the only safe-guard of things) thou canst not prevent or be present at the first assaults, neither second those that begin to retrace and decline, neither sustaine and confirme those things, that fall to ruine. Thou shalt be vanquished long before thou shalt perceiue thy selfe to be overcome. Furthermore, thou art not therefore to suppose that thine armie is inuincible, for this cause, because the number of them is vnknowne, euen vnto him, who is their Leader. There is nothing so great that cannot perish; and though other occasions wanted, yet would the owner thereof bee the cause of his owne destruction. The things that *Demaratus* foretold, came truly to passe. He that thought to enforce both

heauē

CHAP. XXXII.



He Emperour *Augustus* banished his daughter, that was growne so impudent, that her modestie exceeded the common course, and blazed abroad the whooredomes of the imperiall house, as how she had admitted whole troupes of adulterers, spent the whole night in banquets here and there in the Citie, how shee had soiled and sinned with her adulterers, in that very Court and iudgement seate, from whence her father had published lawes against adulteries, her daily haunt and concourse to *Marsias* staule, whereas from an adulteresse she became a common strumpet, and required the libertie of all licentiousnesse, vnder an vnknowne adulterer. These things which a Prince ought as well to conceale, as to punish (because the dishonor and disgrace of some things oftentimes redoundeth to him who would punish the same) he vnable to conquer his displeasure published abroad. Afterwards some few dayes past, when remorsefull shame had supplid the place of his displeasure, lamenting that hee had not obscured those things in silence, which so long time he was ignorant of, till it was loathsome for him to speake it, he oftentimes exclaimed, *None of these things had befall me, if either AGRIPPA or MECENAS had liued.* So hard a thing is it to him that had so many thousands at his becke, to supplie the want of two. His legions are slaine, and forthwith new are leuiod: his Naue defeated, and within few daies anew floated: fire had defaced and consumed the common buildings, and better were raised then those that were burned; but all his life time he could not find any to supplie *Mecenas* or *Agrippas* places. What shall I thinke? Did there want such to succede them, or that it was his grouw, who had rather complaine, then seeke friends? There is no cause we should imagine that *Agrippa* and *Mecenas* were wont to speake truth vnto him, who had they liued, had beene amongst his dissemblers. It is the manner of Kingly dispositions, in contumely of the liuing, to praise those that are lost, and to giue them the honour of speaking truth, from whom they are now out of danger of hearing any more.

Another ex-
ample of the
same miserie in
Augustus, who
for want of good
Counsellors was
brought to ex-
treme angish
in his owne
house.

where good
counsell is want-
ing, impietie
breedeth reme-
diless harmes.

A corrigible cu-
stome for great
men to choose.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A lesson for a right counsellor, and it means whereby a pious man may profit and be saved.

BUt that I may returne vnto my purpose : thou seest how easie a thing it is to be thankfull to those that are happie, and are planted in the height of humane riches. Tell them not that which they are willing to heare, but that they should bee contented alwayes to hate. Let sometimes a true word enter their cares which are filled with flatteries : giue profitable counsell. Thou askest what thou maist doe for a happy man ? Bring to passe that hee bee not too confident in his fortune, that he may know, that many and faithfull hands must sustaine the same. Is the fauour little thou bestowest of him, if thou shalt once driue him from this foolish confidence, that his power shall be alwayes perdurable, and shalt teach him that these things are transitorie, which Fortune gaue, neither returne in the same measure, as they were attained vnto in their height, and fleece away with greater forwardnesse, then they come, neither returne by those means, whereby they attained their felicitie ? That oft-times there is but little difference betwixt the greatest and lowest fortune. Thou knowest not the value of friendship, if thou understandest not, that thou shalt giue him very much to whom thou giuest a friend, a thing not only rare in houses but in ages, which is no where so deficient, then where it is supposed to be most abundant. What thinkest thou, that these books of thine, which scarce thy remembrancers or registred memory, or hands can comprehend, are the names of thy friends ? These are not thy friends which in great troupes knocke at thy doores, who are disposed according to the first and second admissions to visit. This is an old custome of Kings, and those that counterfait Maiestie, to number a multitude of friends. It is the propertie of pride to make great account of his doore, and touch of his threshold, to giue it as a fauour to sit neere to his closet, that thou step the first foote into his house, in which besides there are many doores, to let out those that were entertained.

CHAP. XXXIII.

An example of this civility in Gracchus and Drusus, who upon being invited, and that very just, vnto true friends are, and where a man might easily seeke and find them.

HE first amongst vs that commanded their troupes should be separated, and that some should be received in secret, other some with many, and other some with all men, were *Caius Gracchus*, and after him *Lucius Drusus*. These therefore had their first friends : they had their second also, but never any true. Callst thou him thy friend, whom thy seruants successfully admit to salute thee ; or can this mans faith be apparant vnto thee, who entrench not, but slipeth and throngeth into thy doores, that are so hardly gotten open ? May that man presse into thee with full vse of his libertie, which may not salute thee with *God save thee*, a common and vsuall word to all persons, yea, euen to those that are strangers ; but in his turne. To whomsoever therefore of these thou shalt come, whose salutation shaketh the Citie : know thou likewise, if thou marke it, that although thou see the streetes besieged with a great assembly of people, and the passages locked vp with the presse of those that goe and come to salute, yet that thou comest to a place filled with men, but voyd of friends. A friend is sought in the brest, not in the Court of thy house : there must he be entertained, there

retained, and in the very entrails must he be lodged. Teach this, thou art grateful. Thou esteemest very basely of thy selfe if thou art vnprofitable, except it be to one in affliction, or if thou thinke thy selfe vnecessary in time of prosperitie. Euen as thou demeanest thy selfe wisely both in doubtful, aduerse, and prosperous affaires, that in doubtful thou handlest them wisely, in aduerse constantly, in prosperitie moderately : so likewise maist thou shew thy selfe profitable in all things in thy friends behalfe. Although thou neither forsake him in his aduercities, neither with his miserie ; yet in so much varietie many things may fall out that thou shouldest not wish, which will afford thee matter to exercise thy faith. Euen as hee that witheth riches to any man, to this end, that he himselfe may partake a part thereof, although hee seeme to wish for him, hath a respect vnto himselfe : whosoever wisheth that his friend should fall into some necessitie, to the end he might releue him, sheweth himselfe vngrateful, in preferring him selfe before the other, for his ingratitude is remarkable in this, because that to the end he might appeare a thankfull man, he witheth his friend should be miserable, and laboureth to discharge himselfe, as it were, of a heauie burthen. There is a great difference, whether thou hastenest to giue thanks, to the end thou maist restore a benefit, or to the end thou mightest not owe it. Hee that will bee grateful, will apply himselfe to his friends commoditie, and desireth that he may haue a fit opportunitie. He that desireth nothing else, but that himselfe may be discharged, desireth by any means to accomplish the same, which is an argument of a most euil will.

What true friends are, and where they should be found.

He that relieeth his friends miserie to the end he may succor him, is ungrateful.

CHAP. XXXV.

HIS too much hastning, say I, is the act of an vngrateful man : this can I not more manifestly expresse, then if I should repeat what I said. Thou wilt not restore a benefit thou hast received, but thou wilt flee from it. This seemeth thou to say : When shall I be rid of this fellow ? I must indeauour by all the means I can, that I may not be beholding vnto him. If thou shouldest wish that thou mightest pay him with his owne, thou shouldest seeme to be very dishonest and vnthankfull, but this thou wilt, is farre more wicked. For thou cursest him, thou desirest that mischief might fall on his head, whom thou shouldest account both Holy and Sacred. No man, as I thinke, would doubt of the impiety of thy mind, if thou shouldest openly with him poueritie, if captiuitie, if famine and feare. And what difference is there whether this be thy voice, or thy vow ? With any of these in thy right wits. Goe to now, and suppose this to be a point of thankfulness, which the most vngrateful Man would not attempt, that were not growne so farre, as to hate, but only to denie his benefit.

That man is vngrateful, that desireth to yeld satisfaction for a pleasure received to the intent hee may not any more bee obliged to his neighbour.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The precedent
reasons are con-
firmed by ex-
ample.



How would intire *Æneas* by the name of pious, if hee would haue his Countrey sacked, to the end he might deliuer his father from captiuitie? who would not imagine the yong men of *Sicily* vnnatural, if to shew good example to their children, they had wished that *Ætna* burning with an vnmeasurable force of fire aboue custome should giue them occasion to expresse their pietie by carrying away their Fathers out of the midst of the fire. *Rome* is nothing indebted vnto *Scipio*, if hee wished the continuance of the *Carthaginian* warre: nor beholding to the *Decians* who saved their Countrey by their owne slaughter, if they had formerly wished, that extreame necessitie should make place for their constant deuotion. It is the greatest disgrace for a Physician that may bee, to with for businesse. Many, who increased and exasperated diseases, to the end they might cure them with greater glorie, could not afterwards expell them, or to the great agonie and vexation of the miserable patients, haue at last ouercome them.

A lesson for Phi-
sicians.

CHAP. XXXVII.

An other answer
to the former, by
the examples of
Calistratus and
Rutilius.



Hey say that *Calistratus* (for truly *Hecaton* testifieth of him) when he departed into exile, into which the seditious and intemperately free *Cities*, had expelled many with him: when a certaine man wished, that the *Athenians* might bee enforced to recall their banished men, was much distressed with such a returne. Farre more manly and full of magnanimitie was that of *Rutilius*; for, when as a certaine man comforted him, and assured him, that ciuill warre was intended shortly, and that in few dayes all banishments should bee reuerled. What euill (saith he) haue I done thee, that thou wiltest me a worse returne, then I had a departure? I had rather, my Countrey should be ashamed of my banishment, then bewaile my returne. This is no exile, where no man is more ashamed thereof, then he that is condemned: euen as they performed the duty of good Citizens, that would not recover their native homes with a publike slaughter, because it was more fitting, that two should be punished vniusly, then all perish publikely; so obserueth he not the affection of a gratefull man, who wiltheth that hee who hath deserved well at his hands should be oppressed with difficulties, which he might redeeme. Who although hee thinke well, wiltheth euill. It is a poore excuse and a weake glorie to extinguish a fire, which thou thy selfe hast kindled.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A third confir-
mation herof.



N some Cities a wicked wish hath bene reputed for a wicked crime. True it is, that *Demades* in *Athens* condemned him that sold necessities for funerals, when as hee had proued that hee wished for great gayne, which could not befall him, except it were by many mens deaths. Yet is it wont to bee demanded, whether he were worthily punished. Perhaps he wished, that he might not sell vnto many, but that he might sell deere; that they might cost him little, which

which he was to sell. Whereas negotiation consisteth in that which is bought and sold, why wrestest thou his vow one way, whereas profit is in both? Besides, although thou condemnest all that are in this negotiation (for all will the same, all with the same in their hearts:) thou wilt condemne the most part of men. For who hath not profit by another mans incommodie? The Souldier, wiltheth for warre: Dearth of Corne, sets vp the Husbandman: The greatest Lawyers, desire most pleas: A sicke ye, is the Physicians haruest: Such youths as are prodigall and dissolute, enrich the Merchants of delicate wares: Let houses be neither hurt by fire or tempest, the Carpenter may betake him to his rest. One mans vow was excepted at, where all mens are alike. Thinkest thou that *Arantius*, and *Aterius*, and all others that professed the art of Executorship, had not the same vowes and wilthes, as the masters of funerall Ceremonies and they who were Ministers in burying the dead? yet know not they whose death they wish: they desire that some one of their nearest familiars should die, in whom for friendship sake they had most hope. No man liueth by the losse of those, whoseuer differeth the other, vndoeth them. They therefore wish, not only that they may receive that which they haue deserved by base scruidge, but also that they may be freed of a grieuous tribute. It is not therefore to be doubted, but that these men rather wish that which is condemned in one man. They by whose death any profit may accrew, are hurtfull to them by their life. Yet all these mens vowes are as well knowne as vnpunished. To conclude, let each one take counsaile of himselfe, and examine his inward conscience, and see what he hath secretly wished, how many vowes are they which we are ashamed to confesse vnto our selues? how few which wee dare iustifie and effect before a witnesse?

One mans plea-
sure is anothers
preiudice.

CHAP. XXXIX.



Yet every thing that is to be reprehended, is not to be condemned as this vow of a friend, whereof at this present we entreat, abusing his good will, and falling into that which hee fleeth from. For whilst he hasteneth to expresse a gratefull mind, hee is vngratefull. This man saith, let him fall againe into my hands, let him want my fauour, let him neither be secure, in elscome, or safe without me, let him be so poore and miserable, that whatsoever is restored him, may serue him in stead of a benefit. And this in the hearing of the Gods. Let domestical treasons circūuent him, which I alone may suppress. Let a potent and heauie enemy assault him, deadly foes, and they armed, charge him, a creditor and accuser vrgē him.

To will or wish
good to an other
man preiudice,
is waie glorie
in him that af-
fecteth it.

CHAP. XL.



Ee, how iust thou art, thou haddest wished him none of these, except he had giuen thee a benefit. To ouerslip the rest more haynous, which thou committest by returning the worl for the best, truly thou art faultie in this, that thou expectest not the proper time of euery thing, which, who so followeth not, sinneth as much as he that preuenteth it: euen as a benefit is not alwaies to be receiued,

It is better re-
uer to be obli-
ged, then to re-
quite out of
season.

fo is it not to be restored in all seasons. If thou shouldest restore it me, when I required it not, thou shouldest be vngratefull: how farre more vngratefull art thou, if thou compellest me to desire it? Expect: Why wilt thou not suffer my benefit to rest in thy hands? Why grieueth it thee to be obliged? Why art thou so halitie to leuell thy account with me, as if thou haddest to deale with a cruell vsurer? Why seekest thou my trouble? Why incensest thou the Gods against me? How wouldest thou exact thy debt, if thou satisfie in this sort?

CHAP. XLI.

Instructions to
take opportunitie
in requital.

ABoue all things therefore, my *Liberalis*, let vs learne this, to owe benefits securely, and to obserue the occasions of restitution, and not to seeke them, and let vs remember our selues, that this verie desire to discharge our selues speedily, is the act of an vngratefull man. For no man willingly restoreth that which he oweth vnwillingly: and that which he repineth to keepe by him, hee rather iudgeth it a burthen, then a benefit. How much better and iuster were it, to beare the defects of our friends in memorie, and to offer them, and not to presse them, nor to think our selues too much in their debt, because a benefit is a common bond, and lincketh two together. Say, I care not how thy benefit returneth to thee. I desire thou shouldest receiue it cheerefully, if any of vs both be threatned with necessitie, and it be giuen vs by a certaine fate, either that thou be compelled to receiue thy benefit againe, or I to take another; let him giue rather, that was wont to giue. I am readie, there is no delay in *Turnus*: I will shew this willing resolution, as soone as time shall happen; in the meane space, the gods shall be my witnesses.

CHAP. XLII.

What meanes are
to be obserued in
acknowledging a
good turne.

Frentimes, my *Liberalis*, I am wont to note this affection in thee, and, as it were, touch it with my hand, that thou fearest and fliest, lest thou shouldest be tardie in any office. Anxietie becometh not a grateful mind, but contrariwise, an assured confidence of himselfe. The confidence of true amitie should put this care out of our mindes. It is as great a vice to receiue againe that which thou oughtest not, as not to giue that which thou oughtest to giue. Let this be the first law of a benefit giuen, that he which gaue the same, may make choice of the time when he is to receiue it back againe. But I feare me, lest men should speake sinistery of me: Hee doth badly, that is gratefull rather for reputation and fame sake, then for conscience and honesty. Thou hast two iudges of this thing; thy selfe, whom thou canst not decieue, and him whom thou canst. What then, if no occasion hath happened? Shall I alwaies be indebted? Thou shalt be indebted, but openly indebted, but willingly indebted, but with great contentment shalt thou behold the gage laid vp by thee. Hee repeateth himselfe of a benefit receiued, that is forric, that as yet he hath not requited it. Why should he that seemed worthe to bestow a benefit on thee, be reputed vnworthe to haue thee his debter?

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

Great are their errors, who beleeueth to bee the act of a great and generous mind to doe many courtesies, to giue and fill another mans bolome, and enrich his house, whereas sometime it is not a great mind, but a great fortune that doth it. They know not how much more great and hard a matter it is somewhiles to receiue, then to lauish courtesies. For to the end I may detract from neither, because both of them when they are done out of vertue are equall. It is no lesse proper to a noble hart to owe, then to giue, yet more laborious is this, then that, as the keeping of things receiued, requireth more diligence, then doth the giuing of them. We therefore ought not feare, that we restore not time enough, nor hasten to doe it out of season, because he sinneth as much that hasteneth to recompence a good turn out of due time, as he that requiteth not when the opportunitie is offered him. It is laid vp with me for him, neither feare I in his, nor in mine owne behalfe. He is wholly assured, he cannot lose this benefit, but with me, no not with me also. I haue giuen him thanks, that is as much as I haue requited him. He that thinketh very much vpon the restoring of his debt, imagineth that the other thinketh vpon his satisfaction too much. It behoueth him to be prone to doe both the one and the other, if he will receiue a benefit againe, let vs tender it, and deliuer it willingly, if he had rather continue it in our custodie. Why should we dig vp his treasure? Why refuse we to keepe it? He is worthe to doe what he listeth. Touching opinion and report, let vs so prize them, as that they should attend vs, and not lead vs.

The extremities
which wee ought
to avoid, either
in doing, a cour-
tesie to another
man, or acknow-
ledging a fauour
receiued.

He that requi-
teth vngratefully,
by not deli-
uering, should be
that receiued
not in time
and place.

The end of the sixth Booke.

LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

Like unto the first: Certaine questions, and yet things profitable, intermixed with subtil. That in the beginning serious: that curiositie is to be restrained, and too much desire of knowledge: that the mind is rather to be applied to manners and vertue, that is, to wisdom. After this, a question, upon occasion of the word; Whether any man may give ought to a wise man, whereas all things are his? Hee saith, that hee may, because he possesseth all things in mind, but not in use. Another, whether he that hath endeuoured or assayed to restore a benefit, hath restored it. He hath: yet notwithstanding, he teacheth him to endeuour againe and againe. The third, whether thou art to restore that thou hast receiued from a good man, to the same man being now euill. Thou shalt restore it, but with caution, not that he use them wickedly, or to his owne or another mans harme. The fourth, whether he that giueth, ought to forget himselfe of that benefit hee hath bestowed. By no meanes: nay more, he saith he may keepe the same in memorie, yea, and sometimes exact it. The last, how gratefull men are to be borne withall, with a pleasing, mild, and great mind.

Upon occasion
of this word a
question.

CHAP. I.



Ourage, my LIBERALIS;

Now haue we got the shore, I will not here
Tire thee with long discourse, or take thine care
To lingering praemes, or dilated words.

The remainder this booke concludes, and the matter being spent, I looke about me, not what I shall say, but what I haue not said: yet accept thou in good part whatfoever is the remainder, whereas it is referred to thy selfe. Had I had an intent to polish my worke, it should haue increased by litle and litle, and that part had bene reserved till the conclusion, which every one would haue longed for, although he had been

according to the flowall doctrine, is, that we ought rather to studie to be wise and virtuous, then to be learned. A good praectice to fashion men manners, followed somewhat interruptly, but learnedly to the end.

latif.

Having deter-
mined in this
booke to resemble
that which he
might forget in
the former, he
determineth in the
beginning, that
he forerightly is
intention was to
conferme men in
good manners, so
now he syneth
at the same end:
which he confir-
meth by the re-
cital of the graue
discourses of De-
metrius, which
a good praectice to fashion

He meaneth that many things delight the understanding, and there are few things that conquer the will.

Be not Stoicall: The fcare of God is the beginning of wisdom.

satisfied. But whatsoeuer was most necessary, I presently gathered and congealed into the beginning of the Booke: Now, if any thing hath escaped me, I recollect it. Neither truly, if thou aske me, doe I thinke it much pertinent to the matter, whereas those things are spoken which gouerned manners, to prosecute the rest, which were invented, not for the cure of the mind, but for the exercise of the wit. For Demetrius the Cynique (a man in my judgement great, although he were compared with the greatest) was wont very worthily to say this, *That it is more profitable for thee, if thou remember a few precepts of wisdom, and haue them in vse and readinesse, then if thou learnedst many things, and hadst not the readie vse of them.* For (saith he) like as that man is a worthy wrestler, not that hath perfectly learned all the trickes and sleights, which hee shall seldome haue occasion to make vse of against his aduersaire: but he that is well and diligently exercised in one or two, and intentially expecteth and waiteth the occasions of them (for it skils not how much he knoweth, if he know so much as sufficeth for the victorie) so in this studie, many things delight, but few accomplish. Although thou be ignorant what cause it is, that moueth the Ocean to ebbe and flow, why euery seuenth yeare impresteth an alteration and signe in our age, why the latitude of a gallery to those that behold it a farr off, keepeth not his proportion, but gathereth his ends or sides into a narrowness, so as the farthest spaces of the pillars are ioyned in one: what it is that seperateth the conception of twins, and ioyneth their birth: whether one act of conception be diuided into two distinct creatures, or else they are begotten at several conceptions: why their destinies be different who are borne twinnes together, and their conditions proue so greatly different, whose birth was one, or at least in the same instant. It shall not much hurt thee to ouerslip those things which neither thou canst know, nor is profitable for thee to know. Truly yet covered and hidden in the depth: neither can we complaine of the malignitie of nature, because the inuention of any thing is not difficult, but onely of that which yeeldeth vs not any fruit, except the onely inuention thereof; whatsoeuer should make vs better or more blessed; nature hath either laid open before vs, or neere vnto vs. If the mind hath contemned casualties: if she hath raised her selfe above feare, and with greedy hope embraceth not things infinite, but hath learned to aske riches of her selfe: if shee hath cast out from her the feare both of gods and men, and knoweth that there is a verie little to be feared from men, neither any thing from god: if contemning all things whereby life is tortured, whilst it is most adorned; he hath attained so much, that it manifestly appeareth vnto him, that death is no matter of any mischiefe, but the end of many: if he haue consecrated his mind vnto vertue, and thinke that way plainest, whither soeuer he inuite him: if he be a sociable creature, and born to communitie: if he respecteth the world as one house, and openeth his conscience to the gods, and liueth alwaies as it were in publike: if more afraid of himselfe then others, being discharged of these tempests, he hath retired himselfe to an assured and quiet repose, he hath consummated a very necessary and profitable science. The rest are but the delights of leasure: for now is it lawfull (the mind once withdrawne into safetie) to expatiate and arrue at these also, which rather yeeld ornament then courage to our minds.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THese are the things which our friend Demetrius willeth him that is proficient to lay hold on with both hands, to abandon them neuer, nay, rather to affix them to himselfe, and make them a part of himselfe, and by daily meditation to be instructed so farre, that these wholesome instructions may present themselves before his eyes freely; and being desired for, might be at hand at all times and places, and that instantly, that distinction betwixt good and euill may be remembered, whereby hee may know, that neither there is any vice, which is not villenious, nor any good which is not honest. Let him dispose his actions by this rule of life: according to this law, let him execute and exact all things, and iudge those the most miserable amongst men (how rich and refulgent in wealth whatsoeuer) they are slaues to their belly and lust, whose minds are benumbed with sloathfull idleness: let him say vnto himselfe, Pleasure is fraile and fleeting, he is quickly wearied of her object; the more greedily shee is deuoured, the more hastily is she disposed to a contrary desire: she is alwaies of necessitie accompanied with repentance or shame: there is nothing in her that is honorable or vertuous: there is nothing in her that is either noble or worthy the nature of a man, who would resemble the gods. It is a bare thing, proceeding from the most loathsome and vilest minuterics of our bodies, shamefull in the end. This is the pleasure that is worthy a man and a noble mind, not to fill and flatter the bodie, not to prouoke his lustfull desires, which are least hurtful when they are most quiet. But to liue exempt from the passions of the mind, especially of that which enkindleth the ambition of those men, who entertaine quarrels and contentions among themselves, and also of that intollerable passion, which coming from high, hath made vs beleue all that of the gods, which report and fables haue forged, and hath planted this opinion in vs, to measure them by our owne vices. This equall, dreadlesse, and neuer-loathing pleasure, doth this man enioy, whom we here fashion and describe, who (as I may say) being skillfull both in diuine and humane lawes, contenteth himselfe with the things that are present, and dependeth not on those that are future: for neuer liueth that man in assurance, that dootheth on vncertainties. Exempted therefore from mightie cares, and such as distract the mind, he hopeth nothing, hee coueteth nothing, he hangs not on expectation, but contenteth himselfe with his owne: neither suppose you that such a man is contented with small riches; for all things are his: yet not in such sort as they were *Alexanders*, who although he had conquered as much as to the shore of the red Sea, yet wanted he more then he left behind him from whence he came. Those very countries, which either he possessed, or had conquered, were not his. When as hee had sent *Onesicritus*, the generall of his Gallies, to discover the Ocean, and to search out further warre in an vknowne Sea: did it not sufficiently appeare, that hee was poore, who extended his warres beyond the limits of nature, and thrust himselfe headlong through his blind couetousnesse into a vast, vnattempted, and boundlesse Sea? What skils it, how many Kingdomes he hath violently taken, how many he hath giuen, how many countries he hath loaden with tributes? He wants as much as he desireth.

O

CHAP.

A continuation upon the discourse of Demetrius, shewing the fruits which proceed from the studie of wisdom, to which he opposeth the evils which are caused by carnall pleasure, and the ambitious desire to be great in this world, all which he exemplifies in the person of Alexander the great.

CHAP. III.

In profession of his matter, according to the Stoicall custom, he sheweth that a wife-man only is not ambitious, although he be Lord and Master of all things.



Either was this *Alexanders* error onely, whom happy temerity inforced beyond the tract of *Bacchus* & *Hercules*, but of all those whom fortune hath made greedy by ouer-glutting. Run ouer and reckon vp *Cyrus* and *Cambyfes*, and all the progenie of the Kings of *Peria*, whom wilt thou find contented and satisfied with his Empire? That ended not his life in thinking on some further proiect? Neither is this to be wondered at, what so falleth into a covetous hand, is forthwith exhauleth and hidden: neither skillt it much, how much thou throngest into that which will never be satisfied. The wise-man is onely he that is Master of all things, neither costeth it him much to keepe them. He hath no Embassadors to send beyond the Seas, nor camps to pitch in his enemies country, nor garriſons to diſpoſe in convenient fortresses, he needs no legions or troupes of horsemen. Like as the immortall gods, without the assistance of any armes, doe gouerne their Kingdomes, and entertaine their greatnesse in all assurance, without disturbance or forsaking the place high & eminent wherein they repose: even so the wiseman executeth and governeth his offices, although they haue a large extent, without tumult, and beholdeth all other mankind, being himselfe the powerfulllest and best of all vnder himselfe. Although thou laugh herat, yet is it a token of a generous spirit, after thou hast in mind diligently considered both East & West, whereby also thou mayest penetrate into the remote and most retired solitudes, when as thou hast beheld so many liuing creatures, such affluence of all things which beautiful nature most blessedly lanisheth, to break into this discourſe, beſeeming a god, *All these things are mine*. So cometh it to passe that he desireth nothing, because there is nothing which is not his.

CHAP. IIII.



From the precedent matter, he taketh a ſpecieſion to reuerſe into the diſcourſe of benefiſts; and for the first points, to wit, whether a wife-man, hath a one as he hath desired, may receive a pleasure or benefit from an other, considering that according to the doctrine of the Stoicks, a wife-man a Lord of all things.

This is that (sayest thou) that I intended, I haue overtaken thee, and intend to see how thou wilt rid thy selfe of these incombrances, whereinto thou art wilfully ſaine. Tell mee, how may any man give ought to a wife-man, if all things are his? For, that also which he giueth him, is his owne. A benefiſt therefore cannot be bestowed vpon a wife-man, who can haue nothing giuen him which is not his owne: yet say you, a man may give somewhat vnto a wife-man. But know this, that I demand the like in respect of friends. You say that all things are common amongst them, therefore can no man give any thing to his friend: for hee giueth that which is common to him. There is no caule but that somewhat may be both a wife-mans, and his that possesseth it, to whom it is giuen and assigned. In ciuill law all things are the Kings: and yet those things whose intrie possession appertaineth to the King, are distributed amongst severall lords, and each thing hath his possessor. Therefore may we give the King our hooſe, our bond-slave, and our money: neither for all this are we said to give him his owne. For to Kings appertaineth the power ouer all, but to ſeuerall men the property. We call them the bounds of the Athenians, or Campanians, which otherwiſe the neighbours by priuate termination diſtinguiſh amongst themselves: and all the lands belonging to this or that man, are the Common-weals, and

and yet each part hath his determinate owner, we therefore may give our lands to the Common-weale, although they be said to be the Common-weales, because in one sort they are theirs, in another sort mine. Can it bee doubted, but that a slave, and whatſoever ſubſtance he hath, is his maſters? Yet giueth hee him a present. For a man cannot therefore say that the ſervant hath nothing, because he could not haue, if so be his lord ſaid he ſhould not; neither therefore ſaileth it to be a present, when as he gaue it willingly, because it might be taken from him, although he would not. Even as we ſay, that all things appertaine vnto a wife-man (for we are already agreed in this poynt) ſo we muſt at this present expreſſe, that we haue more matter then we need, to give liberally vnto him, whom we confeſſe to be the maſter of what wee haue. All things are the fathers, which are in the poſſeſſion of his children; yet who knoweth not that the ſonne alſo may give his father ſomewhat? All things appertaine vnto the gods, yet haue we ſacrificed at their Altars, and offered many times in their Temples. That therefore which I haue, ſaileth not to be mine, because it is thine, for one and the ſame thing may be thine and mine. He (sayest thou) is a Bawd, that is the owner of common harlots, but a wife-man is owner of all things, and amongst all things the proſtitute are comprehended: therefore a wife-man is a Bawd. In like manner they forbid him to buy, for they ſay no man buyeth his owne, but all things appertaine vnto a wife-man, a wife-man therefore buyeth nothing. In like manner reſtraine they him from borrowing any thing, because no man payeth intereſt for his owne money. Innumerable are the things they contend and cauill about, whereas notwithstanding they fully conceiue what is ſpoken by vs.

In what manner a man may give vnto a wife-man.

CHAP. V.



Undoubtedly in ſuch ſort conclude I all things to be a wife-mans, that each one notwithstanding remaine maſter and lord of that hee hath, even as vnder the gouernement of a good Prince, the King poſſeſſeth all things by regall authoritie, and euery private man by particular tenure and title. The time will come when we ſhall prove this; meane while let this ſuffice for this queſtion, that I may give a wife-man that, which in one kind is his, in another mine: neither is it a ſtrange matter, that ſomewhat may bee giuen him, who is Lord of all. I haue hired a houſe of thee; in this houſe there is ſomething thine, and ſomething mine. The houſe it ſelfe is thine, the vſe of this houſe is mine. Thou therefore ſhalt neither touch the fruit, if the Farmer forbid thee, although they grow on thine owne ſoile, and if there ſhould be a ſcarcitie of corne, or famine:

An answer to the precedent objection confirmed by familiar examples.

*Alas, how all in vaine ſhalt thou
Behold anothers mightie mow.*

That grew in thine owne ground, was ſtacked in thine owne barn, and muſt be ſtored in thine owne garners. Thou ſhalt not enter my hired tenement, although thou be lord thereof, neither ſhalt thou carrie away thy ſlave, which is my hireling; and if I hire a wagon of thee, thou ſhalt take it for a kindneſſe, if I give thee leave to ſit in thine owne wagon. Thou ſeeſt therefore that it may ſo be, that man receiuing that which is his owne, may receive a courteſie.

CHAP. VI.

The second confirmation by other examples.

He answereth
the former ob-
jection.

IN all these things which I lately recited, both one and the other are matters of one and the same thing. But how? Because the one is the lord of the thing it felte, the other of the vie. We say that these books are *Cicerones*, and *Dorns* the Booke-seller faith, those very same books are his; and both these are true, the one challengeth them as the author thereof, the other as the buyer, and rightly are they said to appertain to both; for the right is in both of them, yet not after the same manner. So may *Titus Linius* receive in gift, or buy for money his owne books at *Dorus* his hands. I can give that to a wife man, which particularly appertaineth unto me, although all things be his. For since after a kingly manner he possesseth all things freely, and the propriety of every thing is distributed to every particular person, he can receive a present, he can owe, and buy, and hire. All things are *Cæsars*, yet nothing but that which is his owne patrimonie and particular demaies is returned into his Exchequer: all things are subject to his soveraigne power, but his peculiar heritage is properly his owne. The question is, what is his, and what is not his without diminution of his empire. For even that which is adjudged to be none of his, is in another sort his owne. So a wife man in mind possesseth all things, but by law and right onely that which is his owne.

CHAP. VII.

The third con-
fession is by the
enumeration and
refutation of
Bions crasse and
subtill argu-
ments for and
against sacrile-
gious men.

* This was the Tarpeian rocks, whence heinous offenders were headlong cast down.
Capitol is a place in Rome dedicated to Jupiter, which in times past was called Tarpeia.

B I O N somewhiles in his Arguments concludeth all men to bee fac-
 rilegious, sometimes no man. When he would call all men from
 the * rocke, hee saith, whofoever hath taken away or kildeth
 that which appertaineth to the Gods, and converted the same
 to his owne use, is sacrilegious, but all things are the Gods, and
 whatsoever eury one taketh away, hee taketh it from the Gods, (to whom all
 things appertain) therefore whofoever taketh away any thing, is sacrilegious.
 Again, when he would haue Temples broken open, and when he com-
 mndeth that the *Capitol* should be pillaged without punishment, he saith ; That
 it is no sacrilege, because that whatsoever is taken out of that place, which ap-
 pertaineth to the Gods, is transferred into another place, which appertaineth
 likewise vnto the Gods. To this it is answered, that all things are the Gods, but
 that all things are not dedicated to the Gods, and that sacrilege is observed
 and committed onely in those things, which religion hath consecrated to the
 Gods. So say we likewise, that the whole world is the Temple of the immor-
 tal Gods, onely worthe to containe their Maieslie and magnificence : and yet
 that prophane things are different from sacred , and that it is not lawfull to act
 all things in a corner of the earth, (that is called a Temple) which we may law-
 fully doe in the light of heaven, and view of all the Starres. Vndoubtedly,
 the sacrilegious cannot doe any iniurie to God, whose diuinitie hath planted him
 without the flort, yet is he punished, because he hath done, as it were, to God:
 for both our and his owne opinion obligeth and maketh him subiect to the pe-
 naltie. Euen as therefore hee seemeth to be sacrilegious who hath taken away any
 sacred thing, although whitherfoever he transferreth that he hath taken away.

is within the limits of the world : In like manner, may be robbed a wife man : For that is taken from him, not which is his, as he is Master of all things in this world, but that whereunto he had a peculiar title, which he reputeth and velleth as his owne in severall. That other possession he acknowledgeth, the other he would not have, though he might : and into this discourse will be breake (which the Roman Emperour vttered, when as for his vertue and good gouernement, so much land was decreed and allotted him, as in one day he could enuiron with his plow : *You haue not need (saith he) of such a Citizen, that hath need of more then one Citizens living.* How much more worthe, thinkest thou, was this man in refusing this gift, then in desfering it : For many great Captaines haue broken and defaced other mens bounds, but neuer a one of them hath limited his owne.

CHAP. VIII.

When as therefore we behold a wife mans mind, powerfull ouer all things, and spreading his Empire ouer all the whole World, we say that all things are his, when as we refferre him to the right of daily custome, he shall be taxed by the powle, if the cause so require. There is a great difference, whether his possession be estimated by the greatnesse of his minde, or by his reuenues; he would hate to be lord ouer all these things whereof thou speakest. I will not reckon vp *Socrates*, *Chrysippus*, or *Zeno*, and such other great personages, who in this are greater, because Enuie obscured not the prayse of such, who haue liued in times past. A little before I made mention of *Demetrius*, whom nature, in my iudgement, seemeth purposely to haue bred in our time, to shew that neither we could corrupt him, nor he correct vs. A man (though himselfe deny it) of exact wisdome, and of firme constancie in those things which be determined, yea and of that eloquence which best fitted matters of greatest strength, not polished or painted in words, but proofe, prosecuting his causes with great courage, according as the heat carried him. I doubt not, but the diuine providence gaue this man such a life and such ability in discourse, to the end our age might neither want good example, nor reproch.

С H A P. IX.

IF some one of the Gods would deliuer all our goods into *Demonium* possession vpon this condition, that it might not be lawfull for him to giue it away, I dare aurre it, hee would refuse them, and would say, I will not intangle my selfe with this inextricable waight: I will not plunge this man for cleane and free from auarice, into this deepe bog and sinke of these things. Why bringest thou mee the mischiefs and infelicities of all men? which I would not receiue, although I could giue them away presently, because I see many things which I might not honestly giue? I will contemplate those things which dazle the eyes of Kings and Nations. I will behold those things for which you spend your blouds, and hazard your soules. Set before mine eyes the chiefeft spoiles of superfluitie,

O 3

whether

The fourth con-
sideration taken
from the vertue
of Demetrius.

Being entred in
to a discourse of
Demetrius, he
sheweth in him,
what the
thoughts of a
wife man are,
who is a Lord
and contemner
of earthly things,
describing by
the same means
the strange dis-
solution of his
time, which grew
to head within
the compass of
fiftie years.

whether it be, that thou wilt vnfold them in order, or (as it is better) deliuer them in grosse. I see a vaulted rooſe moſt cunningly carued with curious variety: and the ſhells of diuers the moſt loathſome and ſluggiſh creatures bought at exceſſiue prices. Wherein that very variety, which moſt pleaſeth, is made of counterfeit colours, according to the ſimilitude of the things themſelues. I ſee in the ſame place, tables and wood, eſtimated at no leſſe then a Senators ſubſtance, by ſo much more precious, by how much the inſelicitie of the tree had writhed and wreſted it into infinit knots. I ſee in the ſame place veſſels of Chryſtall, whole brittleſſe enhaſeth the price. For, amongſt ignorant men, the pleaſure of all things is augmented, even by that verie danger, which ſhould cauſe vs hate them. I ſee pots and veſſels of Murrhine, as if ſuperſtitiuſe and riotous expence had not been ſufficiently prized, if they had nor vomited in great veſſels of pretious ſtone the exceſſiue wine they had drunke to one anothers health. I ſee pearles not ſeuerally fitted for quere eare one; for now the eares are accuſtomed to beare burthens, diuers of them are tied together, and if there be but two, two other are placed aboue them. The madneſſe of women had not ſufficiently brought their huſbands into ſubiection, except they hanged at either of their eares the worth of two or three mens patrimonies. I ſee liken garments, wherein there is nothing that may couer either their bodies, or at leaſt wiſe their ſhames; which when a woman hath put vpon her, they may ſcarcelly ſweare that ſhe is not naked. Theſe for a great ſumme, are by way of commerce ſetched from foraine Nations, that our matrons may ſhew no more of themſelues to their adulterers in their chambers, then in publique.

CHAP. X.



What doſt thou, auarice? How many things are they, which in value ſurpaſſe thy gold? All theſe things which I haue reckoned vp, are of more honour and better price. Now will I recognize thy riches, the plates of both mettals, at which our couetouſneſſe is dazeled. But the earth, which produced whatſoeuer was profitable for our uſe, hath buried theſe mettals, yea, and with her whole waight hath caſt her ſelfe vpon them, as vpon hurtfull and hatefull things, which could not come to light, but to the common hurt of all nations. I ſee that Iron is taken out of that very darkneſſe, whence gold and ſiluer were had, to the end that neither instruments for mutuall ſlaughters, neither price for the murderers ſhould be wanting, yet haue theſe things ſome matter of eſteem in them. There is ſomewhat, wherein the mind may follow the error of the eyes. I ſee theſe Patents, theſe Indentures, and Obligations, the empty images of couetouſneſſe, certaine ſhadows of ſicke auarice, by which they deceiue the mind, that delighteth in the opinion of tranſitorie things. For what are theſe? What is intereſt? What, day bookes and vſurie, but certaine names of humane couetouſneſſe, which nature neuer heard of? I can complaine of nature, becauſe ſhe hath not hidden gold and ſiluer deeper, becauſe ſhe hath not caſt a heavier burthen on them, then that it might be removed. What are theſe Regiſters, theſe computations, and ſailable time? * theſe bloudie vſuries of twelue for a hundred? They are voluntarie evils, depending on our conſtitutions, in which there is nothing that may be ſubjected to the eies, or held in the hand, the dreames of vaine couetouſneſſe. O! how wretched is he, who taketh delight to read ouer the great rental

To expreſſe the precedent proofes touching the contentment of a wife-man, he ſheweth on the other ſide, the great euils that proceed from auarice, and the ſouliſh couetouſneſſe of worldly men. * Theſe were called Ceneſima, which was a kind of vſury amongſt the Romans: the creditor was wont to giue his debtor a croſſe, and for the ſame he receiued pay for euery month a croſſe for his intereſt, till he had ſix months more paſt, at the end whereof he returned the principal to his creditor.

They were called Murrhine veſſels, as Grotius and Lucretius write, and were made of a pretious ſtone conſidered by the Sones.

rentall of his patrimonie, or large demeanes to be tilld by his bondmen, or infinite herds of cattell, that neede whole countries and Kingdomes to feede them, or his family greater then warlike nations, and priuate buildings, that in bignesse exceede great cities! When he hath well examined theſe things, whereby he hath diſpoſed and ſpread out his riches, and made himſelfe proud; if he compare that which he hath, with that which he deſireth, hee is a poore man. Let me goe, and reſtore me to thoſe riches of mind: I know the Kingdom of wiſedome to bee great and ſecure: ſo enioy I all things, as all men may enioy theirs in particular.

CHAP. XI.



Hereas therefore Caius Caſar gaue Demetrius two hundred talents, he ſmiled and reſuſed them, not deeming the ſame of ſuch value, as he might iuſtly glory that he had reſuſed them. O gods and Goddeſſes, with how ſmall a thing would hee either haue honoured or corrupted ſuch a mind! I muſt teſtifie for ſo worthy a man: I haue heard a great matter reported by him, that when he had wondered at Caſars indilcretion, in that he thought that he could be changed for ſo ſlight a matter, he ſaid thus: If, ſaid he, he had intended to tempt me, he ſhould haue tempted me with his whole Empire.

A deſcription of auarice, by a compariſon, taken from the contentment of Demetrius.

CHAP. XII.



Some thing therefore may bee giuen to a wife man, although all things be his: ſo likewiſe nothing letteth but that ſomething may be giuen to a friend, though we ſay that all things are common amongſt friends. For in ſuch ſort are not all things common betwixt me and my friend, as they are with a partner, ſo as my part and his ſhould be all one: but as children are common to their fathers and mothers, who hauing two betwixt them, haue not each of them one, but two a piece. Firſt of all I will make him know whatſoeuer hee bee that will be co-partner with mee, that there is nothing common betwixt him and mee: and why? becauſe this aſſociation cannot be but amongſt wife men, who only vnderſtand and praſtiſe the uſe of true friendſhip; the other are no more friends then they be co-partners. Again, goods are common in diuers kindes. The ſieges in the Theater ordayned for Knights, appertaine to all the Knights of Rome; and yet in theſe, the place that I ſate in is mine owne. If I haue yeelded vp my place to any, although I giue him place in a thing common to all, yet ſeemeth it that I haue giuen him ſomewhat. There are things which appertaine to ſome men, vnder certaine conditions: I haue my place amongſt the Knights, not to ſell, not to hire, nor to poſſeſſe continually; but only to this end, to behold the publique ſports. I ſhall not therefore lie, if I ſay I haue a place amongſt the Knights; but when I come into the Theater, if the places bee all taken vp, yet in right I haue a place there, becauſe it is lawfull for mee to ſit there: and I haue it not becauſe it is occupied by thoſe, who haue as much title to the place as my ſelfe. Suppoſe the caſe is the ſame amongſt friends. Whatſoeuer our friend hath is common to vs, yet the property is his that poſſeſſeth it: I cannot

Hee returneth to his purpoſe, and ſheweth by diuers reaſons how a man may giue ſome thing to a wife man, who is Lord of all things.

vſc

vile it against his will. Thou mockest me (saist thou,) if that which appertayneth to my friend be mine, I have libertie to sell the same: but I have no libertie; for thou canst not sell Kightly dignities, yet are they common to thee, as to those of the same order. It is no argument therefore that a thing is not thine, because thou canst not sell it; because thou mayst not consume it, because thou mayst not change it for worse or better: for it is thine, although it be thine but vpon a condition. I have taken the place, yet hast thou it neuertheless.

CHAP. XIII.

NOT to delay thee any longer, one benefit cannot be greater then another: but those things, whereby a benefit may be giuen, may be better and more; into which beneuolence may extend it selfe, and so please it selfe: as louers are wont, whose many kisses and closer embracements increase not, but exercise their loues.

This question also that enucth, is fully debated in our former, and therefore it shall be shortly handled: for the arguments we haue vied in the other questions, may be employed here. The question is, whether he that hath done his best to restore a benefit, hath giuen satisfaction. That thou mayest know, sayst thou, that he hath not satisfied, hee hath done all hee can to recompence him: it appeareth therefore that that thing is not done, because hee had not the means to doe it, as he hath not paid the siluer which he ought vnto his creditor, who, to performe the same, had sought him euery where, and could not find him. Some things are of that condition, that they must needs be effected, and in some things it is as much to haue attempted what a man could, as to haue effected the deede. If the Physician hath done his vttermost to heale his patient, he hath performed his part. The Orator, although his client be condemned, if he haue shewed the vttermost of his art, hath not lost the honour of his eloquence. The Generall and Captaine, although conquered, is commended, if in as much as in him lay, he proceeded with prudence, industrie and fortitude: He hath attempted all means to recompence thy curtesie, but thy felicitie letted him. No calamitie hath false vpon thee, whereby thou mightest make tryall of his true friendship. He could not giue vnto a rich man, sit by a healthfull man, succour a happie man. He was thankfull vnto thee, although thou receiuest no benefit. Besides intending this matter alwaies, and expecting the time and oportunitie of this same; he that hath spent many cares to this end, and employed much diligence to find an occasion of requitall, hath endeouored more then he whose fortune it was, to make satisfaction suddenly.

CHAP. XIII.

THE example of the debtor is vnlike, who hath done little in gathering in his money, except he payeth it: for there his importunate creditor standeth ouer his head, who suffereth not a day to passe without interest; but there thou art matched with a bountifull creditor, who, when he shall see thee trotting vp and downe, carefull and pensive to satisfie, saith vnto thee,

Dislodge

It may be truth into an other question, which is, whether he who acquit who hath endeouored himselfe to pay, and could not find the means to requite, is a good man: that is, in this case, but hee is a diligent man, of the character is to be the end of the other debtors, which Nuncius learnedly obserueth, so that here in this place the only conclusion is extant.

In continuing his discourses, hee sheweth that hee who hath done his best endeouored to acknowledge a benefit, is as worthy of praise as hee that without endeavour annexeth the effect to the will, which he enricheth with diuers oppositions and comparisons.

Dislodge this care from out thy breast.

Cease to be so vrgent in thine owne trouble: I am wholly satisfied. Thou dost me iniurie, if thou thinkest that I desire any thing more at thy hands: I am fully possessed of thy good mind. But tell me (saith he) wouldst thou say that he had restored a benefit that had only bene thankfull? By this reckoning hee that hath required, and he that hath not satisfied, are of like reckoning. Contrariwise, put case; if any other hath forgotten the benefit hee hath received, and hath no waies endeauored himselfe to requite the same: wouldst thou say that he had required? But this man (of whom wee speake) hath wearied himselfe day and night, and renouncing all other offices only to thinke vpon this, hath wholly intended satisfaction, and laboured that no occasion should ouer-slip him. Shall therefore the like respect be had of him, that hath callt away the care of returning gratiuitie, as of him that neuer thought thereon? Thou dealest vnjustly with me, if thou exactest that recompence at my hand, when thou seest my mind euer addicted to content thee. To bee short; put case thou wert in captiuitie, and that to ransom thee (hauing engaged all my goods vnto a creditor, who had taken them in assurance of the money which I borrowed for thee) I put forth to sea in a sore stormie winter, by coasts and promontories beleagred by Pyrates; and furthermore suffered all the perils that may chance euen in a peaceable Sea, and after that hauing trauesed all the deserts, which all men liuing fled, and fought to find thee; and coming at last to the Pyrates, from whose hands alreadie another had discharged thee: wilt thou denie, that I haue not required thy goodnesse, if in vndertaking this journey, I haue by shipwracke lost that money which I borrowed for thy ransom? If I fall my selfe into that captiuitie from whence I would deliuer thee; wilt thou not confesse that I haue bene thankfull vnto thee? Yet vndoubtedly the Athenians called *Armodius* and *Aristogiton* Tyrant-quellers, and *Mutius* hand left vpon the enemies Altar, was as much as if he had slaine *Porfenna*: and vertue likewise wrestling against fortune, although the intended action was not effected, was alwaies honoured. He hath performed more, who hath followed flying occasions, and euer hunted after new by which hee might bee thankfull, then he whom the first occasion made grateful, without paine or trauell.

CHAP. XV.

HEE hath (saith hee) lent thee two things, his will and goods: thou likewise owest him two. Worthily mightest thou say this vnto him, that had only yeelded thee an idle will, but thou canst not speake it to him, who both willet, and endeauoureth, and leaueth nothing vnattempted, for he performeth both, as much as lieth in his power. Again, a number is not alwaies to bee equalled by a number, for sometimes one thing ouer-ualueth two. Therefore so forward and desirous a will to make restitution, standeth in stead of the benefit. But if the mind without the act be not sufficient to requite a benefit, no man is thankfull to the gods, on whom there is nothing bestowed but the will, wee can (saith he) giue nothing to the gods, but our will. But if I haue no other thing to giue him to whom I am obliged, why should I not bee grateful toward man in that, whereby and no otherwise I yeeld thanks vnto the gods.

CHAP.

Because that in the reply to the last, I haue said, that so many of our actions are not the will and effect together: he answers together: he answers that hee who hath done his best endeouored to acknowledge a benefit, is as worthy of praise as hee that without endeavour annexeth the effect to the will, which he enricheth with diuers oppositions and comparisons.

Thucydides first book, Titus Livius, Plutarch, and other Roman historians, liers.

CHAP. XVI.

*How see that
duty, and he that
receiveth a good
turne, ought to
be affected, but
especially hee
themselves, that a
man who should
himselfe be subject
to a necessitie,
ought to make
proofe by all
meanes possible
of the sincere and
unmixed affection
he hath to ac-
knowledge the
pleasure and
good that hath
bene done unto
him.*

Et if thou aske me what I thinke, and wilt subscribe vnto mine answer, let this man iudge that hee hath received the benefit, and that man know that hee hath not required it. Let the one release the other, & the other confesse the debt. Let this man say, I have it, and that man, I owe it. In all controuersies, let vs respect the common good, let vngratefull men be exempted from exculpations, to which they may flie, and vnder which they may colour their refusal. I have done all that I could. Doe it now like wise. What, thinkest thou, our ancessors were so imprudent, that they vnderstood not that it were an vnjust act to set no difference betwene him, who had spent the money he had borrowed of his creditor in ryot and sports, and him, who either by fire or thecues, and by any other more grievous misfortune, both lost his owne and other mens? They admitted no excuse; to the end that men should know that faith was to be observed every way. For it was better that a iust excuse amongst few should not be accepted, then that all men should attempt any. Thou hast done all thou canst to satisfie. Let this to him be enough, to thee a litle. For euen as he is vnworthy to receiue any requital, who suffreth thy serious and sedulous endeavour to slip away vnregarded; so likewise art thou vngratefull, if thou thinke not thy selfe more freely obliged to him, who taketh thy good will for payment, and by this meanes acquitteth thee of that thou owest. Lay not hold of this rashly, neither consent, yet seeke thou occasions of restitution. Requite the one, because he asketh it, the other, because he releaseth thee. Repay this man, because he is wicked, and the other because he is not euill. And therefore thou hast not cause to thinke this question may stand thee in any stead: whether he that hath receiued a benefit from a wife man, when he is wife, is bound to restore it afterwards, when he is become foolish, and shall no more bee a good man. For thou wouldest restore a thing committed to thy trust, which thou haddest received from a wife man, yea and to an euill man wouldest thou satisfie that he had lent thee: and why then not a benefit? Because he is changed, shall he change thee? What if thou hadst receiued any thing from a man in health, wouldest thou not restore it when he were sicke, whereas we are alwaies most obliged to our friend when hee is weakest? Truly this man is sicke in minde, let him be helped, let him bee borne withall: folly is a sickness of the mind. To the intent that this may be the better vnderstood, mee thinketh it good to vse some distinction herein.

CHAP. XVII.

*A distinction
drawne from the
doctrine of the
Stoicks, which
was approved by
other Philosophers.*

Here are two kinds of benefits, the one which a wife man cannot giue, but to a wife man, and this is an absolute and true benefit: the other vulgar and of little value, whereof the vse is ordinarie amongst vs ignorant men. Of this there is no doubt, but that I ought to restore it to him I owe it, whatsoeuer he be, whether he be a Homicide, a Theefe, or an Adulterer. There are lawes to punish crimes and bad actions: the Iudge better reformes these, then an vngratefull man. Let no man make thee bad, because he is bad himselfe. I will fling away my

my benefit to a wicked man, and restore it to a good man; to the one, because I owe it to the other, lest I should be in his debt.

CHAP. XVIII.

If the other kind of benefit there is some question, which if I could not receiue, except (as a wife man) I cannot likewise restore but to a wife man. For put the case I tender it, yet cannot here receive it; for why, he is not capable of it, but hath lost the science how to vse it. What if you command me to bandie backe the ball to a maimed mans hands, it is but a folly to giue him that hath no power to receiue? And that I may begin to answer thee to thy last speeches, I will not giue him that which he cannot receiue, yet will I recompence, although he cannot receiue it. For I cannot oblige any man, but him that receiveth, yet may I be discharged, if I giue satisfaction. Cannot hee make vse thereof? Let him looke to that, the fault shall bee in him and not in me.

CHAP. XIX.

Restore, saith hee, is to haue deliuered it to his hands that ought to receiue it. For if thou owest wine vnto any man, and hee willet thee to powre the same into a net or siue, wouldest thou say that thou haddest repaid him, or wouldest thou returne him that, which whilest it is restored, is spilt betwene both. To restore, is to giue that which thou owest, to him, to whom it appertayneth, and that hath a will to receiue the same; this is the only thing I ought to performe. That he may haue that which he receiued at my hands, is now a further charge. I owe him not the custodie thereof, but the acquittall of my faith: and farre better is it, that he haue it not, then that I should not restore it. I will presently satisfie my creditor, although I know that hee will suddenly send that I owe him vnto the Shambles. Although he assigne it ouer to be satisfied to an adulteresse, I will pay it. And if he would powre the money, which he is to receiue, into his bosome, being vntied, yet will I giue it. For I must repay it, yet am I not bound either to keepe or defend it. I ought carefully to keepe the good I haue receiued, and not that which I haue restored. As long as it remaineth with me, I will see it shall not be lost, but if it be called for, it must be satisfied, although it should slip out of his hands that receiued it. I will restore it to a good man, when it shall bee profitable for him, to an euill man when hee shall demand it. Thou canst not, saith hee, redeliuer a benefit vnto him in such a sort as thou receiuedst it, for thou receiuedst it from a wife man, thou repayedst it to a foole, for I restore that to him, such as hee can now receiue, neither is it embayed by mee, but by him. I will render that which I haue receiued, and if hee recouer his wisedome, I will redeliuer it intirely, such as I receiued it; as long as he is foolish, I will render such a one as he may receiue, But (saith he) what if he be not only made euill, but cruell and enraged, as *Apollodorus* or *Phalaris* were, wilt thou restore the benefit thou hast receiued at his hands? Nature suffereth not so great a change in a wife man, for falling from the best into the worst, it must needs follow also, that some impression of good-nesse

*A paradox and
subtile distinction
of the Stoicks,
which men ought
to reade with
iudgement.*

*An other questi-
on, whether wee
ought to make
restitution to
him that imple-
eth that which is
restored him,
belyng his opini-
on vs a firmi-
tude.*

*Whether wee
ought to yeeld a
cruell, bloody,
and frowne ene-
mie satisfaction,
who was no such
man, before wee
receiued the cur-
rency? Seneca
saith, no.*

In what case a
man is disposed
with from yield-
ing (not) disho-
nor, &c.

ness remaineth in him, even in his wickedness. Vertue is neuer so much extinguished, but that three impresteth some markes, which cannot be defaced by any change. Wilde beasts that haue bene brought vp amongst vs, when as they breake out into the woods, retaine some part of their former tameness, and looke how much they be wilder then the tamest beasts, so much are they tamer then the wildest beasts, and such as neuer were many, tractable by mans hand. No man hath falne into extreame wickedness, that hath euer stucke vnto wisdom: he is tinctured more deeply, then that it may be wholly washed out, and changed into any other colour. Furthermore, I aske thee whether he, of whom we speake, be only sauage and cruell in mind, or if hee take pleasure to procure the ruine and publike misfortune of the whole world. For thou hast proposed vnto me *Apollodorus* and *Phalaris* the tyrant, whose nature, if an euill man haue in himselfe, why should not I restore him his benefit backe againe, to the end I may be wholly acquit of him for ever? But if not only he delighteth and taketh pleasure in humane blood, but exerciseth his vnassailable crueltye on all ages, and rageth not for anger, but of a certaine thirst and desire he hath to shed blood: if hee killeth children in their fathers presence, if not contented with a simple death, he tortureth them, and not only burneth those that are to die, but scorcheth them: if his altar bee alwaies soyled with new murders and massacres, it is a small matter to keepe backe a benefit from such a one. Whatsoeuer it was, whereby he and I were linked and vnited together, that hath bene dissolved, by reason that by his crueltye and tyrannie hee hath broken the rights and lawes of humane societie. If he had done any thing for me, if I had receiued any good at his hands, and afterwards hee had taken armes, and made warre against my country, whatsoeuer he had deserued, he had lost, and to be thankfull to him, would be reputed a haynous crime. If hee assaile not my countrie, but tedious to his owne, and doing no iniurie to my nation, he persecuteth his owne: notwithstanding that so great impietie of his mind, dissolueth the bonds whereby we were vnited: and if this be not sufficient to make him mine enemy, at least, wile, I shall haue occasion to loathe and hate him, and the respect of dutie which I ought to beare to the common good of men deserueth to haue more power ouer me, then the obligation that I owe to one particular person.

CHAP. XX.

Expressing that
which is entre-
ated before, he
showeth the
means how to
acknowledge a
benefit, which is
receiued from
the hands of an
enemy of humane
societie, without
preiudicing the
publicke in any
sort, or giving
occasion or
means to such,
to maintaine
themselves in
their wickedness.

BUt although this bee so, and that from that time forward I may freely act whatsoeuer me lieth towards him, in that violating all lawes, he hath brought to passe, that nothing may be vnlawfully attempted against him; yet beleeue I, that my actions must bee so limited, that if the good I intend in my benefit, shall neither augment his forces to the destruction of all men; neither confirme that power which he hath alreadie, that is to say, that I may do it without the ruine of the common wealth, I will restore his benefit: I will sue his child, being an infant. What doth this benefit wrong any of those whom his crueltye dismembreth? I will not furnish him with money to pay the souldiers of his guard. If he shall want either marble or rich rayment, it shall bee no wayes preiudiciall to any man, that shall supply his excessse and superfluitie. Souldiers and furniture I will not helpe him with. If he request me in way of great kindnesse, to lend him

him cunning *Comedians* and *Courtezans*, and such other delights as may temper his crueltye, I will willingly offer them. Though I would not send him armed gallies and ships of war, yet would I send him whirries and couered barges, and other such like things, wherein Kings take their pastime, when they intend to sport themselves vpon the sea. And if the hope of his amendment were utterly lost, yet with the same hand that I giue benefits to all men, I will returne him his; because the best remedie for such euill dispositions is not to be, and it is best for him to be dead, whose life will neither bee reclaimed nor rectified. But seldom is so great wickedness seene, it is rare; and reputed alwaies for strange and wonderfull, they are feared as the gaping and openings of the earth, or as great fires which burst forth from the deepest caues of the Sea. Let vs therefore leaue these, and speake of those which we detest without horror. To this euill man whom I may find in euery market place, whom priuate men feare, will I returne the benefit I haue receiued: I must not make my profit of his wickedness. Looke what belongs not to me, let it returne to him that oweth it, be he good, or be he bad. How diligently should I examine these things, if I should not restore, but giue? This place craueth a merry fable.

CHAP. XXI.

Certaine *Pythagorist* had vpon his credit bought a paire of clownish shoes of a Cobler (a great matter, I warrant you) some few dayes after he came into the shop, to make satisfaction, and when hee had long time knocked at the doore, there was one that answered him: *Why lose you your labour? That Cobler you seeke for is carried out and burned. This may be a grieue to vs which lose our friends for ever, but not to you that know he shall be borne anew.* Thus iested he at the *Pythagorist*. But our *Philosopher* carried home his three or foure pence very merrily, shaking them diuerse times in his hand, as hee went homeward. Afterwards accusing himselfe of the pleasure he had conceiued in non-payment, and perceiving how much that little gaine of his was pleasing to him, he returned to the shop, and said vnto himselfe, *He liueth to thee, pay thou that which thou owest.* With that word he thrust the foure pence into the shop at a crany of the wall, where the closing of the panell was shrunk; chastising himselfe for his cursed avarice, lest he should accustom himselfe to detain another mans goods.

Intermixing a
merry tale a-
mongst his serious
discourses, hee
showeth, that we
ought not to re-
pente that gotten
goods, which re-
maine in our
hands, because
wee haue not
much returned it
to him, to whom
we are indebt-
ed, and who pre-
sented by death,
cannot rede-
mand the same.

CHAP. XXII.

Eke thou then to whom thou mayest returne that which thou owest, and if no man require payment at thy hands, call thou thy selfe to account. It appertaines not to thee, whether hee be good or euill. Restore and accuse thy selfe, not forgetting how offices are diuided betweene you. We haue commanded him to forget thee, we haue enioyned thee to remember: notwithstanding he deceiueh himselfe, whofoeuer thinketh, that when wee say, that hee who hath giuen the benefit, should neuer more think on the pleasure he hath done, that we would haue him entirely lose the remembrance of the honestest thing that may be done in this world: we command some things more strictly then we ought, to cause them

Of their duties,
who either giue
or receive bene-
fits, and in what
sort the benefi-
ciary ought to
forget his benefi-
tary.

to returne to their true and particular proportion, when wee say that he must not remember, our meaning is, that he must not publish it a broad, he ought not to vaunt, he should not reproch. For some there are that make the curtesies they haue done, their table-talk amongst their companions; of this talke they when they are sober, of this they take being drunke, this discouer they to strangers, this commit they to their friends. That this inordinate and reprochfull memorie might be repressed: wee commanded, that he that had done the curtesie to his friend, should neuer remember it, and commanding him more then he could performe, we perswaded him to silence.

CHAP. XXIII.



Soft as thou distrustest those ouer whom thou hast command, thou mayst exact farre more then thou needest, to the end that that may be performed which is sufficient. Every Hyperbole ay-meth at this issue; that by a lie a man may attaine vnto the truth. Hee therefore that said,

*That did exceede the Snow in whitenesse,
And did surpass the winds in lightnesse,*

He said that which could not be, to the end the most that could be, should bee beleued. And he that said,

More fixed then these rocks, more headlong then this torrent,

did not thinke that hee should perswade this, that any one was so immoue-able as a Rocke. This excessive and superlatiue kind of speech neuer hopeth so much as it dareth; but it affirmeth incredible things, to the end it may attaine vnto credible. When wee say, Let him that hath giuen a benefit forget it; our meaning is, that hee should bee as one that had forgotten it: let no man perceiue that he hath remembrance thereof, or that his memorie is awakened. When we say, That wee ought not to redemand a benefit againe, we doe not wholly take away the meanes of redemanding it; for oft-times euill men haue neede of an exacter, and good men also of an admonisher. Why then, shall I not shew an ignorant man the opportunitie of requittall? shall I not discouer my necessities vnto him? why either should hee belie himselfe or bee sorer that he knew it not? now and then let some admonition bee intermixed; yet such as is modest, which neither saoureth of importunitie, or matter of plea.

CHAP.

He sheweth by
other kinds of
excessive spee-
cher, that it is
no euill kind of
speech, to exhort
a benefactor to
forget his bene-
fit.

CHAP. XXIII.



SOCRATES in the hearing of his friends; said, *I had bought mee a cloke, had I had money.* He required of no man, he admonished all: the question was, who should supply him. And why not? For how small a matter was it that *Socrates* receiued? but it was a great matter to be worthy to be such a one, from whom *Socrates* would receiue. He could not more mildly chastise them. I had (said he) bought mee a cloke, had I had money. After this, whosoeuer was the forwardest, he gaue too late: for *Socrates* was already in necessitie. For these intemperate exactors sake we forbid the redemand of benefits, not that it should neuer be put in vse, but that it might be done modestly and sparingly.

By the example
of *Socrates*, hee
sheweth, that for
the most part
there is no much
fault in the be-
nefactor, as in
him that recei-
ues the bene-
fit, which may
well appeare in
importunate re-
demanding.

CHAP. XXV.



ARISTIPPVS hauing sometimes taken pleasure in good fauors and perfumes, said; *Bestrow these effeminate fellows, that haue defamed so worthy a thing.* The same must be said, Euill betide these wicked and importunate exactors of their benefits, who haue extinguished so worthy an admonition amongst friends: yet will I vse this law of friendship, and will redemand a benefit from him, from whom I would haue requested it, if I had neede, who will receiue it in Read of another benefit. If he haue meanes to requite that which I haue done for him, I will neuer say in way of complaint,

Against the im-
portunate re-
prochers of bene-
fits, which they
haue done.

*I tooke thee vp cast vp vpon this shore
Forlorne and poore, and that which made me more
I made thee partner of my princely state.*

Lib. 4. *Euclid.*

This is no admonition, but rather a reproch: this is no lesse then to bring benefits into hatred: this is the direct meanes to make it either lawfull or delightfull to be thanklesse. It is inough, and too much to refresh the memorie with submisse and familiar words;

*If I haue ought demerited from thee,
Or ought well liking hath appeared in me.*

Let the other likewise say, How can it otherwise be, but that thou hast deserued? Thou hast entertained me in thy house, after that by tempest I was cast on shore, denied of all supplies, shipwracke and poore.

CHAP. XXVI.



But (saith he) we haue profited nothing, he dissembles, he is forgetfull, what should I doe? Thou proposest a very necessary question, and in which it becommeth vs to conclude this discourse, How ingratefull men are to bee borne withall? Truly with a peaceable, milde, and great minde. Let neuer so inhumane, forgetfull, and vngratefull man so offend thee, that the delight of thy bountie be extin-

With what eye
and heart wee
ought to behold
and censure the
vngratefull, and
what compassion
we ought to
make betwixt
these and other
offenders in the
world.

extinguished in thee, neuer let iniurie inforce these speeches from thee: I would I had not done it. Let the infelicitie of thy benefit content thee likewise. It shall repent him euer, if thou hitherto repent thee not. Thou must not be grieved as if some new casualtie had befallen thee, thou oughtest rather to wonder, if it had not happened. One is affrighted with labour, another with charge, another with danger, and another with vnseemely basfulness; lest in his requitall he acknowledge that he hath receiued. Some forget their duty, another is idle in his affaires, another ouer-busie. Marke: how the immeasurable desires of men doe alwaies gape and grape after money. thou wilt not wonder then to see no man addressed to requite, where no man receiueth enough: which one of these is of so firme and solid a mind, that thou mayest safely trust thy benefits with him? This man is mad with lust, that man serueth his bellie, another is wholly addicted to lucre, whose substance thou hardly mayest equal: this man is sicke with enuy, another with such blinde ambition, that he is ready to runne vpon the sword point. Adde hereunto dulnesse of mind and old age, and contrariwise the agitation and perpetuall tumult of an vnquiet breast. Annexe herunto the too much esteeme, and insolent pride of a mans selfe, for which he is to be contemned. What should I speake of their contumacie, that incline to the worst; or of their inconstancie and leuitie, that are seded in nothing? Adde vnto these, headlong temeritie and feare, that neuer giueth faithfull counsell, and a thousand errors wherewith we are intangled, the boldnesse of the most cowards, the discord of most familiars; and (which is a common mischiefe) to trust to vncertainties, to lothe things in possession; to with for those things, which we may not any wayes hope to attaine.

CHAP. XXVII.

Eckell thou for faith, a thing so peaceable, amidst the passions of the mind, that are most restless? If the true image of our life were presented before thine eyes, thou wouldest suppose that thou sawest the pillage of a great Citie taken by assault, wherein without respect of shame or any iustice, the enemy in stead of counsell vseth force and violence, as if by publike proclamation hee were permitted to exercise at his pleasure all kind of outrage. Neither fire nor sword is spared, murders and mischiefs are not punished: Religion it selfe, which hath oftentimes amongst the armed enemies saved their liues, who humbled themselves at her feete, cannot now containe those men that are set vpon pillage: the one forcibly deface the goods of a priuate house, another of a publike: that man stealeth prophane things, and that man sacred; the one breakes vp, the other passeth ouer. This man being discontented with the straightnesse of the passage, overthroweth that which stoppeth his way, and makes his profit of this ruine. This man spoyleth without slaughter, that man beareth his bootie in a bloody hand: there is no man but catcheth some thing from another. Amidst this greedinesse of mankind, I feare me thou art too much forgetfull of our common fortune, who seeketh to find a grateful man amongst so many robbers. If thou art grieued that there are vngrateful men, be sorry that there are some luxurious men, be vexed because there are couetous men, be displeased because there are impudent men, be angry that there are deformed, sicke, and pale old men. This vice, I confesse, is grievous and intollerable, which breaketh the

We must not seek for faith amongst so many infidelities which raigne in this world, and consequently, a man ought not to wonder, that the number of vngrateful men is so great, considering that they themselves who complaine of that fault, are themselves tainted therewith.

the societie of men, which deuideth and destroyeth that concord whereby our weakenesse is supported; yet so common is it, that he himselfe who complayneth against it, cannot auoyd it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

BEthinke thy selfe, whether thou hast beene thankfull to euery one of those to whom thou art obliged, whether any of those pleasures that haue beene done thee, are lost; whether thou hast alwaies remembred the benefits which thou hast receiued from others, and thou shalt see, that those things which were given thee when thou wert a child, were forgotten by thee ere thou wert a stripling, and that those things which were bestowed on thee in thy youth, continued not in thy memorie vntill old age. There are some things which wee haue lost, some things we haue reiected, some things haue vanished out of our sight by little and little, and from some things we our selues haue turned our eyes. But to excuse thy weakenesse, first of all memorie is fraile, and cannot long time apprehend so great a number of affaires; it must needs lose as much as it entertaineth, and ouerwhelme the elder with the later. So cometh it to passe that the authoritie of thy nurse preuaileth little with thee, because succeeding yeeres haue laid the benefit he hath done thee, farre from thy thought. Hence groweth it that thou yeldest no reuerence to thy Master: so cometh it to passe, that whilst thou art busied in labouring for a Consulship, or pretendest a Priesthood, thou forgettest him that once gaue thee his voice to be a Quæstor. Happily if thou diligently examine thy selfe, thou shalt find that vice, whereof thou complaynest in thine owne bosome: thou doest amisse to be angry with a publike crime, and foolishly to be angry against thy selfe; to absolve thy selfe, forgive others. By thy sufferance thou mayest make him better, but worse by thy reproches: thou must not harden his heart; let him, if any shame be left in him, retain it still. Oft times publike and notorious reproches exile that doubtful modestie, which a man would retain. There is no man feareth to bee that which he is seene to be: shame once discovered is lost.

CHAP. XXIX.

HAue lost a benefit. Shall we say we haue lost those things which we haue consecrated? A benefit ought to be numbered amongst those things that are consecrated; provided that a man hath well employed the same, although it bee badly required: is hee not such as we hoped he would be? let vs be such as wee haue beene, vnlike unto him; the wrong then done, now appeareth. A vnthankfull man is not accus'd by vs, but with our owne disgrace, because the complaint of the losse of our benefit, is a signe it was badly giuen. As nere as wee can, let vs pleade his cause with our selues, haply he could not, peraduenture he knew not, perhaps he will doe it hereafter. The wife and patient creditor sometimes recouereth his debt which he reputeth lost, in forbearing his debtor, and giuing him time: the like must we doe; let vs nourish the languishing faith of those that forget themselves.

He prooeth that which he toucheth about the end of the former chapter, which is, that there is no man in the world, of whom a man may say, that he is exempt and free from ingratitude, and thereupon alledge that every thing and valuable treasure

He now yeldeth an answer to the common obiection, which is, that a benefit to an vngrateful man is lost, and sheweth how the same should be vnderstood.

CHAP. XXX.

The second answer to the former complaint.

Have lost my benefit. Thou foole, thou knowest not the times of thy detriment. Thou hast lost, but when thou gapest; now the matter is discovered. Even in these things which seeme to be lost, moderation hath profited very much. As the infirmities of the bodie, so those of the mind are to be handled gently; oftentimes that thing which patience and delay hath discovered and unfolded, is broken by his pertinacie and stubbornesse that healeth the same. What neede these reproches? What neede these plaints? this pursuite? Why dost thou acquit him? Why dischargest thou, why dismishest thou him, if he be vngratefull? Now oweth he thee nothing; what reason is there to exasperate him, whom thou hast many wayes pleased, to the end that of a doubtfull friend hee may become an assured enemy, and to give him meanes to defend his cause the better, by procuring thine owne shame? There be some will say, I am sure there is some great matter in it; but what it is I know not, that he could not abide him to whom he was so much indebted. There is no man that in any sort complained of a superior, but stained, though he could not deface his greatnesse and honor, neither is a man content to faine trifles, when hee seekes for credit by the greatnesse of his lie.

CHAP. XXXI.

The third answer confirming the two former, and fortifying them with an excellent and grounded reason, taken from the nature of God, who bestoweth infinite benefits on vngratefull sinners.

Now farre better is that way whereby the hope of friendship is referred to him, and the opinion of our friendship likewise, if he be thankfull and entertaine a better thought? Incessant goodnesse conquereth euill men; neither is there any man of so hard and hatefull a minde against those things that are to be beloved, that loueth not those, who euen in their greatest wrongs continue good men, to whom he beginneth to owe this also, that he susteineth no displeasure at their hands for not requiring. Reflect thy thoughts therefore vpon these: there is no correspondence held with me: what shall I doe? Euen that which the gods (the best authors of all things) doe, who begin to bestow their benefits on those, that know not whence they come, and perseuer also to doe good to those that are vngratefull. One chargeth them with little regard of vs, another that they haue iniustly dispensed their graces, another thrusteth them out of his world, and leaueth them there alone in loth and heauinesse, without light or doing any thing; another saith that Sunne (to whom we owe this, that we haue distinguished the time betwene labour and rest, that being deliuered from darkenesse we haue escaped the confusion of a perpetuall night; for that by his course he tempereth the yeere, and nourisheth our bodies, and hasteneth our haruest, and ripeneth our fruit) is some stone or globe of casual fires, and call him any thing rather then diuine. All this notwithstanding, the gods like good parents that smile at the iniuries of their little children, cease not to heape benefits vpon those who suspect that they are not the authors of all benefits, but with an equall hand distribute their blessings amongst all nations, reseruing only to themselves the power to doe good. They water the earth with timely showers, they moue the Seas with fitting winds, they distinguish times by the course of the

stars,

stars, they weaken both winters and summers by the gracious intercourse of gentler winds; they pardon & mildly wink at, and suffer the errors and sins of our sinfull foules. Let vs imitate them; let vs giue, although many things haue beene giuen in vaine, yet let vs giue vnto others, let vs giue euen vnto those by whom we haue sustained the losse, no man forbeareth to build a house for feare it should be ruinated, and when as fire hath consumed the place of our aboad, we suddenly lay a new foundation againe, ere the floore be halfe cold, and oftentimes we build cities in that very place where they were destroyed and sunke: so constant and confirmed is the mind to good hopes; mens labors would cease both by land and sea, if they had not a will to re-edifie and re-attempt the ruines that were past.

CHAP. XXXII.

Hee is a thanklesse man, he hath not iniured me, but himselfe, I had the vse of my benefit when I gaue it, neither therefore will I giue more slowly, but more diligently; what I haue lost in him, I will recouer in others: yea, to this man also will I giue a benefit againe, and like a good husbandman, with care and labour I will conquer the barrennesse of the soyle; I haue lost my benefit, and that man his credit with all men. It is not the action of a generous mind, to giue and lose; this is the marke of a mightie minde to lose and giue.

To conclude, a man ought to show himselfe liberal towards the vngratefull, to the intent to win him, and especially to approve his owne worthinesse and vertue.

The end of the seventh and last Booke of Benefits.



THE
EPISTLES
OF LUCIUS
ANNÆVS
SENECA

the Philosopher.

Written vnto LVCILIVS, Together with the
Arguments vnto euery Epistle of
IVSTVS LIPSIVS.



L O N D O N

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LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA

HIS EPISTLES TO LVCILIVS:

With the Arguments of *Iustus Lipsius*.

EPIST. I.

He commendeth to LVCILIVS the estimation and use of time, that it ought not to be deferred nor let slippe, neither ill employed.



De so, my *Lucilius*, re-enter into the possession of thy selfe, and that time which hitherto hath been either taken from thee, or stolen from thee, or that other wise hath escaped thee, recollect and reserve to thy selfe. Perswade thy selfe that it is so as I write: there are some times which are taken away from vs, some other which are stolne from vs, and other some which slip away from vs: But the shamefullest losse that may be, is that which proceedeth from our negligence, and if thou wilt seriously obierue, thou shalt perceiue that a great part of life sitteth from those that doe euil, a greater from those that doe nothing; and the whole from those that doe not that they should doe. What man wilt thou shew me that hath put any price vpon time, that cleemeth of a day, and that vnderstandeth that he daily dieth? For herein are wee deceiued, because wee suppose death to be farre off from vs, and yet notwithstanding the greater part thereof is already ouer-passed, and all our yeares that are behind, death holdeth in his possession. Doe therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which, as thou writest vnto me; thou doest. Embrace and lay hold on each houre, so will it come to passe, that thou shalt be lesse in suspence for to morrow, if thou lay hold, and fasten thy hands on to day. Whilest life is deferred, it flecteth. All other things, my *Lucilius*, are forren to vs; time onely is our owne. Nature hath put vs in possession of this fraile and flecting thing, from which we may be expelled by any man. But so great is the folly of mortall men, that they suffer all things, yea even

The miserie of mans life, that loseth time in expelling it.

even the least and vilest, which are easily satisfied, to be imputed vnto them for benefits, when as they haue obtained them. Let no man thinke that he oweth any thing, who hath gotten time, when in the meane while this is the onely thing, which a gratefull man cannot restore. Happily thou wilt aske me, what I doe, who command thee these things? I will ingenuously confesse vnto thee, I doe that which befallcth a luxurious man; but diligent: I take a very strict account of my Expence: I cannot say that I lose nothing, but I will tell thee what I lose, and why, and how, and relate a reason of my pouertrie. It befallcth me, as to many others, brought to pouertrie, not by their owne fault; all men pardon them, no man succoureth them. What is it then? I thinke him not poore, who supposeth that litle remainder which he hath, to be sufficient; yet I had rather thou shouldst keepe thine owne, and begin to vse good time while thou mayest. For as our Elders were of opinion, *the sparing that beginneth in the bottome is too late*, because not onely the least, but also the worst remaineth in the leas.

Travellers com-
pist in content.

EPIST. II.

Hee approacheth the quiet of the bodie, and of the mind also in some one thing, or studie. He condemneth the over-curious, that runne over and read diuers Authors and writings. He persuadeth rather to read a few, and those good, and to dwell vpon them. He counselleth alwaies to cullout some one thing, and commit it to memorie, by his example who then made use of a saying of ERICVLVS touching pouertrie.



Conceiue a good hope of thee, by reason of those things which thou writest vnto mee, and that which I heare spoken of thee. (Thou art no wanderer, neither disquieted with the desire of transporting thy selfe from one place vnto another; this is but the tossing of a sickle mind. In my iudgement, the chiefest testimony of a well composed mind, is to be able to consist and dwell with her selfe. But beware lest this desire to read many Authors, and all sorts of bookes, containe not giddinesse and inconstancie of mind. Thou must be stayed, and after a manner nourished with certaine spirits, if thou wilt apprehend any thing that shall constantly remaine in thy memory. He is no where, that is every where. Those that passe their life in trauell, take vp many Innes, but entertaine few friendships. It must needes be fall such, who acquaint not themselves familiarly with one spirit, but lightly trauers, and slightly over-runne many things. That meat neuer nourisheth the bodie, which is no sooner taken in, but is deliuered out. There is nothing that so much hindereth a mans health, as the often change of remedies. The wound can hardly be cured, that is couered with diuers sorts of medicines. The tree prospereth not, that is transported from one place to another. There is nothing profitable, that is slightly huddled over. The multitude of bookes distracteth and distempereth the vnderstanding. When as therefore thou canst not read as much as thou hast, it sufficeth to haue as much as thou canst read. But now, sayest thou, will I over-run this booke, now that. The stomacke is distempred, that longeth after diuers sorts of meats, which being different and diuers, doe rather corrupt then comfort or nourish. Read therefore alwaies the most approued, and though for varieties

lake

First, To stay in
one place is the
token of a settled
spirit.

Secondly, he ad-
mitteth not the
reading of many
Authors, but
supposeth the
same hurtfull to
the iudgement
and memorie.

fake thou sometimes change, let the others be vnto thee as thy harbour, those as thine ordinarie retreat and house. Purchase vnto thy selfe euery day some new forces against pouertrie, and some counsels against death, and fortifie thy selfe with other preseruations against the other plungers of life, and after thou hast tasted diuers things, lay hold on one which that day thou mayest digest. This likewise doe I of diuers things which I read, I apprehend somewhat. See here what I haue learned to day of *Epicurus* (for I am wont sometime to passe into mine enemies campe, not as a fugitive, but as a spie.) *A contented pouertrie*, saith he, *is an honest thing*; but that is no pouertrie which is contented: for he that contenteth himselfe with his pouertrie, is a rich man; not hee that hath litle, but he that desireth the most, is the poore man. For what skilleth it how much a man hath in his chest, how much lieth in his barnes, how much he feedeth, how much he profiteth by vsurie, if he still gape after other mens gaines, if he make reckoning not of those things he hath gotten, but of that which remaineth to be gotten? Thou requirest of me what measure or proportion there is of riches? The first is to haue that which is necessarie, the next that which sufficeth.

Thirdly, he ex-
mineth the Epi-
cures position,
as touching po-
uertrie.

EPIST. III.

That some are oftentimes badly and rashly called friends. If any such there be that deserueth the name of friend, all things are to be reposed and trusted on his faith, and communicated vnto him, as another our-selfe. Such as are fearefull and base minded are reprehended, as likewise those that are over-credulous, or too open. The meane is the best.



Thou hast deliuered thy letters to be conueyed to my hands, as thou writest, by a friend of thine, by which thou aduertisest mee, not to communicate all thy pertinent affaires with him, because as thou sayest, thou art not accustomed to doe the like: so that in one and the same letter, thou allowest and disallowest him to be thy friend: I beleue first of all, that thou hast given him this name of friend at adventure, and as a common name in such sort, as we call every man that passeth by vs by the name of Sir, if so we be ignorant by what name he is called. But let me tell thee this, that if thou thinkest to haue a friend, in whom thou wilt not put as much confidence, as in thy selfe, thou deceivest thy selfe very much, and vnderstandest not sufficiently the force of true amitie: deliberate all things with thy friend, but first of all resolute thy selfe, that he is thy friend. After the friendship is contracted, then ought wee to trust; before it be formed, wee ought to iudge. But they preposterously confound offices, who contrary to the precepts of *Theophrastus*, loue before they iudge, and after they haue iudged, loue not at all. I thinke therefore long time with thy selfe, whether any man is to be entertained into thy friendship; but when thou shalt be resolute to accept of his loue, discouer vnto him readily thy whole heart, and as boldly communicate thy secrets with him, as with thy selfe; yet so loue thou, that thy thoughts and actions may be such, that thou mayest commit them to the serious obseruation of thine enemy. But because sometimes diuers things fall out, that custome hath made secret, impart freely vnto thy friend all thy desires and cogitations; if thou supposeth him to be faithfull, thou wilt doe no lesse. For

A generalle do-
fault in men is
master of
friendship, wit-
tily touched.

The duties of a
true friend.

The meane to
maintayne
friendship.

Q

many

The vicious ex-
temities select
into they fall,
they know not
truly, what
strength pin.

many have taught how to deceiue, by fearing lest they themselves should be deceiued, and haue ministred other men a priuiledge of offence by their own vaine suspicion. What is the cause therefore, why I should conceale any thing from my friend? Why, before him, thinke I not my selfe alone? Some there are which commit those things which are onely communicable with their friends to euery one they meet, and disburthen in euery care whatsoeuer is distastefull vnto them: Some againe likewise are distrustfull of their faith, whom they esteeme most deare, yea, and if they could, they would scarcely trust themselves, but in wardly oppresse themselves with their owne secrets. But neither of these things is to be done, for both of them fauour of infirmity, both not to credit all men, and not to credit any: but the one in my opinion is the more laudable vice, the other more secure. So reprehend both of them, both those that are alwaies disquiet, as those that are alwaies idle. For the manner of li- uing in the first is not industrie, but rather the consist of a troubled mind: and astouching those that thinke that all motion is trouble and vexation, it is ra- ther a dissolution and languor in them, then moderation. Commit that there- fore to memorie, which I haue read in POSSIDONIUS, *There are some, saith he, that are in such sort retired and bidden, that they thinke all things to bee in garboile, which are open to the light. These things are to be medled together, and he that resteth, must be in action, and he that acteth, must rest. Deliberate with nature, and shee will tell thee, that she made both the day and the night.*

EPIST. IIII.

He exhorteth him to perseuer in Philosophie, whereby he may be esteemed a serious, graue, and perfect man. For the rest, he concludeth them to be children, that feare such things as are not to be feared, as especially death. And this concludeth he to be the end of our euils; and that either by sudden motion, or desperation many haue condemned the same: and why not with reason? He concludeth there- fore, that life is not to be loued, but that we ought daily to thinke, upon how di- uers and light causes death approacheth vs. Finally, he proposeth an Embleme of EPICVRVS of true riches.

Perseuerance
required in the
pursue of wis-
dome.

PERSEVERE as thou hast begun, and indeuour thy selfe as much as in thee lieth, to the end thou mayest more longer enioy a reformed and composed mind. And truly thou enioyest it, whilst thou mendest it, yea, whilst thou composest it: but the contentment that a man receiueeth by the contemplation of a conformed mind, and that is replenished with perfect innocencie, is farre more pleasant and agreeable. Thou dost remember what pleasure thou diddest feele, when hauing left thy childish liuerie, thou tookest vpon thee the habiliments of a man, being brought before the Pretor into the market-place. Expect a farre greater matter, when thou shalt cast off thy childish mind, and that Philosophie hath inrolled thee amongst the number of men: For as yet childhood dwelleth not in vs; but that which is more grieuous, childishnesse remaineth in vs. And this truly is the worst, that we haue the authoritie of old men, and the vices of chil- dren, and not of children onely, but of infants. They feare the lightest, these the heaviest, wee both. Now grow proficient, and thou shalt vnderstand that there are certaine things, which for the same cause for which they bring vs

Humane wi-
sdom.

much feare, ought the lesse to be feared; No euill is great which commeth the last. We might feare death, if it could abide alwaies with vs: but it is necessa- rie that either it befall vs not, or that it ouerpasseth incontinently. And if thou tell me that it is a difficult thing to perswade the mind to contempt of life, doe but consider vpon how light occasions some haue attempted the same: one hath strangled himselfe with the halter before his Miltris doores, another hath cast himselfe from the top of the house to the bottome, to avoid his Masters displeasure, another hath stabbed himselfe into the breast, rather then he would be brought backe to the place from whence he was fled. Thinkest thou that vertue cannot inforce as much as excessive feare could? No man can enioy a peaceable and secure life, that laboureth ouer-much to prolong it, and that e- steemeth it for a great benefit, to see and obserue the resolution of many years. Meditate then euery day to haue the power to leaue thy life freely and wil- lingly, which diuers men entertaine in another manner, then they doe, who im- brace briars and thornes, which haue bene driuen atwart them, by the vio- lence of some furious streame. Many wretches float betwixt the feare of death, and the torments of life; they will not liue, and they know not how to die. Fashion therefore vnto thy selfe a pleasant life, by forsaking solicitude that may befall thee for the loue of the same. There is no good more profitable to the possessor, then that, to the losse whereof the mind is already prepared; and there is nothing, the losse whereof is more easie to be supported, then of that which being lost cannot be redelired. Take thee courage therefore, & assurance, against those things that are subiect to the same necessitie as thou art, euen those that are most mightie. A * Pupill, and an * Eunuch, gaue sentence on great Pom- pey's head, of Crassus, the cruell and insolent Pathian. * Caius Caesar com- manded that Lepidus should present his neck to the Tribune Decimus, and he himselfe gaue his owne to Cherea's. Fortune hath neuer so much fauoured any man, but that she hath affronted him with as many menaces. Trust not ouer- much vnto this calme. In an instant the Sea is turned, and those ships are swal- lowed the same day, where they wantonly played on the water. I thinke that either a theefe or an enemie may ayme his sword at thy throat: and although a greater power be wanting, not the basest slave that liueth, but hath power of thy life and death. I assure thee, that who soeuer contemneth his life, is Lord of thine. Take account of those that are dead by the complots of their seruants, or by open outrage, or by treason, and thou shalt see, that there are no lesse made away by the indignation of their slaves, then the displeasures of their Kings. What importeth it then how mightie he be whom thou fearest, if euery man may do that which thou fearest? And if by chance thou fallest into the hands of thine enemies, the conqueror will command that thou be led whither he pleaseth. Why deceivest thou thy selfe? Why beginnest thou then onely to vnderstand that which thou hast suffered from thy birth? I tell thee, that from the houre thou wert borne thou art led to die. These and such like things ought continually to liue in thy remembrance and mind, if wee will mo- derately expect this last houre, the feare whereof, replenisheth all others with disquiet. But that I may make an end of my Letter, heare that which this day was pleasing to me, and this also is taken out of another mans garden. *Poeritie measured according to the rule of Nature, is great riches.* But know- est thou well what limits this rule of Nature giueth vs? Neither to haue hun- ger nor thirst, nor cold. But to the end to drie away this hunger and thirst, thou hast no need to wait or attend on these proud and great gates, nor to suffer these

* King of Egypt.
* Voluntas En-
nuchus.
* Caligula.

these disdainfull and imperious contentners, nor to expose thy selfe to the bailes of these contumelious courtesies. Thou needest not for the same to attempt the fortune of the Sea and of armes. That which Nature desireth, is found euery where: we take paines to obtaine superfluous things: these are they that weare our gownes, that make vs grow old in our Tents, and that cast vs on forraigne shoares. That which sufficeth vs, is alreay at hand.

EPIST. V.

Hee dissuadeth his friend from the ostentation of Philosophie, and counselleth him not to make himselfe noted by his habit or diet: he persuadeth him not to condemn all things that are vulgar, but to make moderate use of them, and without abuse: he detesteth vncleanlinesse, and calleth vs to the law of Nature: he argueth a clause out of HECAEON, of the coniunction of hope and feare; auowing him to be free of one, that hath cast off the other, and obnoxious to both, who foucer it to one.

WHEREAS thou trauellest continually, and all other things set apart, endeavourst to make thy selfe daily more vertuous; I praise thee, and am glad to heare it: and not only doe I counsell thee to perseuer therein, but I likewise intreat thee. But thereof I am to admonish thee, that according to the maner of those that seeke not so much to profit, as to be seene, thou apply not thy selfe to doe certaine things which are ouer-singular, and remarkable for their strangenesse, either in the manner of thy life, or in thy habit. Flie all stuttilish behaviours, as to weare thy haire ouer-long, knotted and filthie, thy beard vncombed, to lie on the ground, and to make profession to haue a sworne hatred against Gold and Silver, and what foucer followeth ambition by a wrong course. The sole name of Philosophie, how modest foucer it be, is of it selfe sufficiently subiect to enuie. What if we separate our selues from the company of men? Well may wee inwardly be in all things vnlike vnto them; but our looks and behaviours must be agreeable to the good liking of the people. Let not our garment either be too gay, or too slouely: let not our siluer be enchaufed with gold; and yet let vs be assured, that it is no token of frugalitie to be destitute either of Gold or of Silver: let vs so doe, that we lead a better life then the common sort are wont, yet not altogether contrary to theirs; otherwise, in stead of correcting them wee shall driue and banish them from vs, and wee are the cause, that in disliking all our actions, they will not imitate one of them. Philosophie promisseth this first of all, common sense, humanity, and intercourse and societic, from which we shall become separated by this diffimilitude of profession. Let vs rather take heed lest these fashions for which we would be held in admiration, proue not ridiculous and odious vnto others. Our intent is to liue according to the direction of nature: but it is a thing altogether contrarie vnto her, to afflict the bodie, and to hate ordinarie cleanlinesse, and to be loathsome and sordid, to vse not onely grosse meates, but also harmefull and distastfull. For euen as to affect and seeke after delicacie, is riot, so also is it a kinde of madnesse to flye from these things which are vsuall, and may be recovered without great expence. Philosophie requirerh frugalitie, and not milerie: and since an honest and well-seeming frugalitie may be had, I think it good for a man to keepe this measure. It behoueth

vs

vs that our life be balanced betwixt good and publike manners. I can be well content that men admire our life, but yet let it be within their knowledge. What then? shall we doe the same that the rest? shall there be no difference betwixt vs and them? yes, a great deale: but hee onely shall reknowledge the same, that obserueth vs neerely. He that shall enter our houses, let him rather looke on vs, then on our mouebles. That man is great and generous, who vseth earthen platters like siluer vessell, and no lesse is he that vseth siluer vessell as earthen platters. Not to be able to endure riches, is the part of a weak mind. But to impart vnto thee the profit I haue made this day: I haue found in *Heaton*, that the end of coueting sufficeth to remedie feare. *Thou wilt giue ouer, saith he, to feare, if thou ceaseest to hope.* But thou wilt say, How can these things being so diuers, be together? So is it, my *Lucilius*, although that these things seeme to be contrarie, yet are they ioyned and vnited the one with the other. Euery as one and the same chaine bindeth both the officer and the prisoner, so likewise these things, although they seeme different, are conioyned and march together. Feare followeth hope, and I wonder not thereat; both of them are passions which proceed from an inconstant and moueable mind, and that is in thought and care for that which is to come. But the greatest cause both of the one and other, is, for that we moderate and content not our selues with things that are present, but send our thoughts out farre before vs. So providence, which is the greatest benefit that beideth mortall men, becommeth hurtfull and harmefull vnto vs. Bruit beasts see those dangers which they see before their eyes, and hauing escaped them, they are secure: but wee are affrighted not onely with our dangers past, but with those also that are to come. Many of our goods doe harme vs; for our memorie reuiuerh and representeth vnto vs the torment of the feare past, and providence anticipateth it. There is no man miserable alone by present cuils.

EPIST. VI.

He declarerh, that it is an argument that he profiteth in Philosophie, because hee acknowledgeth his vices. He expresseth his affection to communicate all things with him as his true friend, especially such as are profitable. That the counsaile of wise men seemeth very effectuall and aboue their precepts, which he teacheth by example of some Philosophers.

I Know, my *Lucilius*, that I am not onely amended, but transfigured: neither doe I now promise or hope that there remaineth nothing in me that is to be changed. Why should I not haue many things that ought to be corrected? extenuated, and raised? Even this is a testimonie of a mind that beginneth to be changed for the better, when it seeth in it selfe those vices that before times it was ignorant of. There is some hope in those that are seized with certaine sicknesses, when as they feeble themselves to be diseased. I would therefore with to communicate with thee this my so sudden change; then should I begin to haue a more certaine confidence of our friendship, of that true friendship, I meane, which neither hope nor feare, neither any other consideration of particular profit should disioyne, of that with which men die, and for which they die. I will reckon vpon to thee diuers men that haue not had want of a

*They are least imperfect, who best know their imperfections. *Corrected, being depraued; extenuated, being too proud, and raised, being deprest.*

friend, but want of friendship: such a thing cannot happen when as two soules are coupled together by a strict alliance and vniformitie of will in desiring honest things. Why say cap it not? for they know that all things are common vnto them, and chiefly aduersitie. A how canst not coniecture in thy mind how much profit I perseiue that euery day bringeth me. Send me, sayest thou, those things, whose efficacie I haue so tried. Truly I could wish that I might in some sort poure them all into thee: I am glad to learne, to the end I may teach; and there is not any thing, how rare and commodious soeuer it be, that can or should yeeld me content, if I might onely know it for my particular profit. If wisedome it selfe were giuen me vpon condition to conceale it, and not to publish it, I would refuse the same. The possession of no benefit is contenting without a companion. I will lend thee therefore the bookes themselves: and lest thou shouldst take too much paines in following those things which profit publickly, I will put certaine markes to find those things, which I readily approue and admire; yet our speaking and liuing together will profit thee more, then onely reading. It therefore behoueth thee to transport thy selfe hither: first of all, because men giue better credit to their eyes, then to their eares. And againe, because the way of precepts is long, where that of example is more thort, and farre more fruitfull. *Cleanthes* had neuer expressed *Zeno*, had he onely heard him: but he alwaies was conuersant with him, and had an eye into the secrets of his studie, and warily obserued, whether hee liued according as he taught. *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and all other Sages (which afterwards spread them selues into diuers families) haue received more instructions by the manners, then the words of *Socrates*. *Aetodorus*, *Hermacus*, and *Polimius* were great men, not because they had frequented the Schoole of *Epicturus*, but for that they had conuersed with him. Neither call I thee onely vnto me, to the intent thou shouldst receive profit, but to the end thou shouldst profit others: for we will continually assist one another; meane while, to acquit my selfe of the rent I owe thee, I will tell thee that which pleased me to day in *HECATON*, *Askest thou* (saith he) *wherein I haue profited? I haue begun to be a friend to my selfe*. He hath profited much: he will neuer be alone. Know this, that he that is a friend to himselfe, is a friend to all men.

EPIST. VII.

To him that is proficient, too much company is to be auoyded, and that vices are contraited thereby; Playes, and Showes also, chiefly those that are bloudie: neither is it befitting publicly to recite or dispute amongst vnequals. Let saith he, one or two auditors of iudgement be esteemed, or none at all.

DEmandest thou of me, my opinion what thou oughtest especially to auoid? The multitude. For as yet thou canst not safely commit thy selfe vnto them. Truly, for mine owne part, I confesse my weaknesse: I neuer retorne back again with those manners that I carried out with me. Somewhat of that which I had composed is troubled; somewhat of those things which I had chased away retorne backe againe. That which befalleth the sicke who are in such sort attainted with a long debilitie, that they can neuer be reuowed, except they grow worse. So fareth it with vs, whose spirits begin to recover from a long sicknesse. The

The conuersation of many men is contrarie vnto vs; There is no man but commendeth vnto vs some vice, or imprinteth it in vs, and leaueth an impression in vs, before we can beware: and the greater the companie is, wherewith we conuerse, the greater is the danger. But nothing is so hurtfull to good manners as to sit in a Theatre, for there by the pleasure wee conceiue, the vices sleale on vs more easily. What thinkest thou that I say? I tell thee that I not only retorne more couetous, more ambitious, more luxurious, but more cruell and inhumane, because I haue beene amongst men. By casualtie I fell vpon the Showes at noone, expecting some sports and witty jests, and recreation, whereby mens eyes might bee repoled a while, that in the morning had beene fed with the shedding of mens blood. But I find it contrarie: whatsoever was fought before, was mercie. Now letting passe trifles, there is nothing but detested murder: combatants haue not wherewith to couer them, but expose their naked bodies to the stroake, and neuer strike without wounding. This spectacle doe many preferre before that of the ordinarie couples, or that of the extraordinary, asked for by the people. And why should they not preferre the same? The weapon is kept off neither by Helmet nor Target: whereto serue these fencings and Gladiatorie Arts? All these are but the delays of death. In the morning men are exposed to Lyons & Beares, at noone to the spectators. The killers are commanded to be set against those that are to kill, and they refuse him that is conqueror for another slaughter: the end and ayme of those that fight is death, by fire and sword the matter is managed. These are done during the intermission of the spectacle. But some man hath committed a theft: what therefore deferueth he? To be hanged. He slew a man: he that slew him deferred to suffer no lesse. But what, hast thou deferred to behold this spectacle? Kill, burne, whip, why runnes he so fearefully on the weapon? Why kills hee not courageously? Why dies he not willingly? By stroakes are they compelled to wounds, and with naked and exposed bodies they receiue the stroakes of one another. Is the spectacle intermitted? in the meane time men are slaine, lest nothing should be done. Goe too, vnderstand you not this, that euill example reflecteth on those that doe this? Giue thanks vnto the immortall gods, that you teach him to be cruell, who cannot learne. We must remoue and draw away from the common people this tenderesse and inconstancie of mind, and straight apprehension of truth, a man may easily conforme and fashion himselfe to many. The frequentation of a different multitude might peraduenture haue shaken the great minds of *Socrates*, *Cato*, and *Laelius*. So farre is any of vs (although in height of our composed iudgement) from being able to sustain the force and charge of vices comming with so great a troupe. One only example of lust or auarice causeth much mischief. The companie of a delicate man by litle and litle effeminateth those that conuerse with him. A rich neighbour kindleth our couetousnesse. A mischieuous and corrupt man rubbeth on the rust of his infirmities, and soyleth the most simple and vprightest man. What thinkest thou may become of those manners, which are violently laid hold on, followed and applauded by the multitude? These of force must thou either imitate or hate; but both the one and the other of these ought to be auoyded, for feare lest thou be either like vnto the wicked, by reason they are many, or enemy to diuers, because they are vnlike to thee. Retire thy selfe therefore into thy selfe: haunt those who can make thee better, admit those whom thou canst better; for these things are reciprocally done. Men in teaching others learne themselves. A boue all things beware lest thou expose thy selfe to great assemblies, or affectest to dispute

dispute or teach by way of ostentation, or desire to shew thy selfe, I could well with that thou shouldst doe so, if thou couldest in any sort be profitable to the people: but there is not any one amongst them that can vnderstand thee; and if haply thou find out one or two, yet must thou instruct them how they may vnderstand thee. For whom then haue I learned these things. Feare not that thou hast lost thy labour, if thou hast learned these things for thy selfe. But lest I should referre vnto my selfe the profit I haue gotten this day, I will communicate with thee three most worthy sentences to one sense; of which the one shall be to acquit this Epistle of that which it oweth thee; the other two shall be giuen thee afore-hand. *Democritus saith, I count one only for a whole multitude, and a whole multitude as one.* And hee whosoever hee was (for it is doubted of the author) when it was demanded of him, why he tooke so great paines to preferre an Arte, which should profit but a few, answered very wisely, *A few, saith he, suffice me, one is enough, none is enough.* And the third is most excellent. *Epicurus* writing to one of the consorts of his studies. (*These things, saith he, write I not to many, but to thy selfe;* for we our selues are a Theatre great enough for one another.) Such things as these, friend *Lucilius*, are they which thou must commit to memorie, to the end to contemne this pleasure which proceedeth from the applause and consent of diuers. Many praise thee; Hast thou any thing wherein to prife and please thy selfe, if thou be such a one whom many applaud? let them obserue thy inward vertues.

EPIST. VIII.

*This present dependeth on the former Epistle, and is as it were an Obiection: what, wilt thou that I auoyde the multitude and the people? But thy Stoicks teach to follow businesse, and to die in affaires. He answereth, that he persuadeth not idlenesse, but a retirement by his example, who dismissing other offices, intendeth wisdom, and propagateth the precepts thereof in writing. This, saith he, is of all actions the greatest and most excellent. In conclusion, he inserteth that of *EPICURUS*: that Philosophie giueth true libertie.*

THou commandest me by thy aduice to flie the people, to retire my selfe apart, and to be contented with my conscience: What shall then become of all those precepts of thine, that commanded mee to end my life in action? What, seeme I then in this interim to entertaine idlenesse? To this end haue I withdrawn my selfe, to this intent haue I shut vp my doores, that I might profit many men. I spend not a day in idlenesse; For the most part of the nights, I spend them in studie, I haue no leisure to sleepe, yet yeeld vnto it, and keepe mine eyes (wearied and drooping with watching) in action. I retired my selfe, not only from men, but from affaires, and principally from mine owne. I wholly traffique for posteritie, by writing that which may be profitable vnto them: I set before their eyes in writing many good and wholesome counsailes, as it were recites of profitable medicines, which I haue found fruitfull in mine owne vicers; the which although they be not altogether healed, haue desisted to fester. I shew others the right way, which I haue learned too late: and after I haue bene too long wearied with wandering and tracing here and there, I cease not to crie out. Flie all those things which eyther please the common sort, or casualtie attributeth:

runne

runne not after casual benefits, but rather suspiciously and fearefully apprehend, and entertaine all vncertaine pleasures. Both wilde beaust and fish are bewitched with the baite is laid for them. Thinke you that these are the gifts of Fortune? Trust me they are her traps; What one so euer of vs would liue a sweet life, let him flie as much as he may the limed benefits, wherein wee most miserably be deceiued. We thinke to enioy them, and they enioy vs: this course carrieth vs to a downfall. The issue of this so eminent is to fall; and that which is worse, it is impossible for vs to stand, when as felicitie hath begunne to transport vs, and carrie vs hither and thither: at leastwise either content thy selfe with such things as are good and certaine, or bee thou possessor and lord of thy selfe. Such as doe this, fortune doth not only ouerturne them, but casteth headlong and crusheth them. Remember therefore to obserue this wholesome and fruitfull forme of life, in affording thy bodie no further nourishment, then may suffice to continue thee in good health: chalise the same severely, lest it rebell against the soule. Let thy meate appeale thy hunger, thy drinke asswage thy thirst, thy coate cover thee from cold, thy house bee a defence against those things as may offend thy bodie. It skilleth not whether it be builded of Turfe, or rich Marble. Know that a man is as well couered with Thatch, as with Gold. Contemne all these things which superfluous labour preferreth either for shew or ornament. Thinke that there is nothing admirable in thy selfe, but thy minde, to which bring great, nothing is great, but it selfe. If I discourse this with my selfe, if I conferre this with posteritie, thinkest thou not that I profit more, then when as vpon demand I passe my bond for my friend, or set my hand and seale in testimonie to a Testament, or should giue my hand and suffrage to a Candidate in the Senate house? Beleeue mee, those that seeme to doe least, doe the greatest things; for they intreate both of diuine and humane matters. But it is high time for me now to make an end, and to pay that impost that I owe for this Epistle: it shall not be at mine owne expence, but on *Epicurus* charges; in whom this day I read this sentence: *Thou must of necessitie serue Philosophie, to the end thou mayest obtaine true libertie.* He that submitteth and subiecteth himselfe to her, is on the instant made a freeman; for to serue her, is to beate libertie. Thou wilt thinke it strange per-adventure, why I vsurpe so often the *Epicures* words, rather then those of other men; but wherefore thinkest thou not that those sayings of the *Epicure* are common and publike? How many things are they, which the Poets haue written, which haue bene or ought to be spoken by the Philosophers? I mention not the Tragedians nor those Poemes of ours, which are called *Togatas*; for these haue also some seueritie, and are the meane betwixt Comedies and Tragedies: how many eloquent verses are there in vlc even amongst the Mimicks? How many things of *Publius*, which not only exceed the Comedies, but are worthy to be inserted in Tragedies? I will repeat one of his verses, which appertaineth to Philosophie, and to this part which nowlast of all wee debated of, wherein hee denieth that wee ought to account casual things our owne;

Each thing is forraigne, that befalls by wishing.

I remember this Verse likewise of thine, not much better, but more succinct,

It is not shine, that Fortune made shine.

Neither

Neither will I let slip that likewise which was farre better set downe by thee:

The good that might be giuen, may be bereft.

I require no acquittance for these; for I pay thee with thine owne.

EPIST. IX.

A part and explication also of the former: that a wise man seeketh not men, but is contented with himselfe. What then? Not a friend also; yes, can he likewise be without him: he can lose him, and hauing lost him, can repaire him againe. In himselfe is the fruit and pleasure whilst hee prouideth him. What, for his owne cause, as the Epicures thinke? No, but rather for another, whom hee may profit, for whom he may vndergoe danger, for whom he may die: the reward of vertue is it selfe. At length more copiously and subtilly: how farre content with himselfe, how farre not, and in words some Stoical distinctions.



How desirest to know, whether vpon iust ground the Epicure in a certaine Epistle of his, reprehendeth those that say, that he that is perfectly wise is content with himselfe, and that for this cause he hath no neede of a friend: this is objected by the Epicure to *Stilpo*, and those who thinke that the impossibilitie of the mind is their chiefest good. We shall fall into ambiguitie, if we shall strue significantly to expresse the Greeke word *ἀμείβω* in one word, and call it *Impatiencie*. For the contrarie of that which we would expresse may be vnderstood: for wee indented by this, him that despiseth all sense of euill, where others suppose that this is spoken by him that can indure no euill: see therefore whether it be better either to say an invulnerable mind, or a mind that can indure no euill. The difference which is betwixt them and vs is this: our wise man ouercommeth each incommodity whatsoever, but feeleth the same; theirs hath not so much as a sense thereof. In this we accord, we say that a wise man is contented with himselfe, yet notwithstanding that he will haue a friend, a neighbour, a companion, although he himselfe sufficeth, and in such sort sufficeth, that sometimes hee is contented with a part of himselfe. For if either a sicknesse or enemie hath taken his hand from him, if any accident hath bereft him of his eye, that which remaineth with him shall suffice him, and as ioyfull shal he be in his maimed and mangled bodie, as he could be, were it whole. He had rather that he wanted nothing; neuertheless hee desireth not that which hee wanteth. Thus is a wise man so farre content with himselfe, not that hee will be without a friend, but that he can be; which is as much to say, as that he beareth patiently the losse of a friend, without a friend he shall neuer be; he lieth in his power to repaire him, as soone as him lieth. As *Phidias* hauing lost one statue, can suddenly fashion another; so this good Artisan of amitie suddenly substituteth another friend in the place of him that is lost. If thou demandest of me, how he can so suddenly make and repaire so many friendships, I will tell thee, if this first of all be agreed betwene vs, that I remaine acquit of the debt of this letter. *I will shew thee*, saith *Hecaton*, a means to increase loue without medicine, hearb, or enchantment: if thou wilt be beloved, loue. But there is not only a pleasure in the fruition of an old and ancient amitie, but likewise in the creation of a new: and the same difference

ference is betwene him that hath a friend already gotten, and him that is a getting, as betwene the labourer when he soweth, and when he reapeth. *Attalus* the Philosopher was wont to say, that it was a far more pleasant thing to make a friend, then to haue a friend; as it is more agreeable to a Painter to paint, then to haue finished his picture. That busie care he had in his worke, hath a wonderful content during the worke it selfe. He is not so much contented when he hath remoued his hand from the worke: he hath finished: he now enioyeth the fruit of his arte, he pleased himselfe with the arte it selfe, whilst he painted. The youth of our children is more fruitfull vnto vs, but their infancie more sweet. Let vs now returne to our purpose. A wise man, although he be content with himselfe, will notwithstanding haue a friend, if to no other end but to exercise his amitie, will not endure that so great a vertue should remayne without vse, nor (as *Epicurus* said in the same Epistle,) To this end to haue some one to assist him when he is sicke, or to succour him, if hee bee in prison and necessitie, but contrariwise, to the end hee may haue some one, whom hee may assist and succour being sicke, relieue and ransom being in need and captiuitie: Hee that respecteth himselfe, and for this cause entertyneth friendship, thinketh badly; euen as he begun, so shall he end. Hee that hath purchased himselfe a friend, to the intent he may be succoured by him in prison, will take his sight as soone as he feeleth himselfe deliuered from his bonds. These are those kinds of friendships, which the common sort call *Temporarie*. Hee that is made a friend for profit sake, shall please as long as he may be profitable: so those that are in felicitie, see themselves inuironed with a multitude of friends; and where the distressed make their abode, there is nothing but solitude: for such manner of friends flie those places, where they shall be proued: from thence we see so many wicked examples of some forsaking for feare, of some betraying for feare. It is necessarie, that the beginning and the end haue correspondence. Hee that hath begun to bee a friend, because it is expedient, hee that hath thought that there is a gayne in friendship beside it selfe, may well be induced and suborned against the same, by the offer of a greater gayne. For what cause then doe I entertyne a friend? To the end to haue one for whom I may die, whom I may accompanie in banishment, and for whose life and preservation I may expose my selfe to danger and death. This which thou describest is rather a negotiation then a friendship, which respecteth commoditie, and hath a regard to gayne. Certaine it is, that friendship hath in some sort a similitude and likeness to the affections of louers. And not vnusly may a man call this passion a foolish amitie. Doth there any man then loue for lucre sake, or for ambition, or for glorie? loue it selfe of it selfe, neglecting all other things, enkindleth the mind with the desire of the forme, and not without hope of mutual friendship? what then, doth a wicked affection spring from an honest cause? This is not now in question, sayest thou, whether friendship be to be intertayned for her selfe, or for the loue of any other thing. For if it be to be desired of it selfe, hee that is content with himselfe, may approach vnto it. How then hath hee access vnto it? as to a worthy thing, not intangled with lucre, nor terrified by the varietie of Fortune. Hee detracteth from the maiestie of friendship, that entertyneth it only to better his fortunes. A wise man is contented with himselfe. Diuers, my *Lucilius*, interpret this indirectly: they exclude the wife man from euery place, and inclose him within himselfe. But we must distinguish what and how farre this word extendeth. The wise man is contented with himselfe to liue happily, but not to liue. To this diuers things are requisite; to that

that there needeth no more then an intire and crested minde, and such as despiseth fortune. I will shew thee how *Chryppus* disingultheth them: He saith that a wife man wanteth nothing, and yet hath neede of many things: a foole hath neede of nothing, because hee can make vse of nothing, but wanteth all things. The wife man hath neede of hands and eyes, and diuers other parts of him for the ordinarie vses of life, yet neuerthelesse he wanteth nothing: for to haue neede importeth necessitie; but to him that is wife nothing is necessary. Therefore although he be content with himselfe, yet desisteth he not to make vse of his friends, but desireth to haue more, but not in regard that hee hath neede of them to liue happily, for he can liue happily without his friends. The soueraigne good seeketh not externall instruments, it is wholly accomplished in it selfe. It beginneth to be subiect vnto fortune, if it haue neede to seeke any part of it selfe out of it selfe. But yet what shall a wife mans life be, if hee bee left in prison without friends, or in some strange countrey he be abandoned of all the world, or retained in some long Navigation, or cast on some desert and vnknowne shore? Euen as *Iapier* (when in the dissolution of the world, and the confused mixture of the gods all into one, when the nature of things beginning to cease by litle and litle) repolest and retireth himselfe into himselfe, giuen ouer to his owne thoughts: The like doth the wife man, hee is hidden in himselfe; he is only with himselfe: but whilst it is lawfull for him to order his affaires, he is contented with himselfe: hee marieth a wife; hee is contented with himselfe: hee bringeth vp children, hee is content in himselfe; and yet would he not liue, if he should liue without mankind. No profit but a naturall instinct inciteth him to entertaine friendship: for as in other things we haue a certaine in-bred sweetnesse, so haue we of friendship. Euen as solitude is odious, so is companie agreeable: euen as nature associateth man with man, so likewise is there a certaine instinct in this, that maketh vs desirous of friendship; notwithstanding although he be most affectionate to his friends; although hee equall and oftentimes preferre them before himselfe, yet shall all his good bee inclosed, and bounded within himselfe, and hee shall speake as *Stilphon* did (I meane him whom *Epicurus* reproveth in his Epistle) for hauing, vpon the surprisall and taking of the Citie wherein he liued, lost his wife and children, and himselfe left desolate (yet neuerthelesse happie and content) deliuered from the publike ruine and desolation. *Demetrius* he that was surnamed *Polioretes*, that is to say the destroyer of Cities, demanded of him if he had lost nothing. No (said he) *I haue lost nothing, because all my goods are with mee*. Behold how this great and generous personage is victorious ouer the victorie of his owne proper enemy. I haue not (saith he) lost any thing. He compelled him to doubt, whether he were a conqueror, or no. All my goods, saith he, are with me, that is to say, iustice, vertue, temperance, prudence, and especially to thinke nothing good that may be taken away. Wee wonder at some creatures that trauele the fire without any harme; how much more admirable was this man, that without losse or harme escaped both fire, sword, and ruine? Doeſt thou see how farre more easie it is, to conquer a whole Nation then one man? This voyce is common to him with the Stoicks, who in his owne person beareth away his goods without hurt, thorow the midst of Citties burned downe, because he is content in himselfe: himselfe is the scope of his owne felicitie. Thinke not that we alone are they that vtter these great and generous words. *Epicurus* himselfe that reprehendeth *Stilphon*, hath spoken to the like effect; which take in good part, although I haue payed thee this daies rent already:

die: Whoſoeuer (saith he) suppoſeth not his owne ſufficient to content him, though he be the Lord of this whole World, yet is he miſerable. Or if thou thinke it better spoken in this sort (for we muſt relye on ſenſe, not on words) He is miſerable that ſthinketh not himſelf moſt happy, although he command the whole World. And to the end thou maieſt know, that theſe ſenſes are common, which Nature inſuſeth intoall in generall, thou ſhalt find that in the Cynique Poet,

He is not bleſt that thinkes himſelfe not ſo.

For what preuaileth it thee of what reckoning or eſtate thou art of, if in thine owne iudgement it ſeeme but abieſt? What then mayeſt thou ſay, if he that is vnworthily rich, and hee who is Lord ouer diuers other men, but ſlaue vnto far more, calleth himſelfe happie; ſhall he be ſo? I tell thee that thou oughteſt not to regard that which he ſaith, but that which he thinketh; and not that only which he thinketh one day, but ordinarily. But doe not feare, leſt an vnworthy man ſhould enioy ſo great a good: to no one but a Wiſeman can his goods yeeld any pleaſure; all folly laboureth with lothing of it ſelfe.

EPIST. X.

That ſolitude is only good to thoſe that are good, and haue profited in goodneſſe, to others otherwiſe: for wicked and fooliſh men commit moſt ſinne therein, being remoued from a Reformer, and left to themſelues. By the way ſome Precepts of Vowes, and that we ought not to conſeigne any thing, except that which we darſt make knowne to euery man.

SO it is, I change not mine opinion, ſaye the multitude, ſaye few, ſaye one. I finde not any man with whome I would haue thee to conuerſe. Conſider a little the iudgement that I haue of thee; I dare well truſt thy ſelfe to thy ſelfe. *Crates* the Auditour of that *Stilphon*, of whom I made mention in my former Epistle, when hee perceiued a young man walking a-part by himſelfe, asked him what hee did there all alone? I ſpeake, ſaid the young man, vnto my ſelfe. Take heed, I pray thee, replied *Crates*, that thou ſpeake not with a wicked man. We are accuſtomed to obſerue thoſe that mourne and feare, when they retire themſelues a-part for feare, leaſt they abuſe their ſolitude. There is no imprudent man that ought to be left alone: for then is the time that they complot and deuſe their euill deſignes, and ſtudie how to eſſect their euill intents, both to themſelues and others: then diſpoſe their vnlawfull deſires: at that time the minde diſcouereth and publiſheth that which before time their feare or ſhame enforced them to conſeale: then animate they their boldneſſe, quicken they their loſſe, and awaken their choler. To conſeale, the only good that ſolitude hath in it ſelfe, which is to commit nothing to any man, and to feare no reuealer, that is loſt to a Foole: for he diſcouereth and betrayeth himſelfe. Conſider thou that which I hope, or rather that which I promiſe my ſelfe of thee (for to hope is a word of vncertaine good) I finde not any man with whom I could better find in my heart that thou ſhouldeſt be conuerſant with, then with thy ſelfe. When I called to remembrance the high and generous Diſcoſures that I haue heard thee vtter, I reioyced in my ſelfe, and ſaid, Theſe are not words onely, but

A good Counsell
of Helio, taxing
mens preposi-
tious hearts after
wealth, and with
burt of their
soules.

O golden saying.

but these words haue their foundations; this man is not of the vulgar, hee re-
deth to laetie. Continue then, my friend *Lucilius*, and speake alwayes after
this manner, iue continually thus that one thing abate thee not, neyther malle
thy courage. Giue thanks vnto God for the ancient Vowes thou hast made
vnto him, and recommend vnto him all the new thou hast conceiued: aske at
his hands a good mind, and first of all pray vnto him for the health of thy spi-
rit, and next for that of thy bodie. Why shouldst thou not oftentimes make
these Vowes vnto him? boldly beseech God, since thou intendest to aske no
thing of him that is another mans. But to the end that according to my cu-
stome I may accompany this Letter of mine with some present, receiue that
which I haue found to day in *Athenodorus*: *T*hen know that thou art disbur-
ned of all euill desires, when thou hast attained so farre, that thou demand nothing
at Gods hands, but that which may be requiied of him openly. For how great at
this day is the madnesse of men? They mumble betwixt their teeth some vil-
lanous Prayers, and are suddenly silent if any man yeeld an eare vnto them,
supposing to hide that from men which they are not ashamed to discouer vnto
God: Iudge then if this Precept should not be profitable; So liue with men as
if God saw thee, so speake with God as if men should heare thee.

EPIST. XI.

*T*hat he hoped well of *Lucilius* his friend, in whom appeared much shamefastnes
and blushing. *T*hat same is sometimes naturall, and cannot be shaken off by any
Precepts, and followeth a Wiseman also. *T*han sometimes it appeareth in euill
men, and is a signe of euill. *T*hen he citeth a wholesome admonition of *Ericus* vs.
*T*hat we ought alwaies to represent vnto our selues a good man, who might
restraine vs as a Tutor; and that wee should doe and speake all things as if hee
were present.

THat honest natured man thy friend hath spoken with mee. The
first words he vttered, incontinently testified vnto me how great
his hart was, and how good his spirit, and how much he had pro-
fited in the study he had enterprized: he left me a taste, whercun-
to I assure my selfe hee will answere; for I haue taken him vpon
the sudden, and he hath spoken vnto me without preparation. When he recol-
lected himselfe he easily blushed, which is a good signe in a young man, yea, so
blushed as he could not moderate it. I doubt not but when he shall be best re-
tyred, and depoyled of all his vices, that then this complexion will accompany
him, yea, even then when perfect wildome hath possessed him. For those vices
which are connaturall either in minde or body, cannot bee wholly defaced by
any indutrie. That which is borne with vs may be sweetened and corrected by
Art, but neither mastered or rooted out. It hath bin noted that the most assured
men in this World, at such time as they presented themselves before a great as-
sembly, to discourse of any thing, were no lesse troubled with a cold sweate, then
they that are wearie and pant with trauell: to some their knees tremble, to o-
thers their teeth chatter, their tongue vanes, their lips simper. Neither disci-
pline nor vse can wholly take from them these imperfections: for nature exerci-
seth her force herein, and admonisheth each one of his defects and weaknesse,
and I know that blushing is to bee numbred amongst these things. For oft-
times wee observe that it spreadeth itselfe, and flusheth euen in the face of
the

the grauest men, yet is it more apparent in young men, who haue more heate
and are of a soft nature, notwithstanding the eldest are not exempt from the
same. Some there are that are neuer so much to bee feared then when they
blush, as if at that instant they had laushed out all their shamefastnesse. *T*hen
was *Sylla* most violent when his face was most red. *T*here was nothing more
pleasing then *Pompeys* countenance. For hee neuer spake in sollemne company
without blushing. And I remember that *Fabianus* did as much, being sum-
moned by the Senate to depose in a certaine matter, and herein his blushing did
maruellously become him. *T*his happeneth not thorow the feeblenesse of the
mind, but rather from the noueltie of the accident, which although it shake not,
yet moueth it those which are not accustomed and exercised, and who by a na-
turall facility and tendernes of their bodie, are subiect to blushing. For as
there are some who haue their blood both good and well tempered, so othe-
some haue it moueable, and readie to flush vp into the face. No wisdom, as I
haue said, can take away this infirmity, otherwise nature it selfe should be su-
iect thereto, if wisdom had power to raze out those vices which the had im-
printed in vs. That which attendeth vs thorow the condition of our birth, and
the temperature of our bodies, when the mind hath much and long time com-
posed it selfe, will remaine continually. Wee cannot eschue these things at our
pleasures, no more then we can command them to come at our wil. *T*he Com-
medians, who imitate affections, who expresse feare and trembling, who repre-
sent sorrow, are accustomed to counterfeit shamefastnesse after this manner:
they cast downe their countenance, they speake softly, they fix their eyes on
the ground, but blush they cannot; for blushing may neither bee prohibited
nor commanded. Wisdom promisseth nothing against those things; prospereth
nothing: such things as these receiue no Law but from themselves; they come
against our wils, and depart without asking leaue. Now this Epistle requieth a
clause; receiue then from me this Precept, as most necessary and behouefull for
thee, and which I wish thee alwayes to retaine in memory: *W*ee ought to choo-
se out some good man, and alwayes fix him before our eyes, that wee may so liue as if
he alwayes lookt on, and doe all things as if he continually beheld vs. *T*his, *O*
my friend *Lucilius*, is one of *Epicurus* Precepts. Hee intendeth to giue vs a
Guardian and a Tutor, and not without cause. *T*he greatest part of sinne is ta-
ken away, when a witnesse is alwayes present with him that would offend. Let
the minde therefore propose vnto it selfe some personage that hee respecteth,
by whose authoritie hee may make his secrets more holy and more reli-
gious. Oh how happy is hee that not only reformeth his actions but his
thoughts! Happy is hee that can respect one of that sort, that by the onely
remembrance of him hee can reforme his minde: who can respect in that sort,
shall suddenly bee made worthy to bee respected himselfe. Choose therefore
Gato (or if he seeme vnto thee ouer-sharp and seuer) chooſe *Laelius*, who is
more facile and sweet: chooſe him whose life and words shall bee most agreea-
ble vnto thee, and fixing alwayes before thine eyes his minde and countenance,
take him either for thy guide or thine example. It becometh vs to haue some
one, according to whose manners we may conforme our owne. Such things as
are deprauid, are not corrected but by rule.

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EPIST.

EPIST. XII.

He pleasantly discourseth of his old age, and sheweth how he was admonished there. of in his Country-house, but so admonished that it was without griefe. That his old age must not be tedious but pleasant, and lesse subiect to vices. That all life is short, but, whatsoeuer, to bee made ours by vse, and that hand is to bee laid thereon. Let vs daily say and thinke we haue liued.

IN which side fouer I turne my selfe I perceiue the proofes of mine olde age: I repayed lately to my Country-farme, which adioyneth the Citie, and complained of my daily expence in reparations, and my Bayliffe that had the keeping thereof answered mee, that it was not his fault, alleaging that hee had donethe best that he could, but that the building was ouer-olde and ruinous; yet notwithstanding it was I my selfe that builded it, what shall I iudge of my selfe, if the stones I haue laid prove so rotten? Being touched herewith I tooke occasion to be displeased with him vpon euery first thing that encountreth mee in my walke. It well appeareth, said I, that these Plane Trees are not well laboured, they are altogether leauelesse, their boughes are knottie and withered, and their stockes couered with mosse and filthinesse: this would not happen if any man had digged about them, and waited them as they ought to bee. Hee sweareth by my *Genius*, that hee doth his vttermost endeavour, and that he hath neglected them in no manner, but that the Trees were olde. Then remembred I my selfe that I had planted them with mine owne hands, and seene them beare their first lease. Turning my selfe to the doore, what decrepit fellow is that (said I) that for his age is left at the gate as dead bodies are wont to bee, for hee looketh outward? Whence came hee? What pleasure hast thou to carrie forth the carcasse of a strange man? Knowest thou mee not, saith hee? I am *Felicio* to whom thou wert wont to bring childlike Gifts; I am the Sonne of *Philosius* thy Bayliffe, thy Play-fellow. Vndoubtedly, said I, this man doteth. My Darling then is become an Infant, vndoubtedly it may so be, for he is almost toothlesse. This owe I to my Farme, that my olde age appeareth vnto me which way soeuer I turne my selfe. Let vs then embrace and loue the same: it is wholly replenished with agreeable delights, if a man know how to make vse of it. The Apples are neuer so good then when they begin to wither and ripen. Infancie is most agreeable in the end thereof. To those that delight in carrowling, the last draught is most pleasant, that which drowneth him in Wine, and consummatest his drunkennesse. Whatsoeuer most contenting, all pleasure hath contained in her selfe, is deferred till the end. The age that declineth is also most agreeable, when as yet it is not wholly decrepit and spent: neither iudge I that age, without his particular pleasure, whose foote is almost in the Graue, or that succedeth in the place of pleasure that hee needeth none. O how sweete and pleasant a thing is it to see a mans selfe discharged of all couetousnesse! But thou mayest say that it is a tedious thing, to haue death alwaies before a mans eyes: first of all this ought as well to bee presented to a young as to an olde mans eyes; for wee are not called by the Censor according to our estate, and there is none so old that hopeth not to liue at least one day longer: and one day is a degree of life; for all our age consisteth of many parts, and is a Sphere that hath diuers Circles, the one inclosed with the other.

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And one there is that incloseth and comprehenpeth all the rest, which is that of the Natiuitie vntill death; another that excludeth the yeeres of youth, another that containeth all child-hood; after these succedeth the yeere which incloseth all, the time by the multiplication whereof life is composed. In the circle of the yeere is the moneth, and in that of the moneth is the day, which is the least of all: yet notwithstanding he hath his beginning and his end, his rise and his set. And for this cause *Heraclitus*, that was called *Scorinus*, by reason of the obsecutrie of his speech, said, that one day is like vnto another, which another hath interpreted after another manner, to wit, that one day is like to all in number of houres: and hee said true; for if a day bee the time of foure and twentie houres, it is necessarie that they should be all alike, because the night hath that which the day hath lost: another maintaineth that one day was like to all, by reason of the conformitie and resemblance, for there is nothing in the space of a very long time, that thou shalt not find in one day, to wit, the light and the night, the turnes and returnes of the heauens. The shortnesse and length of the nights make these things more plainly appeare. Therefore ought we to dispose of euery day, in such sort as if it shut vp the rereward of our time, and should consummate our lues. *Pacinnus* (he that vsurped ouer *Syria*) after hee had beene buried in wines, and gluttered with those meates, which hee had caused to bee richly and sumptuously prepared for him, as if hee himselfe had solemnized his owne obsequies, caused himselfe to bee transported from his banquet to his bed, in such manner, that amidst the dances and clapping of hands of his curtezans, it was sung to the Musique, *Hee hath liued, hee hath liued*: and no day ouer-passed his head wherein he celebrated not his funerals after this manner. That which he did of an euill conscience, let vs performe with a good, and addressing our selues to our rest, let vs ioyfully and contentedly say,

I haue liued, and ended the course that Fortune gaue me.

If God vouchsafe vs the next morrow, let vs receiue the same with thanksgiving. Hee is thrice happy, and assuredly possessed of himselfe that expecteth the next day without care. Whosoever hath said, I haue liued, doth daily rise to his profit. But now I must close my letter: What, sayst thou, shall it come to me without any present? Doe not feare, it shall bring somewhat with it. Why said I somewhat? It will be a great deale. For what can be more excellent then this sentence, which it bringeth vnto thee? *It is an euill thing to liue in necessitie, but there is no necessitie to liue in necessitie: for the way that leadeth vnto liberty is on every side open, short, and easie to keepe.* Let vs giue God thanks for this, that no man can be constrained to liue, and that it is lawfull for euery one to treade necessitie vnder his feet. Thou wilt say, that these words are of *Epicurus*. What hast thou to doe with another mans? That which is true is mine; I will peremer to vrge *Epicurus* vnto thee, that to the end, that they who make no reckoning but of that which such a one hath said, and haue no respect to that which is propounded, but to him that speaketh may know that all good things are common.

EPIST. XIII.

He excellently informeth against casualties, and encourageth against them: But especially he aduise vs not to be tormented with the feare of things to come, he auereth them to be vncertaine, and such as may not fall out. He concludeth therefore that all feare is to be tempered by hope. Then addeth he this, full of farre more confidancy; Do and teach things to come, they are of God, and for our good.



Know that thou hast much courage; for before I instructed thee with wholesome Precepts, & such as subdue aduersitie, thou wert contented enough to exercise thy selfe against Fortune, and hast assured thy selfe also farre more, since thou hast made tryall of thy forces, and graped with her hand to hand; which can neuer giue an assured proofe of themselves, but where as many difficulties shall appeare on euery side, yea, sometimes neerely assault them. In like manner a true mind, and such as will not subiect it selfe to other mens wils, approueth it selfe: this is his Touch-stone. The Wrestler cannot enter lists with an vndaunted courage, who hath neuer benee sharply encountred and beaten. He that hath oftentimes seene his blood shed, whole teeth haue benee shattered by a fill. He that hauing benee ouerthrowne hath made his enemy lose his footing, that being cast downe hath not lost his courage, that as oftentimes as hee hath benee foyled, recovered new footing and became more fell and furious, hee, I say, entreth the Field with the greatest assurance. And to persist in this similitude; Fortune hath oftentimes bin above thee, yett hast thou neuer at any time yeelded thy selfe her Prisoner, but hast alwayes restored thy selfe, and made head against her with more courage and alacrity: and in truth also a generous minde getteth ordinarily some advantage when hee is prouoked; notwithstanding if thou thinkest it good, accept some forces from mee to strengthen and defence thy selfe more and more. Divers things, my *Lucilius*, doe more feare then hurt vs, & oftentimes we are more troubled by opinion then effect. I reason not with thee at this time in a Stoicall Language, but somewhat more submissly and vulgarly: for wee say that all these things, which cause in vs these feares and groanings, are but light and contemptible. Let vs omit these great words, as God knowes most true. I onely admonish thee not to make thy selfe miserable before thy time, by fearing that those things are wholly neere vnto thee, which happily will neuer befall thee, or at least wife are not yett happened. Some things therefore doe more afflict vs then they ought, some before they ought, other some torment vs when they should not at all. Wee either augment our euill, or presuppose the same or imagine them to our selues vpon no ground at all: that first, because the matter is in controuersie, and the Pleas are already recorded; let vs deferre for the present. That which I terme light thou contentest to be most grievous: I doe know that some doe laugh in their tortures, others groane for a little stroke. Wee afterwards shall see whether these things are to be valued by their owne forces, or our weaknesse. First, grant mee this, that as oftentimes as thou shalt bee amongst men, that shall endeavour to perswade thee that thou art miserable, thou wilt grow into consideration with thy selfe, not of that which thou hearest, but of that which thou feelest: consult first of all with thy patience, and aske thou thy selfe, who best knoweth that which toucheth thee. Is there any euill heere, or is this thing more

more infamous then cruell? Why is it that these men lament my fortune? Why tremble they, as if they feared that the contagion of my misfortune should attaint and torment them? Enquire of thy selfe, after this manner: Am I not perplexed and sorrowfull without cause? Make I not that an euill which is not? How sayest thou, shall I vnderstand whether the things I feare be either vaine or true? Take this rule to discern the same; either present, or future, or both, terrifies: The iudgement of the present is facile, if the bodie be free, healthfull, and without any griefe, caused by some iniurie done vnto thee. We shall see what shall happen hereafter, to day thou hast no need to complain. But it will come. First, consider whether there bee any certaine arguments of thy future misfortune; for, for the most part we are troubled with suspicions, and afrighted by the illusions of common report, which is accustomed to end whole warres, but much more particular men. Vndoubtedly so it is, my friend *Lucilius*, we are quickly conceited and ouer-ruled by common opinion: we checke not those things which cause our feares, neither shake them off: but tremble thereat, and turne our backs like those whom a cloud of dust, raised by the trampling of a troupe of beasts, putteth to flight, or those that are dismayed by a report that runneth abroad, that hath neither ground nor Author. And by mishap, I know not, how it cometh to passe that false and fained things doe trouble vs farre more then true; for the true haue a certain measure, the others are deliuered vs to a wandring coniecture, and licence of the fearful mind, which is already afrighted: No feares therefore are so pernicious, and so irrevocable, as those that are mad and distracted; for all the rest are without reason, but this without mind. Let vs diligently inquire vpon this businesse; Is it likely some mischance will happen? Is not straight-waies true. How many vnexpected things haue chanced? How many expected neuer came to passe? And put the case it should happen, what helpeth it to meet with a mans sorrow? Thou shalt partake the paine time enough when it cometh, meane while, to promise to thy selfe some better successe, shalt thou get time? And againe, many things may fall out, by meanes whereof the danger when it shall be more, yea, almost borne by vs, either shall subsist or wholly passe away, or happily, shall be diuerted on another mans head. Oftentimes, the flames haue broken and giuen passage thorow the middelt of their furie, to auoid themselves. Such a one hathaine from the top of a house, that was softly laid when he light on the ground. Sometimes, he that was exposed to his last punishment, hath benee saued euen in the verie attempt of execution, and some haue suruiued to burie those who should haue benee their hang-men: euill fortune it selfe is neuer without her inconstancie and leuitie. It may bee the mischance shall come, it may be it shall not come; and meane while, that is not come, at least, propose vnto thy selfe, that better fortune may befall thee. Sometimes, it happeneth, that euen then when there is no appearance of euill presage, the mind faineth to it selfe false imaginations, or interpreteth some word of a doubtfull signification to the worst, or proposeth to it selfe the indignation and displeasure of some one greater then he is, and dreameth not how much he is incensed, but how much he may, if so be he be prouoked. But there is no cause of life, no measure of miserie, if a man feare as much as he may feare. It behoueth, contrariwise, to reiect and contemne the feare it selfe, which is attended euery way with apparant occasions. If care let prudence profit, here likewise, by strength of mind, refuse feare: driue away one vice by another, and, if not, temper feare by hope. There is nothing so certaine of all that which

a man may feare, that is not also more certaine, that the things that are feared may flee away & vanish, and those that are hoped for, deceiue. Ballance therefore thy feare with thy hope; and if there be doubt on all sides, beleeue that which best liketh thee, and thou couldst desire should fall out; and although thou shalt haue more and more probable appearances for to feare, notwithstanding, dispose thy selfe to fauour the better part, and cease to afflict thy selfe. Discourse alwaies in thy vnderstanding, that the greatest part of mortall men are troubled and perplexed in themselves for a thing wherein there is no euill, neither can there be any euill, and the reason hereof is, because no man resisteth himselfe when he beginneth to be shaken and assaulted. For no man resisteth himselfe when he beginneth to be enforced, neither reduceth his feare vnto truth. No man saith, The Author is vaine, a vaine man hath either framed or beleueed it. We yeeld our selues wholly to him that first commeth and reporteth any thing vnto vs: we feare the incertaine as certaine, neither can we keepe any measure. A doubt doth incontinently become feare. But I am ashamed to talke after this manner with thee, and to applie vnto thee so sleight remedies: when any other man shall say vnto thee, be confident, that which thou fearest shall not befall thee, say thou quite contrarie: and when it shall happen, what of that? Perhaps it shall be for my good and advantage if it happen, and this death shall doe honour to my life. *Hemlock made Socrates great.* Wrest from *Cato* the sword that assured his libertie, and thou shalt detract from him the greatest part of his glorie. True it is, that I am too tedious in exhorting thee, who hast no need to be exhorted, but instructed and admonished onely. These are not contrarie to thy nature, thou art borne to accomplish all that which we speake of; and by so much more oughtest thou to be careful, to augment and beautifie the graces that nature hath giuen thee. But now will I make an end of my Epistle, as soone as I haue signed it with some high and generous sentence, to be conuayed vnto thee: *Amongst other euils, folly properly hath likewise this, that it beginneth alwaies to liue.* Consider, worthie *Lucilius*, what these things signifie, and thou shalt vnderstand how loathsome mens leuitie is, who are alwaies occupied to proiect new foundations of life, and in their last time bethinke them of new hopes. If thou cast thine eye on euery man, thou shalt meet with old men that addresse themselves to ambition, trauell, and negotiations. And what is there more absurd, then for an old man to begin to liue? I would not alledge the Author of this sentence, if that it were not one of the most secret, and not couched amongst the vulgar speeches of *Epicurus*, which I haue permitted my selfe both to vsurpe and adopt as mine owne.

EPIST.

EPIST. XIII.

A most wise Epistle. He admonisheth that care must be had of the bodie and of life, but not too much: but that three things are feared touching the bodie; Pouertie, Sicknesse, and Violence, but especially this last, which proceedeth from powerfull men and tyrants: To the end thou mayest not feare, three things are to be auoyded; Hatred, Enmie, and Contempt. But how wisdometh shall instruct, and in short words he.

I Confesse that nature hath imprinted in euery one of vs an affection and care of his owne person. I confesse that our bodie is vnder our tutely and protection. I deny not but that we ought to vse some indulgence in the behalfe thereof, I deny that we ought to serue it. For he shall be a slave to many, that will be slave to his owne bodie, that feareth too much for the same, that respecteth all things vnto it: So ought we to carrie our selues, not as though it behoued vs to liue for our bodie; but as if we might not liue without the same. The too tender affection we beare vnto it, disquieteth vs with feares, chargeth vs with diuers thoughts, and exposeth and subiecteth vs to disgraces. Honestie is bale to him, that maketh too much account of his bodie. Reason is, that it be kept carefully, yet so, as when reason, honour, and faith requireth it, a man be ready to cast it into the midst of a fire. Let vs flie not withstanding as much as in vs lieth, not onely the dangers, but the incommodities. Let vs retire vs into a place of securitie, thinking hourly, by what meanes we may separate from vs those things which are to be feared; of which (if I deceiue not my selfe) there are three sorts: we feare pouertie, we feare sicknesse, we feare those things that may befall vs, through the violence of the mightie. Of all these three, is no one thing more that shaketh vs, then that which hangeth ouer vs from another mans greatnesse, for that commeth with a great noyce and tumult. The naturall euils which I haue reckoned vp, such as are pouerties and infirmities, doe silently assault vs: they neither afright our eyes nor our cares, but the other mischief marcheth forth with greater pompe. Hee hath about him fire, sword, and bonds, and a troupe of greedy wild beasts to glut themselves on our entrailes. So many prisons, so many gallowes, so many racks and hookes, and the flukes which men are splitted on, the tortures of drawing a man with wilde horses, and such other types of tyrannie, the varietie whereof is so great, and the preparation so terrible. No maruell though they bring much feare with them: for euen as the hang-man, the more instruments of torture he presenteth to the condemned, the more he afflicteth him; so amongst those things that surcharge and wound our minds, those haue the greatest force that present the most objects to the eye. This is not to inferre, that other plagues, I meane, famine, thirst, vlcers, and impostumes of the inwards, and the feuer which drieth and burneth our bowels, are not as tedious and painfull, but that they are hidden, hauing nothing that may produce, or cause to march before them. These are great armies, obtaine the entry by the greatnesse of their show and preparation. Let vs therefore indeuour and abstaine from offences. Sometimes the people are those whom we ought to feare; sometimes, if the discipline of the Citie be such, that diuers things are concluded by the Senate, some gracious men therein, or some one particular man that beares the sway of the

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Common-wealth, and hath the gouernement ouer the people. To haue all these thy friends is too difficult, it is enough for thee that thou hast them not thine enemies. A wise man therefore will neuer prouoke the displeasure of the mightie, but rather will decline the same in such sort, as in sayling. When thou shippedst for *Sicily*, thou diddest cut ouer the Sea. The vnaduised Master of thy ship contemned the threatening Southerly winds, which is that wind which exasperateth the *Stilian* Seas, and driueth on the shoales and whirpooles; hee shapeth not ourle by the left shore, but saileth by that shore which is neerer *Charibdis*. But some other, more wary, enquireth of such as are skilfull in those places, of the nature of the Sea, and of the signes which the clouds import, and shapeth his course farre aloofe from that region so infamed for whirlepooles. In like sort doth the wise-man, he flyeth that power which may hurt him, hauing an especiall regard to this, that he seeme not to flie them: for the greatest part of securitie consisteth in this, to make no show or appearance to search the same; because that those things which a man lieth, he condemneth. We must therefore looke about vs, how we may be secure from the common sort, which we shall bring to passe, if first of all we couet not any of those things, which set competitors together by the eares; and then, if we haue not any thing, that by appearance of profit may make vs subiect to treacheries: I also counsaile thee, that thou haue not any thing in thy bodie that thou mayest be spoyled of. No man thirsteth after a mans blood onely, or at least wife verie few. The greater sort, rather hunt after the prize, then the life. A naked man walketh freely before the theefe; and, in a dangerous passage, a poore man findeth no man to bid him stand. Afterwards, it behooueth thee, according to the ancient precept, to endeavour thy selfe to auoid three things; that is, to be hated, enuid, and despised. Wisdome onely can few vs how this may be effected, otherwise it is a hard thing, and much to be feared, lest distrust of enuie bring vs into contempt, lest whilst we will not be trod vpon, we seeme able to be trod on. It hath bene a cause of much feare to many, by hauing power to be feared. Let vs euery way retire our selues: It is no lesse harmefull to be contemned then to be admired at. Let vs therefore haue recourse vnto Philosophie, the instructions whereof shall be as markes of dignitie vnto vs, not onely with good men, but such also as are indifferently cuill: for eloquence, and such other professions, which tend to moue the common sort, haue their aduerfari; but this is peaceable and retired, and such as intermixeth it selfe with nothing but it selfe: it cannot be contemned, which is respected by all other arts, yea and honoured by the most wicked. Neuer shall vice obtaine so great force, neuer shall any conspire so much against vertue, but that the name of Philosophie shall alwaies remaine holy and venerable; yet must Philosophie it selfe be moderately and peaceably handled. What therefore sayest thou? wilt thou esteem that *Marcus Cato* philosophied modestly, who repressed the ciuill warres by his counsaile, who thrust himselfe amidst the armies of two enraged Princes, whereas some displeased *Pompey* other some, *Cesar*, who feared not to offend them both at once. Can any man resolute, whether a wise-man should vnderstand the gouernement of a Common-wealth at this time? What pretendest thou do, *Cato*? The title of liberty is not now in question; for long time before it was troden vnder foot: the question is onely whether of these two, either *Cesar* or *Pompey*, shall be master of the Common-wealth: what haddest thou to doe with this quarrell? Thou haddest no part herein; the question was, to chuse a Soueraigne: What could it auail thee, which

which of them it were that conquered: The better cannot conquer, and hee may be the worst that shall be subdued; he cannot be the better that getteth the matter. I haue touched the last part of *Cato's* life, but neither were his former yeares cuer such, that it was conuenient for a wise-man to intermeddle with the Common-wealth, which was already expofed for a prey. For what other thing did he but exclaime, and cast out vnprofitable speeches, whilst the people taking him vp, plaid with him like a foot-ball, pit in his face, and drew him perforce out of his place, and from the Senate-house ledde him vnto prison? But we shall see hereafter, whether a wise-man ought to imploy his labor in a place where it should be vterly lost? Meane while I recall thee to these Stoicks, who excluded from the Common-wealth, retired themselves to reform mens liues, and to make lawes for all mankind, without incurring the indignation of the mightie. A wise-man will not trouble publique customes, and cause himselfe to be pointed at, through the strangeness of his life. What then? shall he that followeth this course be wholly safe and secured? No more may a man promise this, then health to a temperate man, and yet temperance entertaineth and causeth the same. Some ship is lost in the Harbour, but what thinkest thou will happen in the middle of the Sea: How much more at hand should his danger be, that intermeddeth with many affaires, and complotteth more, who cannot assure himselfe, no not in his solitude? The innocent are sometimes condemned, who denieth it? but the faultie farre more often. His art costeth him deare, that is harmed by the verie ornaments of art. Finally, the wise-man regardeth that which is most expedient in euery thing, and not the successe: for the beginnings are in our hands of the euents fortune iudgeth, whom I will not permit to censure me, yet will it bring some vexation and aduersitie. The thiefe is not condemned but when hee killeth. But I perceiue thou stretchest out thy hand to receive a rent which this letter should bring thee; I will pay thee in gold: see thou how the vse and fruition of the same may be more gratefull vnto thee; *He most of all possesseth riches, that least needeth them.* Tell me, thou wilt say, who is the Author? That thou mayest know how bonifull I am, I intend to praise another mans; it is either *Epicurus* or *Metrodorus*, saying, or some one of that Sect: what killeth it who spake it? he spake to all men. He that wanteth riches, feareth for them: but no man enioyeth a good that breedeth feare: whilst he thinketh to encrease the same, he forgetteth the vse of them; it behooueth him alwaies to haue the counters in his hand, to assist at the burse time, and visit his bookes of account: briefly, of a Master he becommeth a Factor.

EPIST. XV.

Exercise tendeth to the care of the bodie: but let it not be laborious or troublesome: easie and short sufficeth, as running, leaping, carriage of the bodie, invention of the voyce. A clause from the Epicure, to the end that life should not be deferred, content thee with the present.



He Ancients had a custome, which hath been obscured as yet to my time, to begin their letters with these words; *If thou art in health, it is well: In like sort may I say, and that not amiss.* If thou attendest thy Philosophy, I am glad of it, for that in truth is to be in health, without it the mind is sicke; and the bodie affe

norwithstanding it be strong and able: for it is no otherwise healthie then as a man might say, the bodie of one that is madde and troubled with the frensie. Haue care therefore especially of this first health, afterwards of the second, which will not cost thee much, if thou behaue thy selfe wisely. For it is an vnseemely thing for a man that traueleth to obtaine wisdom, to imploy himselfe in exercising his armes, to feed himselfe fat and to strengthen his sides. When thou shalt make thy selfe fleshy and brawny to the vttermost thou canst imagine, yet neither in force or waight shalt thou equall a fat and growne Oxe. Besides this, the mind being choaked vp with the great charge of thy bodie, is farre lesse agile and quicke of conceit. Containe therefore and restraine thy bodie the most that thou mayest, to the end thou mayest giue a fayrer and more spacious place and harbor vnto thy mind. They that are ouer-carefull of the same, draw after them diuers incommodities: first of all, the trauell of exercise spendeth the spirit, and disableth it to apprehend the studie of the most secret and hidden secrets. And they lead with them a traine of most dangerous revolts and debauchments, as that foule and villainous custome of men, occupied betweene the wine and the oyle, in whose opinion the day is happily passed, if they haue sweate well; and if in stead of that which is exhaled by sweat, they haue anew replenished their emptie stomacks with store of another liquor. To drinke and sweate is the life of him that is subiect to the *Cardiacus*. There are certaine kinds of exercise, which are easie and short, which loose and supple the bodie, without great losse of time, to which we ought to haue a principall regard. These exercises are to runne, to beare some weight in the hands, and to shake them, to leape, or vault on high, or that leape which is called the Fullers leape. Chuse of all these which thou wilt: the vse will make it easie vnto thee: whatsoeuer thou doest, retire suddenly from thy body to thy mind, and exercise the same day and night. He is nourished and entertained with a litle labour: neither cold nor heat doth hinder her exercise, no not old age it selfe. Trauell therefore carefully after this good, which is bettered by waxing old, yet will I not alwaies that thou hang ouer thy booke, or that thy hand be continually labouring on thy tables. There must some intermission be granted to the mind, yet so, that it be not giuen ouer altogether, but remitted onely. The carriage of a man in a Litter, or otherwise, stirreth the bodie, but hindereth not the studie. Thou mayest read, dictate, speake, and heare also in walking. Contemne not also the eleuation of thy voyce, which I forbid thee to raise by certaine degrees and manners, and afterwards to depresse. Again, if thou wilt learne at such time as thou walkest, admit those whom hunger hath taught new cunninges: some there be that will temper thy pace, and obserue thy mouth as thou eatest, and will proceed so farre, as by the leuitie of thy patience thou shalt giue way to their boldnesse; what then? shalt thy voyce and discourse begin with clamorous accents, and in the entrance be most violently enforced? Vndoubtedly, it is a thing so naturall to raise the voyce by litle and litle, that such as plead are ordinarily accustomed to begin their discourse in an humble and submisse manner, and to prosecute the same with a more liuely and louder accent. No man at the first imploereth the mercie of the Iudges. Howsoeuer therefore the force of thy mind shall perswade thee sometimes to exclaime on vices vehemently, sometime more moderately, according as thy voyce and force shall enable thee: when thou hast humbled the same, and drawne it to a lower straine pitch, so let it fall that it faile not: let it bee tempered according to the abilitie and discretion of the speaker, and not breake

breake out after a rusticke and vnciuill manner. For it is not our intention to exercise the voyce, but our mind is, that our voyce should exercise vs. I haue disburthened thee of no small businesse of requital, now will I adde a gratefull office to these benefits. Behold, a worthie precept: *The life of a foolish man is ingrate, and full of feare, and wholly transported with the expectation of future things.* But who, sayst thou, speakest after this manner? The same that spake before. Now what life is that which in thy opinion may be called foolish, that of *Babe* and *Ixion*, the noted fooles of our time? It is not so. No, it is called our life, whom blinded couetousnesse casteth head-long vpon those things which torment vs, or at least whiles neuer content vs, to whom if any thing had been sufficient, already it should be, who consider not how pleasant a thing it is to demand nothing, and how magnificent a thing it is to be full in himselfe, and not to hold or acknowledge any thing from fortune. Remember thy selfe therefore euery houre, friend *Lucilius*, how great those things are to which thou hast attained hitherto, when thou hast beheld those men that march before thee, behold also those that march after. If thou wilt not be vngratefull towards God, and towards thine owne life, consider how many thou leauest behind thee. But why compare I thee with others? Thou hast, if thou obseruest thy selfe well, gone beyond thy selfe. Prefix thy selfe certain bounds which thou wilt not exceed, or breake, although thou mightest. The flattering and deceivable blessings, and such as proue better to those that hope for them then those that enioy them, will vanish in the end. If there were any solid thing in them, they would sometime satisfie vs: now, contrariwise, they inuite vs to taste them onely for their appearance; and the more a man tasteth, the more is he altered. But that which the incertaine fate of future time carrieth with it selfe, why should I rather intreat fortune to bestow vpon me, or my selfe not to demand the same? And why in demanding the same should I forget the frailty of mankind? Shall I hoord vp wealth? To what? Shall I take paines? Behold, here the last day, or if it be not, it is the next neighbour to the last.

EPIST. XVI.

That Philosophy is necessary to life; but that is the true only which is in action and proficient. Dispose by that time actions and counsailes. It skilleth not whether fate or fortune be: for Philosophie teacheth to obey God, and contemne fortune and casualties. There is a clause likewise of Epicurus vs. He that liueth according to Nature, is rich. Despise opinion.

I Know, friend *Lucilius*, that thou vnderstandest that no man can liue happily, nay, scarcely tollerably, without the studie of wisdom, and that the life is made happy by the perfection of the same, and tollerable by her onely beginning. But it sufficeth not onely that thou know this, it behooueth thee also to imprint it in thy soule, and assure the same by continuall contemplation. For there is lesse to doe to propose a thing which is honest, then to conferre the same, when a man hath proposed the same to himselfe. Thou must perseuer, and by continuall diligence adde strength, till that which is now only a good will, may become an habituall good mind. Thou needest not therefore to court me with many affirmative and long discourses: for I know that thou hast profited very much.

I know from what mind the things thou writest doe proceed, and that they are neither fained nor disguised: yet will I tell thee freely mine opinion. I haue alreadie some hope of thee, but not as yet an entire assurance; and if thou wilt beleue, thou shalt conceiue no otherwise of thy selfe. Beleue not thy selfe so suddenly and so easily. Sound and obserue thy selfe, and aboue all things, see whether thou hast profited either in thy science or in thy life it selfe. Philosophie is no vulgar craft, neither is it for ostentation: It consisteth not in words, but in deedes. She must not be made vfe of to passe the time withall, or extinguish the tediousnesse of idleness. She it is that formeth and conformeth the mind, that disposeth life, and guideth our actions, and sheweth vs what we ought either to flye or follow. She it is that guideth the helme, and directeth their course that saile amidst the shoales and rockes of this life: without her no man is assured. Daily and heuere there fall out innumerable things which require counsell, which no man may receive from any other, but her selfe. But some one may say, whereto serueth Philosophie, if there be a destinie or a God that ruleth all things, or a Fortune that commandeth ouer all men? For such things as are certaine cannot be changed, and against those that are vncertaine what prouision may be made, if God hath pre-occupied all the deliberations of men? If alcradic he hath determined that which ought to be done? or if fortune permitteth nothing vnto my counsaile? whatloeuere be of all this, or if all this were so, we must, my *Luciline*, intend Philosophie, whether that destinie detaineth vs captiues to her irrecusable lawes, or God the Governour of the world, disposeth of all things; or Fortune confusedly enforceth, or altereth humane affaires, Philosophie must be our retreat. She will exhort vs to obey God willingly, and to resist Fortune constantly: she will teach thee to follow God, and to beare with casualties. But we are not now to call in question, whether we haue any interest, and whether providence be in our will or power, or whether fate with inuitable bonds draweth vs to his subiection, or any sudden or casual power be our absolute Mistress. I returne to exhort thee not to suffer thy selfe to waxe cold, or permit this heat and constancie of thy mind to be weakened. Entertaine the same in such sort, that the viuacitie and agilitie that at this present is contained therein, may grow into a habitude. I know that from the beginning (if I know thee well) thou hast curiously obserued, whether this Epistle brought thee any present. Peruse it well, and thou shalt find it: Thou needest not maruell at me. I continue still to be liberall of other mens goods; but why said I, others? whatloeuere is well spoken by any man, is mine: So that also which is spoken by the Epicure: *If thou liuest according to nature, thou shalt neuer be poore; if according to opinion, thou shalt neuer be rich: nature hath need but of a little, opinion of infinite.* Be it thou wert Lord of all that wealth which many mighty men possesse, or that fortune enricheth thee beyond the measure of a private man; although she couered thee with gold, and cloathed thee in purple, & brought thee to that height of delights & riches, that thou mightest couer the earth with marble, and not onely possesse riches, but tread on them: adde hereto pictures and statues, and whatloeuere else; thou shalt learne from those to couet alwaies more. Our naturall desires are limited; those that are deriued from false opinion, haue no end: for there is no limit to a false ground; to him that goeth in the right way, there is an end; error is infinite. Retire thy selfe therefore from vaine things, and when thou wouldest know, whether that thou askest, haue a naturall or blind desire, consider whether it may rest any where: if the nearer thou approachest it, the farther daily it flieth from thee, be assured it is not according to nature.

EPIST.

EPIST. XVII.

That Philosophie is not to be deferred, but, all other things layde aside, to bee embraced. But I shall bee poore. What if this were to bee wished for? Thou shalt play the Philosopher more freely. Nature desireth but a little, and that shall not be wanting. A clause. To him that accounteth pouerrie grieuous, riches will be likewise burthen some, for the defect is in the minde.



All away all these things if thou beest wise, or rather to the end thou mayest be wise: then addresse thy selfe speedily and with all thy power to get a good mind. If any thing detaineth thee, eyther vnbind thee out of the bond, or breake it. I am (thou wilt say) hindered by my home-affaires: I will take such a course that my reuenue may maintaine me, without doing any thing; to the end that pouerrie may not be a hinderance to me, nor I to any other. Whilst thou sayest this, thou seemest not to know the power and strength of that good whereof thou thinkest. Thou seest generally and in summe, how much Philosophie is profitable to thee; but thou dost not subtilly examine all her parts, neither knowest thou yet how much shee helpeth vs, and in what sort shee may succour vs in great affaires (that I may vse *Tullies* words) and in what sort shee assisteth vs in great things, and applyeth her selfe to the lesse things. Beleue me, take aduice of her, she will counsell thee not to busie thy selfe about thine accounts. All then that thou searchest, is to exempt thy selfe from pouerrie; and what wilt thou say if it be desirable? Riches haue hindered many men from studying Philosophie: pouerrie is alwaies free, is alwaies safe. When the enemies trumpet soundeth, the poore man knowes well that the alarme threatneth not him: In a surpris, or yeelding vp of a towne for lost, he takes no care how to get away, or what to carrie with him: If he must needs make a voyage by Sea, no man attendeth him at his entrance, nor at his launching forth: He hath not so great a troupe of seruants to attend him, that he must needs nourish them vpon the fertilitie of a forraigne Countrey. For it is easie to fill a few bellies, and well taught, that desire but to be filled: it costeth little to appease hunger; but a daintie mouth too much. Pouerrie is contented with the satisfaction and supply of her necessitie: Why then wilt thou refuse to make her thy companion, whose manners the richest themselves doe imitate? If thou desirest to enioy the freedome of thy minde, either it behoueth thee to be poore, or like a poore man. A man cannot profit in this studie without the care of frugalitie, which is a voluntarie pouerrie. Lay then apart all these excuses; say not that thou hast not as yet all that which thou hast need of, and that if thou mightest compass that summe, thou wouldest retire thy selfe from the world, to consecrate thy selfe wholly vnto Philosophie. But contrariwise, she it is that ought especially to be sought after, which thou deferrest and seekest to attaine last of all. By her it is by whom thou oughtest to begin. I will, sayest thou, recover whereupon to liue: Learne then afterwards how thou oughtest to get; if any thing hinder thee from liuing well, nothing hindereth thee from dying well. There is no reason that pouerrie should recall vs from Philosophie, no nor necessitie it selfe. Wee ought in her behalfe endure hunger, which diuers men haue voluntarily endured in sieges.

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As if the onely price of this patience was not to yeeld it selfe to the discretion of the conquerour: How much more great is that by which a perpetuall libertie is promised, and an assurance neither to be alighted by God nor man? Sometimes hunger inforceth vs to this. Whole armies haue suffered extreame necessitie, yea, so great as to feede vpon the rootes of hearbes, and to support an horrible famine; and all this suffered they (to make the wonder the more) to get a Kingdom, and that which is more strange, for another mans seruice: who then wilt doubt to endure pouertie, and so free the mind from madnesse? There needeth not any preparation for maintenance before hand. A man may attaine vnto Philosophie without prouision and supplies. But touching thy selfe, thou wilt attaine thereunto after all other things, thou esteemest it for the last instrument of life, or to speake more aptly, the accession. Contrariwise, whether it be that thou hast anything, aptly thy selfe vnto her (for whence mayest thou know whether already thou hast so much?) or be it thou hast nothing at all, seeke after her the rather, and more then any other thing. Feare not, the want of any necessarie supplies; Nature is contented with a little, to which let a Wife-man accommodate himselfe: And if happily extreame necessitie doe surcharge him, he shall escape from this life, and shall cease to be troublesome to himselfe. And if he haue wherewith to weare out and prolong the same, he will take it in good part, and will no further endeavour himselfe, but for those things that are necessarie: he will bestow that on his belly, and his backe, which appertaineth vnto them, and being content with himselfe, shall laugh at the occupations of the rich, and the goings and comings of those who sweat to get riches, and shall say, To what end searchest thou the longer way? Wherefore expectest thou the gaine of thy Vfurie, or the succession of some old man, or the profit of merchandize, if thou canst become rich suddenly. It concerneth thee no more but to recouer wisdom, she will pay thee before-hand, and giueth riches to whomsoever shee maketh them seeme to be superfluous. But this were good payment for another man; for thine owne part, thou art rich, discharge thy selfe therefore, for thou hast too much. In every age shalt thou find that which is sufficient. I might in this place end my Letter, if I had not taught thee an euill custome. A man may not salute the Kings of *Parthia* without a present: but to thee a man may not bid adieu, *gratū*. I will therefore borrow of *Epicurus*, to pay thee: *To many, the obtaining of riches hath not bene the end, but the change of their miserie*. Hereat wonder I not; for vice is not in the things themselves, but in the mind. The same occasion made riches tedious, that made pouertie grieuous. Euen as it is all one to put a sicke man into a bedde of Wood, or into a bedde of Gold, because that into what place soeuer he be removed, he beareth alwaies his griefe with him. In like manner, there is no difference to thrust a sicke mind into riches, or into pouertie, because his euill alwaies followeth him.

EPIST.

EPIST. XVIII.

That a Wife-man temperately behaueth himselfe in publique Riots, and is tainted little or nothing with their manners. Howsoever, that it is profitable some dayes to abstaine, spare, and resemble the poore, it is afore exercise, to trie pouertie if it come so. A clausse from EPICVRVS: It hath afishesth madnesse.

December is a moneth wherein all the Citie is much busied; euerie one in publique giueth way to lasciuiousnesse, each care is filled with the rumour and report of those preparations which are made to ryot with, as if the time were extraordinary, and that there were some difference betwixt the Saturnals and other working daies. So little difference is there, that in my opinion hee seemeth to haue no way erred, that saith, that in times past December was a moneth, but that now it is a yeare. If I had thee here, I would willingly inquire of thee, what in thine opinion ought to be done, whether we should change any thing of our ordinarie custome; or if (lest we should seeme to distaste the common fashio) we should frolique, and sup merrily, and cast off our gownes: for that which was not wont to be done but in times of tumult, and in the turbulent estate of the Citie, for pleasure, and the holy-dayes sake, we changed our garment. If I knew thee well, the matter being committed to thy iudgement; neither wouldest thou permit that in all things we should resemble the round-cap multitude; neither also in euery sort to be vnlike vnto them, except happily in these daies especially, we ought to command our minds to retire themselves, and to abstaine from pleasures; wherein all the world is so disordered: Hereceiue a more certaine prooofe of his owne constancie, that neither yeeldeth nor suffereth himselfe to be transpotted by adulations, or by such things as inuite him to superfluitie. It is a thing more manly, and worthie a noble mind, to be sober alone, at such time as all the people surfeiteth in drunkenesse. This hath more temperance and discretion in it selfe, if a man containe himselfe from the infirmities and filthinesse of other men: In brieue, if in laughing and disporting himselfe, he surfeit not in excesse as other men doe. For a man may celebrate a Festiuall-day without drunkennesse. But so am I pleased to tempt the constancie of thy mind, that according to the counsailes of many great men, I aduise thee to chuse out certaine daies, wherein thou mayest content thy selfe with the least, and cheapest diet, and mayst cloath thy selfe in a hard and course garment: Say to thy selfe, Is this that which the world so much feareth? In the fulnesse of thy securitie, let thy mind prepare it selfe vnto aduerities, and against fortunes iniuries, confirme it selfe euen in the height of her fauors. In the midst of peace, the souldier, hauing no enemy, exerciseth himselfe, carueth earth, and wearieth himselfe with superfluous labor, to the end he be more able and exercised when time requireth. If thou desirest a man should not feare vpon any occurrence, exercise him before hand to the accident. They that euery moneth exercise themselves in imitation of pouertie, haue profited so farre as not to feare pouertie it selfe, which they so oftentimes had both entertained and apprehended. Thinke not now that I command thee to go sometimes and take an ill supper with a poore man, contenting thy selfe with his bread and wine, or whatsoeuer else it is, whereby luxurie smootheeth ouer, and playeth

playeth with the tediousnesse of riches. I aduise thee that both thy bedde and thy apparell be truly poore, and that thy bread be stale and mouldie, and that thou entertaine this hard pittance for three or foure daies: yea, sometimes more, to the end it may be vnto thee, not as a pastime but as a prooffe. Then beleeue me, my *Lucilius*, thou shalt leap for ioy, when being satisfied with a little, thou shalt vnderstand that to satisfie our selues we haue no need of fortune, for that which sufficeth necessitie, she oweth vs in spite of her displeasure, yet hast thou no reason in accomplishing all this, to perswade thy selfe that thou hast done much: for what doest thou that many thousand slaues and beggars doe not daily? All the honor thou canst giue thy selfe, is that thou doest it voluntarily. It shall be as easie for thee to endure it alwaies, as to attempt it sometimes. Let vs therefore prepare our selues to all casualties, lest fortune surpris vs vnprovided. Let vs make pouertie familiar vnto vs: wee shall be more assuredly rich, if we know that it is no grieuous matter to be poore. That Master of pleasure, *Epicurus*, had certaine daies wherein he very sparingly and niggardly repressed his hunger, to proue if any thing were wanting of his full and consummate pleasure, or how much wanted, or whether it were a thing of that desert, that a man should employ much labour in repaying the same. Himselfe saith this in his Epistles, which he wrote to *Poliennus Charinus*, being Magistrate, and he glorieth therein, that all his vituals for one day cost him not three pence halfe-penie, and that *Metrodorus* diet, who had not so farre forth profited as himselfe, cost him no more. Thinkest thou that in this kind of life there is not a facietie? Vndoubtedly, there is pleasure in it, and not such pleasure which is fomie and fleeting, and oftentimes to be repaired, but stable and certaine: for neither is water, nor broth, nor a morsell of batley-bread, a pleasant diet; but it is an especial pleasure for a man to be able to take his contentment in these, and to haue established himselfe so farre in himselfe, that no iniurie of fortune can shake his resolution. The ordinarie allowance of the prisons is farre more then this, and they that are condemned to die, are not so poorly intreated by him that is their executioner. How great is the magnitude of his mind, that maketh that habitude voluntarie in himselfe, to admit those things with willingness which ordinarily are accustomed to be enioyned for a penaltie: this is to pre-occupate the weapons of fortune. Begin therefore, my *Lucilius*, to follow these mens customes, and take some daies to thy selfe, wherein thou mayest retire thy selfe from thine affaires, and content thy selfe with a little. Begin to haue some conuersation and familiarity with pouertie.

*Be bold, my guest, and set proud wealth as nought,
And make thee worthis God by modest thought.*

No other man is worthis God, but he that hath contemned riches, of whose possession I debarre thee not, but my desire is, that thou mightest possesse them without feare, which by one meanes thou shalt obtaine, if thou canst perswade thy selfe that thou mayest liue happily without them, and regard them no otherwise then as fleeting benefits, which thou canst well want. But now let vs begin to conclude our Epistle: first, sayest thou, Pay me that thou owest. I will send *Epicurus* to pay thee my debts: *immoderate wrath ingendrest madness*. How true this is thou must needs know, when thou hast had both a slaue & an enemy. This affection kindleth it selfe against all men, it ariseth aswell from loue as from hate, aswell amongst serious things, as playes and pastimes; neither skilleth it from

from how great a cause it grow, but what kinde of minde it meeteth with: so, it is no matter how great the fire be, but where it falleth; for the greatest and foundest Timbers haue sustained a great fire: againe, dry Trees and such as are apt to befiere, nourish a sparkle so long till it breake into a flame. So is it, my *Lucilius*, furie is the end of immoderate wrath, and therefore is anger to be auoided, not for moderation, but for healths sake.

EPIST. XIX.

That publique affaires are to bee omitted and cast off, and priuacie to bee affected: but priuacie and not solitude, and desolation of conuersation. He counselleth to forsake the Court and the pompe thereof, both which are attended with tumults and troubles. A clause of the same Masters. See with whom thou communicatest at the Table.

I Am heartily glad as oftentimes I receiue thy Letters, for they fill me with much good hope: for now they promise not, but assure me in thy behalfe. Doe therefore in such sort, I pray and beseech thee, as thy Letters doe import: for what better thing can I intreat at my friends hand, then that for which I should implore God in his behalfe? Withdraw thy selfe if thou mayest, from these busie affaires; or if thou canst not, forcibly deliuer thy selfe: We haue ouer-long been prodigall of time, let vs begin now in our age to play the good Husbands. Is this distastefull to thee? We haue liued in the stormy Ocean, let vs dye in a quiet Harbor. Yet would I not aduise thee to affect a singularity and name by thy retyrement, which neither thou oughtest to boast of, or to concele. For neuer will I so much condemne the furie of Mankind, that to the end thou mayest auoyd the same, I would haue thee locke thy selfe vp in a lurking Den, and bury the affaires of this World in euerslasting forgetfulness. Behaue thy selfe in such sort, that this retreat of thine be apparent but not eminent; and then shall they who haue libertie to liue according to their owne good liking, perceiue, whether they ought wholly to hide themselves or no. For thine owne part thou mayest not. The vigor of thy Wit, the elegancy of thy Writings, thy many great and famous Alliances haue brought thee forth into the face of the world. Thou art alreadie so farre engaged in the knowledge of men, that though thou wert confined in the furthestmost corner of the World, yet would thy former actions discover themselves. Thou canst not be concealed, there will be alwaies some lustre of thy former light, which will attend thee, whither soeuer thou retyrest thy selfe. Thou mayest settle thy selfe in repose without the hate of any man, without desire or agonie of minde. For what shalt thou leaue which thou mayest imagine to haue forsaken vnwillingly? What thy Clients? But of these no one affecteth thee, but gapeth for somewhat from thee. Shall it bee thy friends? In times past men affected friendships, now hunt they after profits. Art thou afraid that the older sort, being abandoned by thee, should change their wils? So will hee that was wont to court thee, dance attendance at another mans doore. Consider in counterpoize of all this, that a thing so precious as is libertie, cannot be purchased but very dearly. Finally, betinke thy selfe, whether thou hadst rather lose either those things that belong vnto thee, or thy selfe.

selfe. Would to God thou hadst bene so happie as to waxe old with those meanes which thy Predecessors had left thee, and Fortune had not made thee so eminent as (hee hath done); a sudden felicitie, thy prouince and procuratie, and whatsoeuer is promised by these haue transported thee very farre from the sight of a contented life. And greater Offices and charges besides these shall attend thee hereafter, and the one shall beget the other. What shall be the end? What expectest thou? till thou cease to haue that which thou desirest? That time shall neuer happen. That which wee say to bee the order and vnitie of causes which rye destinie, the same likewise say wee to be of Couetousnesse; the one taketh his beginning from the end of the other. Into that life art thou demised which shall neither end thy miserie nor seruitude. Pull thy ouer-tired necke therefore out from the yoke: it is better to cut it in pieces all at once, then to suffer it perpetually to be restrained. If thou withdraw thy selfe to a priuate life, all things will be lesse, but they will fill thee the more; but now diuers things, although heaped one vpon another, satisfie thee not. But whether haddst thou rather, either contentment with a little, or necessitie in abundance? Felicitie is both couetous, and exposed to others greedinesse. As long as nothing shall suffice thee, thou shalt not giue contentment to others. How sayest thou, shall I escape this? By any meanes whatsoeuer. Bethinke thy selfe how many things thou hast rashly attempted for money, how many things thou hast laboriously vnderaken for Honour; something also is to be attempted for thy quiet sake, or in this solicitude of procuracion, and afterwards of ciuill Offices, thou mult waxe old in trauell, and bee alwaies tossed with new waues, which thou canst not auoyde by any modestie or quiet of life. For what auayleth thee to be willing to settle thy quiet, if thy fortune will not? What also if thou permit the same to increase? the better the successe is, the more the feare increaseth. I will recount vnto thee in this place, the saying of *Mecenas*, who spake truth amidst the tortures of his dignitie, and fauours in the Court of *Augustus*: *For Highnesse it selfe thundereth at the highest.* If you enquire of mein what Booke he laid it: it was in that which was intituled *Pro-methew*. This would hee say that feare and amaze possesse the highest. Is there therefore any power of that esteeme that thy Speech should bee so disordered? The man was ingenious, and such as was to giue a great example of Roman Eloquence, if felicitie had not enfeebled him, nay, rather gelded him. This end attendeth thee, if thou restraine not thy selfe presently, and shorten thy sailes, except (which he too lately affected) thou beare for the Land. I could bee quit with thee for this Sentence of *Mecenas*, but I feare mee thou wilt not receiue it for good payment in this sort, but wilt cauill (if I know thee well) and not accept of my payment in the Coine, I hold currant. Howsoeuer the matter be I will borrow from *Petrus*: *Thou art* (saith he) *to take care with whom thou eatest and drinke before thy meate, then what thou eatest and drinke: for a plentifull and selfie Feast without a friend, is the life of a Lion or a Wolfe.* This shall not befall thee, except thou retyre thy selfe, and separate thee from the multitude; other wise thou shalt haue at thy Table, not thy friends, but such as thy Secretary hath chosen amongst the multitude of thy saluters. But he deceiueth himselfe that searcheth a friend in the base Court, and approacheth him in the Banquet. A man much occupied and besieged by his goods, hath no one greater mischiefe, then that hee thinketh them to bee his friends whom he loueth not, that beleueth that his benefits are powerfull enough to get him friends, whereas some the more they owe a man, the more they hate him.

him. A little Debt maketh a man a Debtor, a great, an Enemy. What therefore, do not benefites beget Friendships? They do, if a man might make choice of those that should receiue them, if they were well employed, and not rashly cast away. Therefore whilst thou beginnest to be thine owne man, in the meane while vse this counsell of the wisemen, that is, that it importeth thee more to know to whome thou hast done a pleasure, then to know what pleasure thou hast done.

EPIST. XX.

That Philosophie is in deeds not in words; and that therefore wee ought to adresse our selues to them, and that constantly. For Wisdome is the conueniencie and vniuerse tenour of our wils and life. Pouertie also is not to bee feared, and riches, if they be present, not to be loved. Moreover, a warning that on certaine dayes we act and imitate poore men.

IF thou art in health, and thinkest thy selfe worthy at some time to be made thine owne, I reioyce: for it shall be my glorie, if I may draw thee out from thence, whereas thou floatest without hope of getting out. But this I heartily begge and earnestly exhort thee too, my *Lucilius*, that thou shut vp Philosophie in the secret of thy heart, and that thou make an experiment of thy progresse, not by thy speech or writings, but by the firmitie of thy minde, and the diminution of thy desires. Approue the words by the deeds. One is the scope of those that declaim and demand applause of an assembly. Another of those that detain the cares of young and idle men with diuers and voluble Disputations. Philosophie teacheth vs to doe and not to speake, and exacteth this of vs, that euery one of vs should liue according to her Law, that our manners should accord with our words, that our life should be in it selfe of one colour, without any discord of actions. This is both the greatest Office, and token of Wisdome, that the actions bee correspondent to the words, and that hee which followeth her be alwaies equal and like vnto himselfe. Who shall performe this? Few: yet some shall. This thing is difficult, neither say I that a wife-man should alwaies march one pace, but one path. Obserue therefore, whether thy Garment and thy House doe disagree, whether thou art liberrall towards thy selfe, and niggardly towards thine, whether thou suppest frugally and buildest prodigally? Take once vnto thee a certaine rule and measure of life, and leuell the same according to that square. Some men in their Houses restrain themselves, abroad are lauish and prodigall. This diuersitie is a vice, and the signe of an vncertain minde, and not as yet brought in frame. Moreover, I will tell thee whence this inconstancie of affaires and counsailes doth proceed. No man proposeth vnto himselfe an end whereunto he will tend, neither if he haue proposed it, doth he perseuer in the same, but ouer-shooteth himselfe; and not only changeth he, but returneth and re-intangleth himselfe in those vices, which he himselfe had forsaken and condemned. That I may therefore leaue the olde definitions of Wisdome, and comprehend the whole manner of humane life, I can be content with this. What is Wisdome? Alwaies to will one thing, and to will the same: although thou adde not the exception, that it bee iust which thou willest. One and the same thing cannot alwaies please any man, except it bee

bee right. Men therefore know not what they will except in that very moment wherein they will. In summe, no man is positive in his willing or nilling. The iudgement is daily varied, and turned into the contrarie, and to many mens lives, passe away like a May-game. Pursue then that which thou hast begun, and thou shalt happily attaine either to the height, or at leastwise thou alone shalt vnderstand that as yet thou art not at the end. What shall become, sayest thou, of this troope of my Familiars? All this troope when thou desistest to feed them will feed themselves, or that which thou canst not know by thy benefices, thou shalt vnderstand by thy povertie. Shee will retaine thy true and certaine friends, and whosoever shall leaue thee, he followed not thee but another thing. And is not povertie to bee loued for this one thing, that shee discloseth vnto thee who are thy vnfaied friends? O when will that day come that no man will belyethine Honour? Let therefore all thy thoughts tend hither, studie and wish this, remitting all other vovues vnto God, that thou mayest bee content with thy selfe and such goods that accrue by thy selfe. What felicitie may bee neerer vnto God? Reduce thy selfe, and content thee with the least estate, lower then which, thou canst not fall: and that thou mayest the more willingly do it, to this shall belong the tribute of this Epistle, which I wil presently pay thee. Although thou envie it, yet shalt *Epicurus*, even at this present, voluntarily defray the due for me. *Believe me, this thy discourse shall haue more lustre & magnificence in a low Bed, and under a ragged Coat; for it shall not only bee said, but approoued. And for mine owne part. I better allow of Demetrius, the Stoicks discourse, when I see him lying naked vpon the straw, because at that time he was both a Master and witness of truth. What then, may wee not let light by the riches which are in our possession, and as it were, in our bosome? Why may we not? Great is his courage, who hauing long time and much admired them about him, laugheth at them, and rather heareth when seeth that they are his. It is much, not to bee corrupted by the fellowship of riches. Great is hee that is poore in his riches, but more secure is he that wanteth riches. I know not, saiest thou, how this man will beare his povertie, if he fall into the same; neither know I, saith *Epicurus*, if this poore man will condemne his riches if hee fall on them. Therefore in both of them the minde is to be esteemed and looked into; whether the one affected his povertie, the other flattered not his riches. Otherwise the straw Bed, and ragged Coate would be but a slender argument of good will, except it were manifest, that any one suffered them not of necessity but voluntarily. But it is the signe of a great wit, not to runne after the things as if they were the better, but to prepare himselfe to endure them with facilitie. And truly, *Lucilius*, they are easier: but when as with mature consideration thou shalt entertaine them, they will be pleasant also: for in them there is a securitie, without which nothing is pleasant. I therefore iudge that necessarie, which as I wrote vnto thee, great men haue often done, to interpose certaine daies, wherein by imaginarie povertie we may exercise our selues to entertaine the true; which is the rather to be done, because we haue bene drowned in delights, and all things in our iudgements are hard and difficult: Rather ought the minde to bee awakened and roused from sleepe, and to bee instructed and admonished, that Nature hath proposed vs the least. No man is borne rich: whosoever entrencheth life, is commanded to bee contented with Bread and Milke. Wee dreame not of Kingdomes, and Couetousnesse, in these small beginnings.*

EPIST.

EPIST. XXI.

That true splendor is in Philosophie, and proceedeth not from Honours or Titles. That shee giues to those that haue her, and cleaue vnto her, a perpetuall name and fame. An Embleme from EPICVRVS. To the intent thou mayest increase thy riches, diminish thy desires.



Hinkest thou that thou hast to doe with those things thou hast writtē vnto me? Thou hast a mightie businesse with thy selfe, and art troublesome to thy selfe. Thou knowest not what thou wouldest: thou dost better allow then follow honest things. Thou seest where felicitie is planted, but thou darcest not attaine thereunto. But what it is that hindereth thee? Because thou thy selfe dost little conceiue or pry into it, I will tell thee. Thou thinkest these things great matters which thou art to leaue, and when as thou hast proposed to thy selfe that securitie whereunto thou art to passe; the glorie of this life (from whence thou art to part) retaineth thee as if thou wert to fall into some losesome and darke places. Thou abusest thy selfe, *Lucilius*, we ascend from this life to the other. Such difference as there is, the light hauing her proper and certaine originall, the splendor growing from other) such difference is there betwene this life and the other. This, because it is reflected vpon by an externall light, will presently yeeld a thicke shadow to whomsoever setteth himselfe before the same; but that other shineth by his owne light. Thy studies will make thee famous and noble. I will relate an Example of *Epicurus*, when hee wrote to *Idomenaeus*, and reuoked him from a pompeous life to a faithfull and stable glorie, (who was a Minister at that time of rigorous and Regall Power, and had the handling of many mightie matters.) If (saith he) thou art touched with glorie, my Epistles shall make thee more famous then all those things which thou honourest, and for which thou art honoured. Whether, I pray you, lyed he? Who had knowne *Idomenaeus*, except *Epicurus* had registred and engraued him in his Letters? All those Potentates, Princes, and the King himselfe, (from whome *Idomenaeus* had his estate and dignitie) are buried in eternall obliuion. *Cicero's* Epistles suffer not the name of *Atticus* to bee extinguished, neither had it profited him to haue *Agrippa* for his Sonne in Law, or *Tiberius* for his Nieces Father, or *Drusus Caesar* his Nephewes Sonne, amongst so mightie Names, he should haue bene obscured, had not *Cicero* maintained his reputation, and kept him in memorie. After vs there shall come a long and hidden tract of time, some few wits shall lift vp their heads, and being likely at length to sleepe in the same silence, shall resist obliuion, and shall keepe themselves long time in reputation. That which *Epicurus* could promise his friend, that promise I thee, *Lucilius*. I shall haue fauour with posteritie, and can beare away with mee the names of such as shall liue in memorie. Our *Virgil* promised and performed to two eternall memorie:

*You both are fortunate, if ought my Verses can,
No day shall you exempt from memorie of man;
Whilst hangt Aeneas house shall stand, and lasting bide
Vpon the Capitols rockie and lofty side,
And Romane Father shall the Romane Empire guide.*

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All those whom Fortune hath advanced, all they that haue benee the members and parcels of another mans power, their credit hath benee inbaunced, their Houses haue benee frequented during the time that they themselves flourished, after them their memorie was quickly extinguished. The reputation of wits increaseth daily, and not onely continueth for them, but all that is received, which is adherent vnto them. And to the end that *Idomenaus* be not *gratius* inclosed in my Epistle, he shall redeeme the same at his owne charge. To him *Epicurus* wrote this noble Sentence, wherein he exhorteth him to make *Pithocles* rich after no vulgar or vncertaine manner: *If thou wilt* (saith hee) *make Pithocles rich, thou must not amplifie his Possessions, but diminish his desires.* This Sentence is so plaine that it needeth no interpretation, and so expresse as it needeth no helpe. I admonish thee this one thing, that thou suppose not this onely to be spoken of riches, howsoever thou applyest it, it is all one. If thou wilt make *Pithocles* honest, thou must not amplifie his Honours, but diminish his desires. If thou wilt that *Pithocles* be in perpetual pleasure, thou must not amplifie his pleasures but diminish his desires. If thou wilt make *Pithocles* old, and cause him to liue a complete life, thou must not amplifie his yeeres, but diminish his desires. Thou hast no reason to iudge that these are onely *Epicurus* speeches, for they are publike. That which was wont to be done in the Senate, that also thinke I fit to be done in Philosophie. When any one hath deliuered his minde, which partly pleaseth me, I bid him diuide his Sentence, and I follow the same so diuided. The more willingly recite I these good sayings of *Epicurus*, to the end I may shew those who build thereupon, being conducted with a foolish presumption, and that thinke to haue a cloke for their vices, that they ought to liue honestly in what place soeuer they abide. When they shall approach these Gardens, and shall see written ouer the gate of them,

*Here well mayst thou abide, my gentle Guest,
Here pleasure is esteemed the chiefest best.*

The Host of this house courteous vnto his guests, full of hospitalitie and humanitie, will bee addressed, and shall entertaine thee with a Cake, and present thee with Water, as much as will suffice thee, and in the end will say vnto thee: *Hast thou not benee well entertained?* These Gardens, I tell thee, prouoke not, but extinguish hunger: neither make they thy thirst more great by the drinkings; but asswage them by a naturall and grauitall remedie. In this pleasure am I waxen old, I speake with thee of these desires, yea, such pleasures as a man cannot make more pleasant, and to which we ought to giue something to make them cease. For in regard of the extraordinarie, which a man may deferre, chastize and oppresse, I will aduertize thee of one thing, that this is neither a naturall nor necessarie voluptuousnesse. To this thou art in no manner tyed, what soeuer thou bestowest on it, it is voluntarie. The belly hath no eares, he demandeth and calleth on vs; yet is hee not a troublesome Creditor, but is satisfied with little, provided thou giue him that which thou oughtest, not that which thou canst.

EPIST.

EPIST. XXII.

*We ought manfully to discharge our selues of busineses, and how the snares are either to be loosed or broken; yet let opportunitie and good occasion be respected, and not let slip. Furthermore hee despiseth and casteth from him these false splendours. Then cetera be a Sentence of *EPICURVS*: That all men part out of this life Children: that is, ignorant of the true life.*

THOU vnderstandest now that thou art to acquit thy selfe of these busineses, in appearance faire, but cuill: but how thou mayest effect the same, thou askest my counsell. Some things cannot bee taught but in presence. A Philician cannot choose by his Letters, the time of repaill and bathing, hee must feelee the Pulse. It is an old Prouerbe; *That the Fencer taketh counsaile in the Field appointed for combat.* For obseruing the countenance of his Aduersary, the carriage of his hand, and the inclination of his bodie, hee resolueeth what hee ought to doe. A man may in generall giue aduice either by speech or writing of that which hath benee accustomed, or of that which is needfull to be done; and such counsell is giuen both to the absent and to posteritie; but that other when it ought to bee done, and how, no man will aduise at randome: wee must deliberate with the things themselves. It is the dutie of a good man that seeth and foreseeeth, to obserue the occasion which passeth away lightly; Be therefore intenuie after her, take her by the Fore-locke when thou seest her, and with all the force of thy minde, and to the vttermost of thy power, labour to disburden thee of all these charges, which thou hast taken on thee. Aboue all things obserue what my counsaile is; my opinion is, that either thou must dismissee this kind of life, or cease to liue. But I thinke this also, that thou must keepe some moderate course herein, to the end that what thou hast intangled lewdly, thou mayest rather loose then breake off. And when there should bee no other meanes to discharge thy selfe, that thou mightest boldly breake the same. There is no man so faint-hearted, that had rather abide alwayes hanging in the Ayre, then to fall once. Meane while beware thou principally, that thou engage not thy selfe ouer-farre, content thy selfe with those affaires thou hast vndertaken, or (since thou wilt that wee beleue so) that haue surprized thee. Thou must not entangle thy selfe further; otherwise thou wilt lose thy excuse, and wilt make it knowne, that they haue not surprized thee. For these excuses which are wont to be made, are false: I could not doe otherwise; and what if I will not? I was forced to doe it. There is no man that is contrayned to follow felicity vnaduisedly. It is much if a man cannot repulse her, at least-wile to make head against her, and to resist the swiftnesse of Fortune. Art thou displeased if I not onely giue thee counsaile, but if I cail others, and they more wiser also then I am, from whom I am accustomed to borrow counsaile, if I haue any thing to deliberate. I haue read an Epistle of *Epicurus*, that tendeth to this purpose, which is written to *Idomenaus*, whom he intreateth that as much as in him lyeth, hee shie and hasten before any greater force intercept, & cut off his liberty from retiring: yet addeth the same man, that nothing is to be attempted except when it may be aptly and liuely executed. But when that time which a man hath so long expected shal come, hee saith that we ought to dislodge suddenly. He forbiddeth him sleep that suppoeth to shie; hee hopeth also an happy issue

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of those things that are most difficult, if wee haften not our selues before the time, and if wee bee not negligent when it shall bee time to haften. But now I thinke thou demandest the aduice of the Stoicks; there is no man ought to accuse them towards thee of temeritie, they are more warie then strong. Happily thou expectest that these things bee spoken to thee. It is a shame to faint vnder the burthen; thou oughtest to wrastle against the charge thou hast vnder taken. A man that lieth traull, is neither valiant nor hardie; he is the man whose courage redoubleth, the more difficult his affaires grow. These things should be spoken to thee, if perseverance should haue a reward; if no vnworthy thing ought either to be done or suffered by a Wiseman otherwise, he will not spend himselfe in fordid and contumelious labour, neither in businesse will hee be the cause of businesse: neither wil he seeing himselfe intangled in ambitius & vncertain affaires, endure alwayes the violence thereof; but after that hee shall know the dangers wherein he is plunged to be full of incertaintie and doubts, he wil withdraw his foote, yet not turne his backe, but by little and little will retire in safetie. Truly it is an easie thing, my *Lucilius*, to escape from businesse, if thou condemne the profit of them: they are those that retayne and stay vs. What shall I doe then? shall I leaue so long hopes? Shall I then desist when I am to receiue the profit? Shall I not haue any man to attend mee? Shall my Litter bee vnwayted on? and my base Court without Soutours? With much hearts-griefe and vniwillinesse do men depart from these hopes; they loue the profit that proceedeth from these miseries, yet hate they the miseries themselves. So complain they of their ambitions as of their Mistris: that is, if you pry into their true affection, they hate them not, but they are angry with them. Shake off those men which deplore that which they haue desired, and speake of the forsaking of those things which they cannot want, thou shalt see that they incessantly keepe company with that which they report incessantly to bee most distastefull and disliking to them. True it is, my *Lucilius*, few men are Slaues, but most men are in seruitude: but if thy minde bee to shake it off, and libertie in good earnest bee best pleasing to thee, and to this only end thou demandest counsaile, that without perpetuall care thou mayest haue power to doe the same: why should not the whole company of Stoicks allow thereof? All *Zeno*es *Chrysippi* will perswade moderate, honest, and true things. But if for this cause thou delayest, to the end thou mayest looke about thee, how much thou shalt carrie with thee, and what great riches thou needest to liue in repose, thou shalt neuer finde an issue: a man loaden with a burden cannot saue himselfe by swimming. Gaine (with fauour of the Gods) the Haue of a better life, but not in such manner as they extend their fauours to the ambitious, to whom with a good and gracious countenance they haue granted magnificent miseries excused in this one point, that the goods which burne and torment, were giuen to those that wished for them. I had already sealed vp my Letter, but I must open it againe, that I may send it to thee accompanied with a solemne Present, and bring with it some magnificall Sentence; and behold I know not whether one more true or more eloquent is false in my hand. Whose is it, sayest thou? *Epicurus*: foras yet doe I fill my Packet with other mens purposes: *No man departeth otherwise out of this life, but as if hee did but newly enter.* Take mee what man thou wilt, young, of middle age or olde; thou shalt finde them alike afraid of death, and all of them as ignorant of life. No man hath finished any thing: for wee alwayes referre our affaires to the time to come.

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There is nothing in this Sentence that pleaseth mee so much, then when it reprocheth olde men, that as yet they are Infants. No man, saith hee, doth otherwise depart out of this life, then as hee was borne. It is false, we dye worse then wee were borne: it is our error and not Nature; wee must complaine of vs, and say, what meaneth this I haue bred you without desires, without feares, without superstition, without perfidiousnesse, and other plagues depart out of life such as you entred? That man is seasoned in Wisedome, who dyeth as securely as he is borne. But now feare wee, when danger approacheth our heart, our colour faileth vs, and truitelesse teares fall from our eyes. What is more absurd then to bee fearefull, even in the very entrance of securitie? But the cause hereof is this; because we are void of all goodness, whereas in the end of our life we labour with the desire of them: for no part thereof remaineth with vs, it is lost, it is vanished, no man careth how well he liueth, but how long, whereas all men might haue the hap to liue well, as no men haue to liue long.

EPIST. XXII.

He warneth to seeke out true ioy: what is that? That which is seuer and bred of true goodnesse. The rest are fallacious and fugitive, this solid and firme; because it is seated in a resolute minde, which is the best part of vs: in a word, it is seated in conscience. At last Epicurus his saying. It is a lothsome and troublesome thing alwayes to begin to liue, and such as are inconstant are condemned.

THOU supposest that I will write vnto thee how kindly the Winter hath dealt with vs, which was both remisse and short; how kindly the Spring was, and prepositious the cold, and such other toys as delight those that loue words. But I will write something which may profit both thee and me. And what else shall that be but to exhorte thee to a good mind? Askest thou me what the foundation thereof is? Doe not ioy in vaine things. Said I that this is the foundation? it is the perfection and fulnesse thereof. Hee obtayneth the fulnesse of this good, who knoweth wherein his pleasure lyeth, and hath not builded his felicitie on another mans power: hee is altogether in care, and ill assured, who is tickled with any hope, although hee holdeth it in his hand, although hee easily obtaine the same, although the things hee hoped for haue neuer deceived him. Doe this aboue all things, my *Lucilius*, learne to reioyce. Thou thinkest now that I take many of thy pleasures from thee, who driue from thee those that are gotten by casualty, who suppose that these hopes and sweetest delights are to be auoyded, nay, rather it is quite contrarie. I will not that at any time thou be without ioy. I will that it be bred vnto thee in thine owne house; and it is bred, if so bee that it be within thy selfe. All other delights replenish not the soule, but cleere the countenance: they are toys except thou iudgeth him to bee merry that laugheth. The minde ought to bee resolute and confident, and lifted vp aboue all things. Trust mee, true ioy is a seuer thing. Thinkest thou that a man with a smooth and smiling countenance, and as these wanton fellowes speake, with a merry eye, contemneth death, openeth his house to povertie, brideth his delights, and meditateth on patience? Hee that thinketh on all these things is in great gladnes, but little pleasing: in possession of this gladnes I would haue thee be, it will neuer fail thee, when as thou once findest out from whence it proceedeth.

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The belt of the lightest Mettals is in the vpper part, they are the most rich which haue their vaine hidden in their centre, and will make him most rich who shall search their Mine with diligence. These toys and trifles wherewith the common sort are delighted, haue a pleasure, tender and facile to melt, and all that toy which cometh from without vs, is without foundation. This wherof I speake, wherunto I endeavour to draw thee, is solid and farre more apparent in wardly. Endeavour, I beseech thee, my welbeloued *Lucilius*, to practise that only which may make thee happy: despise and spurne at those things that outwardly shine, and which are promised thee from another: fixe thy eye vpon the true good, and take thou pleasure in that which is thine owne. But what meaneth this of thy selfe, and the better part of thy selfe: thinke also of thy bodie (although nothing may be done without it) that it is a thing rather necessary then great. It suggesteth vaine, short and remorsefull pleasures, and such as, if they be not well tempered with great moderation, will turne into a contrarie effect. I say this, that pleasure is still falling headlong, and declining vnto griefe, except it keepe a mediocritie; and hard it is to keepe a meane in that which thou firmly beleeuest to bee good. The desire of true good is assured. Askest thou me what this true good is, and whence it proceedeth? I wil tel thee; from a good conscience, from honest deliberations, from virtuous and iustifiable actions, from contempt of such things as are casual, from a peceable, and continuall institution of life, which hath alwayes traced the same course. For they who leapt from some purposes to other, or else iumpe not, but by a certaine chance are transported; how can they haue any thing certaine or permanent, being themselves inconstant and in suspence? Few there are that dispose both themselves & their estates by counsell. Therest after the manner of those Sedges that float on great Riues, goe not, but are carried; whereof some are detayned, and are softly conuayed by a slower streame, other some carried by a more vehement, others a soft ryde hath slowly carryed to the shore, others a strong current hath cast into the Sea. Wee must therefore be resolu'd what wee will, and in it must we perseuer. Here is the place to pay my debt: for I can pay thee in the words of thine owne, *Epicurus*, and discharge this Epistle: *It is a tedious thing alwayes to begin life*: or if in this manner the sense may bee the better expressed; *Badly liue they who alwayes begin to liue*. Why sayest thou? (For this word requirerth an explanation.) Because their life is alwayes imperfect; but it cannot be that he should be prepared for death, that doth but lately begin to liue. We must so doe, as if wee had liued long enough. No man thinketh on this, who newly beginneth to liue: neuertheless thinke thou not that there are few in number, for almost all are such. Some doe then begin to liue, when they ought to cease: if thou think this wonderful, I will adde that which shall draw thee more into admiration; some haue ceased to liue before they haue begun.

EPIST.

EPIST. XXIIII.

An Epistle worthy to be ranked amongst the best. He exhorteth not to feare euils to come, although they threaten. But rather to propoſe them to happen, and ſo to forme a mans ſelfe by examining or extenuating them. For what are all theſe feares? The laſt of them is death, and contemne that by reaſon. Great men haue done it. Plebeians and Slaves haue done it. Why ſhouldeſt thou not aſpire? Take the vizard from things: that which thou feareſt is paine; which a tender woman hath ſuffered in her Child-bed. Finally, thou art borne to this, to be teſſed, to grieue, to dye: acknowledge thy deſtynie: yet with EPICVRES Precepts, neither wiſh for death, neither feare it.



Hou writeſt vnto me that thou art diſquieted in mind, about the euent of thy Proceſſe, which the ſurie of thine enemy doth denounce againſt thee, and thou thinkeſt that I will perſwade thee; to propoſe vnto thy ſelfe in the meane time good ſucceſſe, and ſee thy ſelfe with vaine hopes. For what needeſt it vs to call on and anticipate our calamities, which will befall vs too ſoone, and loſe the preſent good for feare of the euill to come? Vndoubtedly it is a great folly to make a mans ſelfe miſerable for the preſent, becauſe that ſometimes hereafter he muſt be: but I will lead thee to ſecuritie by another way: If thou wilt diſburthen thy ſelfe of all care; make account, that whatſoeuer thou feareſt ſhall befall thee, is alreadie happened, and what euill ſoeuer it be, meaſure it by thy ſelfe, and taxe thy feare. Thereby ſhalt thou iudge vndoubtedly, either that thine euill is not great, or that it is not long: neither mayeſt thou ſpend much time in gathering examples, to conformance thee, euery age is ſtored with them. In whatſoeuer part of affaires, either ciuill or externall, thou fixeſt thy memorie, thou ſhalt meet with wits, either proficient in wiſdome, or of great towardneſſe. Can there then, if ſo be thou be condemned, a worſe fortune befall thee, then to be baniſhed, to be led to Priſon? Is there any thing more to be feared by any man, then that he ſhall be burned, then that he ſhall dye? Thinke very neerely on euery one of theſe things, and repreſent vnto thy ſelfe all thoſe that haue deſpised them, who are not to be fought for, but choſen out. *Emilius* ſo ſuffered his condemnation, as if no other thing more troubled him, then for that he was wrongfully iudged. *Metellus* took his exile courageouſly, & *Rutilius* alſo willingly; the one vouchſafing his returne for the good of the Common-weale; the other reſuſing *Sylla* his returne, to whom in thoſe dayes nothing was denied. *Socrates* diſputed in the Priſon, and whereas there were ſome that promiſed him flight, he reſuſed to make eſcape; yea and he remained to the intent to take from men the feare of two the moſt dreadfull things, that is to ſay, Imprifonment and Death. *Mutius* thruſt his hand into the flame. A bitter thing it is to bee burned, but how farre more intollerable, if thou ſuffer it by thine owne act? Thou ſeeſt an vnlearned man cuer ſtrengthened by my Precepts againſt death or griefe, onely furniſhed with militarie fortitude, exacting puniſhment from himſelfe, of his fruſtrated attempt: he ſtood looking on his right hand, dropping away in his enemies fire, neither removed he his ſcorched hand burned to the bones, before the fire was withdrawne from him by the enemy himſelfe. Something might he haue performed in that campe more happily, but nothing more courageouſly. See how more eager Vertue is to enter.

taine perill, then crueltie to command it. More easily did *Porfenna* pardon *Mutius*, for that he would haue killed him, then *Mutius* did himselfe, because hee had not murdered him. These fables, thou wilt say, are ouer-worne, and sung amidst the Schooles. Now wilt thou (now the cause is handled of contempt of death) alledge me *Cato*. And why should I not nominate and represent him reading that last night *Plato's* booke with his sword behind his pillow? These two instruments in extremities had hee provided, the one to haue will to dye, the other to haue power. Having then ginen order to his affaires, as farre as a broken and desperate estate permitted him; hee thought that onely concerned him to act; that no man might either haue power to kill, or oportunitie to saue *Cato*. And hauing his Sword drawne, which vntill that time hee had kept pure and neate from all Murder. Thou hast not, O Fortune, (said hee) as yet done any thing against me, in opposing thy selfe against all my delignes and enterprizes. I haue not as yet fought for mine own, but my Countries liberty, neither haue I endeouored so much to liue free, as to liue amongst free men. Now since the affaires of humane kind are desperate, *Cato* will well finde a meanes to set himselfe at libertie. After this hee grievously wounded himselfe in the bodie, which being dressed and bound vp by his Physicians. *Cato* that had already lost much blood, and much strength, but nothing lost of the greatnesse and goodnesse of his minde: now not only angry with *Cesar*, but incensed against himselfe; he forced his naked hands into his mortall wound, and rendred or rather thrust out that generous soule of his, that condemned all power. I heape not vp together these examples for this present, to the intent to exercise my wit, but rather to glue thee courage against a thing that seemeth so dreadful and terrible. And more easily shall I exhort thee in my opinion, if I shew, that not only great and generous persons haue contemned this moment of yeelding vp the ghost, but that some men of little value in all other things, haue in this equaled the vertue of the most generous, as that *Scipio*, (the Father in Law to *Cneius Pompeius*) who being forced by a contrary winde to be transported into *Africa*, and perceiving his Ship to be in the possession of his enemies, stabbed himselfe, answering those, who demanded where the Emperour was, that the Emperour was well. This vow of his made him equall with his Ancestors, and suffered not that the glorie which seemeth to be fatal to the *Scipios* in *Africa*, should be interrupted. It was much to conquer *Carthage*, but more to conquer death. The Emperour, sayth he, is well: and in what other sort should an Emperour die: namely, such a one that commanded *Cato*? I will not referre thee to former Histories, nor gather together from all ages the many contempters and despisers of death. Looke onely into these very times of ours, whose negligence & daintinesse we complain of, thou shalt meet with men of all estates, all fortunes, all ages, which haue cut off the course of their misfortunes by their deaths. Beleeue me, *Lucilius*, so little ought death to be feared, that nothing is to be preferred before the benefit thereof. Heare therefore securely and confidently the threats of thine enemy, and although thy conscience make thee confident, yet because that many things haue credit, beside the cause, hope for that which is iust, and prepare thy selfe against iniustice. But above all things, remember thou to esteeme things simply as they be, and despoyle them of the tumult and bruit that is accustomedly giuen them, and thou shalt find in them, that there is nothing terrible, but the only feare. That which thou seest befall young Children, befalleth vs also that are greater Boyes; they are afraid of those whom they loue, and with whom they frequent and disport

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cuerie day, if they see them masked and disguised. Not from men onely ought we to take the mask, but from things themselves, and yeeld them their true and naturall appearance. Why shewest thou me swords and fire, and a troupe of grinning hang-men about thee? Take away this pompe, vnder which thou liest hidden, and wherewith thou terrifiest fooles: thou art Death, which of late my slave or my hand-maiden hath contemned. Againe, why shewest thou me these whips and torments, vnder so mightie a preparation? Why fucell engines for severall ioynts, fitted to torture men, and a thousand other instruments to plucke a man in pieces? Lay aside these things which astonish vs, command the groines and exclamations, and the irksomenesse of the cries extorted in the middelt of the torture. Vndoubtedly, it is but the paine, which this gentle man contemneth, which that man fick with the paine of the stomacke, in his very daintinesse endureth, which the tender woman suffereth in her childing. Light it is; if I can endure it; short it is, if I can suffer it. Tosse these things in thy mind, which thou hast oftentimes heard, which thou hast often said. Approoue it by effect, if thou hast truly said it, or truly heard it. For it is a villanous reproach, which is wont to be objected against vs, if we handle the words of *Philosophie*, but not the workes. What thinkest thou? Suppoest thou that this is the first time that death, banishment, and griefe houreth ouer thee? Thou art borne to those. Let vs thinke that any thing may be done, as if it were hereafter to be done. That which I aduise thee to do, I surely know thou hast done. Now do I admonish thee, that thou drown not thy mind in this folitude, for it will be dulled and haue lesse force, when thou hast reason to raise and rouse it. Withdraw the same from a priuate cause to a publike; say that thou hast a mortall and fraile bodie, which forraine iniurie and tyranny may not only hurt, but the very pleasures themselves may be transformed into torments. The delicacie of meates causeth the cruditie of the stomack; drunkennesse, trembling and astonishment of the sinewes; the pleasures of the flesh and lusts, a generall deprauation of hands and feet, and all the ioynts. If I become poore, I haue many fellows; if I be banished, I shall perfwade my selfe, that the place wherein I am confined, is the place of my birth; if I be tied and manackled, what then, now I am free? That nature, as soone as we are borne, imprisoneth vs in this lumpish masse of the body, as in a strong prison. If I must die, I will comfort my selfe in this, that I shall cease to be any more sicke; I shall cease to be bound; I shall cease to haue power to die. I am not so fond as in this place to persecute *Epicurus* song, or to say that the feare of Hell is vaine, that *Ixion* is not tost on the wheele, nor *Sisyphus* tied to roule and retorne his stone on his shoulder; nor that any mans bowels could be renewed and deuoured daily. There is no man so childish as to feare *Cerberus*, and darknesse, and the shadowes of ghosts walking by night. Death either consumeth vs, or deliuereth vs. A better condition exempted from all charge, attendeth those who are deliuered by death. To those that are consumed, there remaineth nothing more, since both the good and the euill are equally taken from them. Permit me in this place to put thee in memorie of a verse thou hast made, and thinke that thou hast not written it to others, but to thy selfe. It is a shamefull and vnseemely thing to speake one thing and thinke another, but how odious to write one thing and to thinke another? I remember that thou debating sometime on this place, diddest say, that we fall not suddenly into death, but by little and little walke vnto death. We die daily, and some part of our life is daily scantled: and then also when we encrease, our life doth decrease. We haue lost our infancy,

cie, and then our youth, then our mans estate; briefly, all that time which is passed vntill this present day is death for vs. And this very day we liue, we diuide with death. Euen as in an houre-glasse, the last part of the sand that falleth is not the onely part that discouereth the houre, but all that also which is false before; so the last houre, in which we cease to be, is not the onely that causeth death, but it is that consummatest it. At that time we attaine thither, but wee come thereto long before. These things when thou haddest, described according to thy accustomed stile, thou wert alwaies great, but neuer more wittie, then when thou fittedst thy words to truth, and saydest,

*Death hath degrees, that is not first that fast
Attempts to rauish vs, but that is last.*

I had rather thou shouldst reade thy selfe, then my Epistle: It will appeare vnto thee, that this death which we feare, is the last, but not the onely which we suffer. I perceiue thy bent. Thou expectest to see what thing I should insert into this my Epistle, what bold speech of any man, what profitable precept. Of this very matter which we haue in hand, I will afford thee somewhat. *Epicurus* is displeased as much with those that desire death, as those that feare it, and saith thus; *It is a ridiculous thing, that the hatred of life maketh vs runne vnto death, when by the course of our life we haue occasioned no lesse, but that needs we must haue recourse vnto death.* Likewise in another place he saith; *What is more ridiculous then to wish for death, when through the feare of death, a man hath made his life no lesse then a torment?* Thou mayest also adde this, which is of the same fluffe: *That the folly or rather madnesse of men is so great, that there are diuers who are constrained to die for feare of death.* Which of these sentences thou shalt keepe in memory, it will confirme thee in the sufferance either of life or death: for we haue need both to be admonished and confirmed in both of these, to the end we neither too much loue, nor too much loath our life; and at that very time, when reason counsaileth vs to finish the same, wee ought not to doe it rashly, neither in fetching our race, ought we to run vpon it. A couragious and wife man, ought to leaue this life, but not to flee from it: but aboue all things, auoid that affection where with many men are possessed, that is, a desire to die: for euē as in all other things (my *Lucilius*) so also in death, there is a disordinate and vnbridled inclination of the mind, that oftentimes surpriseth men of high and generous spirits, and oftentimes fearefull and faint-hearted men; the one despise life, the other loath the same. Some other there are, that are wearie of liuing, and glutted with doing one thing alwaies, and hate not so much their life, as they are wearie of it. And therunto Philosophie it selfe leadeth vs, whilst we say, *How long the same?* That is, I shall arise, I shall sleepe, I shall be full, I shall be hungrie, I shall be cold, I shall be hot; there is no end of any thing, but all things are shut in a circle, they sleepe and follow. The day expelleth the night, the night secondeth the day; Summer endeth in Autumne, Winter succedeth it, and the Spring, Winter: all things passe, that they may returne againe: I see nothing new, I doe nothing new. In the end, we grow in loathing of these things. There are many that account it not a bitter thing to liue, but superfluous.

EPIST.

EPIST. XXVI.

He describeth of two friends, a young, and an old, in different sort: how they are to be dealt withall: with the one, more roughly; with the other, more remissly, lest he despair. He exhorteth LUCILIUS himselfe to medicritie or pouertie: At length, by EPICURUS words, to take to himselfe a Tutor. Doe all things as if a man looked on thee.



Concerning our two friends, wee must proceed after a different manner: for the vices of the one are to be amended, of the other to be extingished. I will vse an intire libertie: I loue not him except I shall offend him. What then wilt thou say? I thinkest thou to containe vnder thy discipline, a pupill of fortie yeere old? Behold his age already heard and vntactable: he cannot be reformed, things pliable may be wrought vpon. I know not whether I shall preuaile or no; I had rather the successe, then my indeuour should faile me. Despaire not, but that a man may heale those that haue bene afflicted with inueterate sicknesses; if thou resist their intemperance, and if thou compell them to doe and endure many things against their will. Neither of the other can I haue any great hope, except this, that as yet he blusheth to offend. This shamefultnesse is to be nourished, which as long as it continueth in the mind, there will be some place for good hope. With this old souldier, I think, we must deale most sparingly, lest he fall into desperation of himselfe. Neither was there any more fit time to set vpon him then this, whilst he pauseth and pretendeth a shew of reformation. This intermission deceiued others: for my selfe, it abased me not; I expect the return of his vices with great vsurie, which for the present I know are at repose, but not dispossessed. I will bestow some time vpon this matter, and I will make triall whether any thing may be done or no. Approue thy selfe a man vnto vs, as thou art accustomed, and trusse vp the baggage. Nothing of that which wee haue is necessaric. Let vs returne to the law of nature; riches are at hand, either that we want is gratuitall, or vile. Nature desires bread & water, no man is poor to these. Vpon those things wherein a man hath confined his desire, he may argue with *Iupiter* himselfe of his felicitie, as *Epicurus* saith, some speech, of whom I will inclose in this Epistle: *So doe all things* (saith he) *as if another man looked on.* Vndoubtedly it is verie profitable to haue a guard ouer a mans selfe, and to haue one whom thou mayest respect, whom thou iudget to haue an insight into thy thoughts. But it is farre more magnificient to liue so, as if we were alwaies in the presence and eye of a good man: I likewise hold my selfe content, provided alwaies that that which thou doest, thou doest it as if a man had an eye vpon thee. Solitude induceth vs to all euill. When thou hast profited so much that thou correctest thy selfe, thou mayest let goe thy Tutor; in the meane time, keepe thy selfe vnder the authoritie of some one: either let him be *Cato*, or *Scipio*, or *Laelius*, or such as by whole interview men of least hope would suppress their vices also, whilst thou makest thy selfe him before whom thou daarest not offend. When thou hast done this, and that thou hast thy selfe in good esteeme, I will begin to permit thee that which *Epicurus* himselfe perswadeth. At that time especially retire thy selfe into thy selfe, when thou art compelled to be in companie, it behooueth thee to differ from many men; but in the meane while, it is no securitie for thee to depart from thy selfe.

selfe. Consider the one after the other: there is no man that had not rather be with any man whatsoeuer, then with himselfe: then especially retire thy selfe into selfe, when as thou art compelled to be in companie, if thou beest a good, quiet, and temperate man; otherwile, forsake thy selfe, and seeke out companie: for in this case thou approachest more neere to a man of euill life.

EPIST. XXVI.

That he is old, and yet flourishing in mind. He speaketh stoutly of death, which one-ly (saith he) sheweth if any thing be done. The rest are words. Force and courage shall appeare when thou art dying. A clausse from EPICVRVS. Learne to meditate on death.

Told thee not long since, that I am in view of old age, but now I feare mee I haue left old age behind mee: vndoubtedly my yeares and bodie at this time haue need of another word: for old is the name of an age wearied and feeble, and not of that which is altogether wasted and worne out. Number me amongst the most accrepit, and that haue, as the proverbe runneth, One foot alreadie in the graue. Meane while, I gratifie my selfe in thy presence, for that old age attaineth not my spirit, for that I feele no infirmities in my bodie, and that nothing is old in me but my members, and the instruments of vices. The mind is frolicke and reioyceth, because it hath not much to doe with the bodie: he hath discharged himselfe of the greatest part of his burthen, hee exulteth and quarrelleth with me for old age: This, saith he, is his flower. Let vs belecue him, and suffer him to enjoy his good. I take pleasure to re-knowledge and discern in my selfe, what part of this tranquillitie and modestie of maners which I haue, I owe vnto Philosophie, and what part vnto mine age, and diligently to discusse what things I cannot do, and what things I would not do, and whether I can any thing that I will not: for if I cannot any thing, I am glad I cannot: for what cause of complaint is there, or what discommoditie, if that which needes must not be, hath ceased to be? It is a great discommoditie, sayest thou, to be diminished, and to perishe: and to speake more properly, to melt away. For we are not suddenly forced and cast downe, we are weakened, and euery day deprieth vs of some part of our forces. And what end is better, then to steale softly on a mans end by the dissolution of nature? not that there is any euill in this, to be stricken and suddenly deprived of life, but this way is sweet and gentle, to be by little and little disposseled and robbed of a mans selfe. For mine owne part as if I were on the point of trial, and the day were come which should pronounce the sentence of all my yerres, I obserue, and after this manner speake vnto my selfe. All that which hitherto I haue either spoken or done, vntill this houre, is nothing, light and decciuable are these pledges of my mind, and enfolded with many deccits: death shall be the onely faithfull testimonie, whether I haue profited or not. Thus prepare I my selfe courageously for that day, wherein I will pronounce of my selfe and iudge, (all crafts and subtilties laid aside) whether I speake or thinke constantly, whether the contumacious words whatsoeuer, which I urged and darted out against fortune, were dissembled or fained. Remoue the estimation of men, it is alwaies doubtfull, and diuided on both parts. Remoue thy studies, thou hast handled all thy life time, death must

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pronounce of thee. I say this, that the disputes and learned conferences, and the words gathered from the precepts of wise-men, neither the well-composed discourse doth make thew, and approue the true value of a mans mind: for the fearfulllest are bold in words. It then will appeare what thou hast done when thou departest thy life. I accept this condition: I feare not the iudgement. Thus speake I with my selfe, but suppose likewise that I speake this to thee, Thou art younger: what skilleth it? our yeares are not numbered. It is vncertaine in what place death expecteth thee, therefore expect thou him in all places. I would now haue made an end, and my hand was prefixing the period: but all solemnities must be obserued, and I must giue this Epistle his passport. Thinke that I tell thee not whence I meane to borrow; for thou knowest whole cosser I vse. Tarrie a little and thou shalt be satisfied out of mine owne stocke; in the meane time, Epicurus shall lend me somewhat, who saith; *Meditate whether it be more commodious that death come vnto vs, or we vnto her.* The sence hereof is manifest: it is an excellent thing to learne to die. Haply thou thinkest it to be a fruitlesse thing to learne that which thou must vse but once. This is that for which we ought to meditate; we must alwaies learn that which we cannot make proofe of whether we know. Meditate on death; who saith thus, commandeth to meditate on libertie: hee that hath learned to die, hath forgotten to serue, it is aboute all power, vndoubtedly beyond all. What careth he for prisons, holds, or restraints? He hath alwaies free passage. There is but one chaine that holdeth vs bound, that is the loue of life, which as it is not to be reiected, so is it to be diminished, to the end that if occasion fo fall out, nothing may detain or hinder vs, but that we may be ready to doe that present-ly, which at some other time hereafter we must needes doe.

EPIST. XXVII.

He warneth and excuseth, but what? Is he alreadie good, alreadie perfect? I am not, saith he, but amongst those that are rich. I debate with thee of the common end, and the remedie of the same. Pleasures hurt or falsly helpe. Vertue alone bringeth forth a solid ioy. But assume thou, and possesse thou her, by another thou mayest not. A short and merrie Historie of CALVISIVS. EPICVRVS saying: Riches are a naturall povertie.

Dost thou admonish me, sayest thou (for alreadie thou hast admonished, alreadie corrected thy selfe?) And therefore employest thou thy selfe to reforme others? And I am not so impudent to goe about to cure others, being sicke my selfe; but lying, as it were, in the same Hospital with thee, and of the same sicknesse, I conlterre with thee vpon our common infirmities, and communicate the remedies. Lend me therefore thine care, as if I spake within my selfe. I giue thee entrance into my cabinet, and hauing entertained thee, I expostulate with my selfe: I crie vnto my selfe: number thy yerres, and thou wilt blush for shame, that thou wiltest the same which thou wouldst being a child, and professest the like; do thy selfe this good at the last, that thy vices may die in thee before the day of thy death befall thee. Forsake these loathsome pleasures, which thou shalt full dearly satise for: Not only those that are to come, but those also which are past doe hurt thee. Euen as the remorse of finnes (although

though vnepied when they were committed) remaineth after them, so the repentance of loathsome pleasures liueth after them: they are not solid, they are not faithfull. Although they hurt not, they take their flight. Rather looke after some good that remaineth firme: and no one there is, except that which the mind of it selfe findeth out for himselfe. Vertue onely giueth perpetuall and assured ioy, although there be some obstacle. Yet happeneth it alter the manner of clouds, which alwaies fall downewards, and neuer surmount the day. When shal it be our good hap to attaine vnto this ioy? There remaineth much labour; in which it concerneth theeto bestow both thy vigilancie and indutricie, if thou wilt see it effected. This thing admitteth no procuration. Science may be assisted by an other. *Calpurnius Sabinus* in our time was a rich man, and had both the patrimonie and wit of a libertine and freed man. Neuer saw I man more vndecently happie then he was. This man had so bad a memorie, that now he forgot the name of *Vlysses*, now of *Achilles*, and sometimes of *Priam*, whom he knew as well, as we at this present remember, our Masters. No old beadle, keeping the rowles of the people and seruants, not to report their proper names, but to giue them surnames, more impertinently saluted the tribes of the people, then he saluted the *Troians* and *Grecians*, yet would hee be esteemed learned. He therefore found out these short meanes, hee bought him slues with great summes of money, one that held *Homer* before him, another that held *Hesiodus*, and to the nine *Lyriques*, besides he assigned a few-erall person. That he bought them so hugely deare, thou needest not wonder, he found them not so, but put them forth to be trained. As soone as hee had gotten him this family, he began to importunate those whom hee inuited, to eat with him. At his foot he had his slaves, of whom, when hee demanded a verse, to recite the same, notwithstanding hauing pronounced the one halfe of the verse, he forgot the other. *Satellius Quadratus*, a smell-feast, and shaker of foolish rich men, and which followeth, a leaster, and that which is adiunct to both these, a Scoffer, perswaded him to get him Grammarians, who should recollect that he let slip, and new informe him. And when *Sabinus* had told him, that euery one of his slaves had coit him one hundred thousand *Sesterties*: Thou mightest (said hee) haue bought so many cabinets for thy Poets and writings, for lesse price, and better cheape. Yet was he of that opinion, that he thought he knew all that, that any man in his house knew. The same *Satellius* on a time began to perswade him to wraastle, being both a sicke, pale, and leane man. After that *Sabinus* had answered him: Alas, how can I doe it, who haue scarcely a handfull of life? Say not so, I pray you, said the other, seest thou not how many robust and well-set slaves thou hast? A good mind may not be borrowed or bought, and thinke that if it were to bee sold, it should scarcely find a chapman; but the euill and vlettered mind is daily bought. But now receiue thou that which I owe thee, and farewell. *Pouertie* disposed according to the law of Nature, is a great riches. This doth *Epicurus* inculcate oftentimes in different manners. But it is neuer said too much, that is neuer learned enough. To some we must shew, to other some forcibly apply remedies.

EPIST.

EPIST. XXVIII.

The change of place changeth not the mind, thou oughtest to change thy selfe. Take from thee thy inward pensiuenesse, euery place will be good and pleasant; yet wilt I, if I can, chuse the quietest and least subject to troubles or vices. A clause, know thine owne sinnes, now art thou safe.



Hou supposedst that this hath onely befallen thee, and admiest it as a noueltie, that in so long a voyage, and many diuersitie of places, thou hast not shaken off the sadnesse and heauinesse of spirit; it is thy mind thou must change, and not the aire. Although thou hast ouer-fayled the vast seas, although (as *Virgil* saith) Lands and Cities retire from thee, yet will thy vices follow thee, and traile thee whitherloeuere thou trauestlest. The same answer made *Socrates* to a certaine man, that made the same complaint: Why wonderest thou that thy voyages profit thee nothing, since thou thy selfe transportest thy selfe here and there? The same cause stayeth thee, that expelled thee. What can the noueltie of Lands profit thee, whereto serueth the knowledge of Cities and places? it is a fruitlesse and fruitiuous labour. Wilt thou heare why these voyages bring thee no good? Thou sleist with thy selfe. Thou must discharge thy selfe of the burthen of the mind, for before that, there is no place will please thee. Imagine thy selfe now to be such as that Prophetesse was of whom *Virgil* speaketh, which was stirred vp, prouoked, and replenished with another spirit then her owne:

*The Prophet stormes and cries, and doth aspire
To thrust that god-head out, that did inspire.*

Thou goest here and there to shake off the burthen that ouer-presseth thee, which puzzleth thee the more by the length of thy journey. As in a ship, the loadings that are lesse moueable, are those that are lesse troublesome, and those that are vnqually trusted, doe soonest drowne that lide on which they settle. All whatsoeuer thou doest, thou doest against thy selfe, and by thy motion thou hurtest thy selfe, for thou doest shake a sicke man. But when thou hast purged thee of this euill, euery change of place cannot but giue thee pleasure. Thou mayest be driuen into the most remotest countries, and be confined in a little corner of *Barbarie*, yet shall that state be hospitable vnto thee, whatsoever it bee. It importeth more to know what thou art comming, then where thou arriuest. And therefore ought we not to fixe our mind on any place. In this thought must we liue. I am not borne for one corner, the whole world is my Countrie. And if thou knewest it well, thou wouldest not thinke it strange, that in no sort thou art comforted with the varietie of countries wherein thou hast bene, since that the Countrie wherein thou hast liuedst was loathsome to thee. For the first, thou entrest had bene agreeable vnto thee, if thou haddest made account that euery Countrie had bene thine owne. Thou trauestlest not, but runnest the Countrie: thou trottest and remoouest from place to place, although that verie thing thou seekest for (that is to say, to liue well) is found in euery place. Can there be any thing more turbulent then the Pallace? yet if need be, a man may liue peaceable euen there. And

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yet

yet if it were lawfull for me to make mine owne choice, I would retire my selfe farre enough from the frontispice and view of the Court. For euen as boggie places may hazard the firmeest constitution, so are there some things which are lesse healthfull to a good vnderstanding, which is not wholly accomplished, but in the way of recovery. I differ from their opinions that keepe the mid streame, approving a tumultuous life, and that courageously fight daily against all sorts of extremes & tribulations. A wiseman wil endure, but not chuse these, and had rather be in peace, then in fight. For it profiteth not a man very much to haue cast off and detested his vices, if he must contest with other mens. Thirtie tyrants, sayest thou, enuironed *Socrates*, and yet could not make him falter in his resolutions. What skilleth it how many Lords there be? It is but one seruitude. He that hath contemned this seruitude, is free before whatsoeuer troupe of Commanders. It is time to giue ouer, provided that I first pay my tollage. *The knowledge of a mans faults is the beginning of his health.* *EPICVRVS* in my opinion hath spoken this very worthily. For he that knoweth not that he hath offended, will not be corrected. Thou must find out thine owne error, before thou amendest thy selfe. Some glorie in their vices; thinkest thou that they dream of their remedies, that number their vices in the place of vertues? Therefore, as much as in thee lieth, reprove thy selfe, enquire and search into thy selfe, play the part of an accuser at the first, then of a Iudge, and lastly of a suppliant; and sometimes punish thy selfe.

EPIST. XXIX.

That MARCELLINVS is hard to be corrected: For he scorneth and mocketh, yet will I not giue him ouer, and haply in this sort I will ouercome him. EPICVRVS Sentence, studie not to please the people, that is to say, many.

THOU enquirest some news of our friend *Marcellinus*, and wouldest know what he doth. He commeth very seldom vnto vs, for no other cause, then for that he feareth to heare the truth. From which perill he is now free, for we are to speake to none, but such as will giue care vnto vs. Therefore it hath bin a question, whether *Diogenes*, or any other *Cynicks*, who haue vsed a promiscuous and indiscreet libertie, to reprove all such as they meet withall, ought to doe so or no. For to what intent should a man chide the deafe, or controule such as are mute either by nature or sickness? Why, sayest thou, should I spare my words, they cost me nothing? I know not whether I shall profit him whom I admonish. This I know, that I shall profit some one, if I admonish many. The hand must be scattered. It cannot be, but he shall effect once, that attempteth often. But I think not, my *Lucilius*, that this is to be done to a great man. For hereby his authoritie is diminished, and hath no weight, in respect of those whom otherwise he might haue easily reformed, if he had bin lesse disgraced. It is not alwaies needfull that a good Archer hit the white, sometimes he may ouershoot. It is not an Art that casually commeth to the effect. Wisdome is an Art that must ayme at a certaine end. Let her therefore seeke out those that may be profited by her, & retire her selfe from those of whom she despaireth, provided alwaies that she abandon them not too soone, but forcibly & desperately attempt all remedies, when as there is lesse hope. I haue not yet lost all my hope of our friend

friend *Marcellinus*, as yet he may be faued, provided he be suddenly afflited. It is to be feared lest he should draw him, that should set hands to helpe him. The power of wit is mightie in him, but alreadye depraued, and tending to euill. Notwithstanding I will vndergoe this perill, and dare to shew him his infirmities. I know well that he wil follow his old custome; he will summon and Marshall out all those iests, which can prouoke laughter in the eye of lamentation, and will iest at himselfe first, then at vs, and alwaies preuent all those things, which I am to speake. He will search into our schooles, and obiect to our Philosophers their many gifts, their wenches, and good cheere. He will shew me one in Adulterie, another in a Tauerne, another in Court. Hee will represent vnto me that merrie Greeke, the Philosopher. *Ariston*, which was wont to dispute in his Litter, for he had chosen this time to publish his workes. Of whose Sect a question being moued, *Scarus* said vndoubtedly he is no *Peripateticque*. Of the same man, when a question was moued to *Iulius Gracinus*, a man of good reckoning, what he thought of him: *I cannot tell thee* (saith he) *for I know not how he behaueth himselfe on foote*; as if he had bene questioned with about his warlike Coach. He will cast in my teeth the *Montebanks*, which might with more honestie contemne, then sell Philosophie; yet am I resolved to suffer his vpbraids. Let him moue me to laughter, haply I will prouoke him to teares; or if he perseuere in his laughter, I will laugh with him, euen in this his infirmite, because he is fallen into so pleasant a manner of madnesse. But obserue this, this iollitie is not of long continuance. Thou shalt behold such as these for a while laugh verie heartily, and in as little while raue most bitterly. I am resolved to set on him, and to shew him how farre better he were, when many should esteeme him farre lesse. If I cannot wholly cut off his vices, at the least, wile I will restraine them, they shall not cease but intermit; but haply they shall cease also, if they take a custome to intermit. Neither is this to be disliked, because in those that are grievously sicke, a good remission of the sicknesse is taken for health. Whilest thus I prepare my selfe for him, see that thou (who canst, and knowest whence thou art escaped, and in what state thou standest, and thereby presumest how farre thou oughtest to attaine) governe thy manners, raise thy spirit, make head against those things that are to be doubted, and number not those that giue thee cause of feare. Should he not be reputed a foole who should be afraid of a multitude, in that place by which euery one must passe? This death can bee but one, though many men threaten thee. The ordinance of Nature is such, that one onely may as soone ridde thee of thy life, as one gaue it thee. If thou haddest any shame in thee, thou wouldest fend me backe my last pension. But lest I behaue my selfe vntowardly, in paying the vsurie of another mans money, I will pay thee that I owe thee. *I would neuer please the people. For those things I know, the people alloweth not, and that which the people alloweth, I know not.* Whole is this? sayest thou? As if thou knewest not whom I command. It is *Epicurus*. But the verie same will all of them declaime vnto thee, from euery house of the *Peripatetiques*, *Academicks*, *Stoicks*, *Cynicks*. For who pleasest vertue, that can please the common people? popular fauour is purchased by euill Artes; thou must needs make thy selfe like vnto them. They will not allow thee, except they know thee. But it is farre more expedient that thou take heed to that which thou thinkest thy selfe, then either to attend, or intend the opinion of others. The loue of dishonest things cannot be attained but by dishonest means. What profit then shall this Philosophie (so

much esteemed and preferred above all arts, and other things) afford thee? Truly this, that thou hadst rather please thy selfe then please the people, that thou estimatest and numberst not mens iudgements; that thou live without feare either of Gods or men; that either thou overcome or end thine evils: but if I shall see thee applauded by the favourable voices of the people; if upon thine entrance into the Theatre, the acclamations, the applauses, and all the equipage of Players and Mimicks attend thee: if euen to the verie women and little children, euerie one speaketh well of thee thorowout the towne, why should I not haue pittie on thee, knowing what way conducteth thee to this fauour?

EPIST. XXX.

That wee ought to bee prepared for death, and take courage in it by example of AFRIDIUS BASSVS, who being old, both willingly beareth of the same; and likewise, hee speaketh and proueth it with many reasons, that it is not to bee feared. By the way some other things.

ISaw that good man Bassus Afridius broken and wrastling with age, but at this present he is so much furcharged therewith, that it is impossible for him to raise himselfe againe; age hath throwne her selfe vpon him with her whole weight. Thou knowest very well, that he hath alwaies had a weake, a drie bodie, which he hath long time continued; or, to speake more properly, repaired and pieced; but in the end it is all at once defeated. Euen as in a leaking Ship a man stoppeth a leake or two, but when it taketh in water on euerie side, there is no more meanes to auoid the same, but that it must needs sinke to the bottome: so in a bodie which is old and crazed, the weakenesse may for a time be relieved and fortified, but when the ioynts fall asunder as an old building, and as the one is repaired, the other is loosened, there is no other circumspection to be had, but to thinke how a man may get out of it. Yet our Bassus hath a good courage, for this Philosophie yeeldeth him: Shee maketh courageous in all habitudes of the bodie, ioyfull in the presence of death, and not faint-hearted in the defiance of life. A good Pilot sayleth although his sayles bee rent; and if the tempest hath disarmed him, yet maketh he vie of the rest of his rigging to finish his voyage. The like doth our Bassus, and with that mind and countenance beholdeth hee his end, that thou wouldest iudge him to be ouer-firme and resolute, who should in the like sort behold another mans end. This is a great vertue, Lucius, and requirerh long time to be learned, to forsake this life with a constant resolution, when that vnauoydable houre of death shall approach vs. All other kindes of death are intermixt with hope: Sickneses are healed, fires extinguished, the ruinous house sometimes softly layeth them on the ground, which it should altogether crush to pieces. Hee that hath bene swallowed vp with one surge of the Sea, hath bene cast ashore whole and found by an opposite billow: the Sword which the Souldier hath ayed to strike, hath bene reuoked by his hand from the very necke of the conquered;

quered; but he whom age leadeth vnto death, hath nothing more to hope, onely it is that alone which admitteth no comprimise. Men die not more sweetly then after this manner, neither also in any sort are they longer a dying. Me thinkes that Bassus doth prosecute, dispose himselfe, and so liue, as it hee should suruiue himselfe; in briebe, he supporteth this diuision of himselfe very wisely: for he speaketh much of death, and endeauoureth himselfe with all diligence to perswade vs, that if there bee either incommodie or feare in this businesse, it is the fault of him that dyeth, not of death; and that there is no more euill in the same, then after the same: and as mad is he, who feareth that which he is not to suffer, as he that feareth that which he is not to feele. Can any man thinke that these should come to passe, that a man should feele death, by which we feele nothing? Therefore, saith he, death is not onely out of euill, but without all feare of euill. I know very well that such discourses haue bene often spoken, and must oftentimes be repeated; but neither when I read them, did they equally profit me, nor when I heard them that denied that those things are to be feared, the feare whereof they neuer apprehended. But this man had very much credit and authoritie with mee, speaking thus of death, whom I saw in himselfe addressed to die. I will freely speake that which I thinke, I repute him to be more courageous that wrastleth with death, then another that only approacheth her. For whereas death seileth, she confirmeth and encourageth them that least know her, that they cannot auoyd their destiny; so the Fencer being most fearefull all the fight time, willingly presenteth his throte vnto his enemie, and if the sword slip aside, himselfe addresseth and guideth it with his owne hand. But that death that approacheth, and notwithstanding is yet to come, needeth more feared and maturely established constancy, which cannot be performed but in him that is perfectly wise. I therefore attentively lent care vnto him, and more willingly heard him how hee sentenced of death, and discoursed on the nature thereof, as one that had eyed her very nigh. More trust and credit, as I thinke, should he haue with thee that were newly reuiued from death, and that being experienced in the same, should shew thee that there were no euill in death. What perturbation the access of death bringeth, they can best tell thee that haue more neerely obserued her, that haue both seene her comming, and entertained her being come. Amongst these thou mayest number Bassus, who vnwilling and loth to haue vs deceived, telleth vs that it is as foolish a thing to feare death, as to feare old age: for euen as age followeth youth, so death followeth age. Hee would not lye that will not die: for life is giuen with this exception, that we must die; we are in the way of death and he that feareth it, hath lost his wits; because that which is certaine is expected, and those things that are doubtfull are suspected. Death hath a necessitie equall and inuincible: Who can complain that he is in that estate which no man is not in? for the first part of equitie is equalitie. But now it is a vaine matter to pleade natures cause, which would that our condition should bee no other then her owne. Shee resoluerh that which shee hath compounded, and what soeuer she resoluerh, that compoundeth shee againe. Now if it be any mans chance to be gently carried away by age, and not suddenly pulled out of life, but drawne away by minutes, hath he not cause to praise the gods, for sending him after facietie, a necessary repose to humanity, and agreeable vnto his wearinesse? Thou seest some men wishing death, yea with farre greater zeale, then they were accustomed to demand life. I cannot very well tell which of these giues vs more heart, either they which demand,

or else they which attend death without trouble or tediousness, because rage and sudden indignation may be cause of this first affection, whereas this last can be no other thing, then a tranquillitie which proceedeth from composed and certaine iudgement. Some man, moued with choller, will kill himselfe, but no man entertaineth death with contentment when these commeth, but he that long time hath formed himselfe to entertaine death. I confesse therefore that I haue more often wished this good man, and my great friend, to see if I might alwaies find him the same, and whether the constancie of his mind decayed not through the feebleness of bodie: but contrariwise, I haue alwaies found that it increased in him, euen as we see the ioy more manifest in those, who after they haue bene long time tired to gaine the prize of a course, approach the place where the palme is proposed. He said (conforming himselfe to the precepts of *Epicurus*) that first of all he should haue no paine in that last gaspe; or if he had, that he comforted himselfe in this, that it should not be long, because there is griefe which is long, that is great: and put the case vpon the same poynt of the diuision of soule and bodie, if there should fall out any torment; he comforted himselfe with this assurance, that at leastwise after this griefe, there could neuer any more succeed, and that he knew verie well, that the soule and life of an old man stucke but a little within his lips, and with a little breath would be easily seuered. The fire that hath sufficient matter to feed vpon, must sometimes be extinguished by water, and sometimes by ruine; that fire that wanteth fuell, dieth of it selfe. I very willingly giue care to these things, my *Lucilius*, not as nouelties, but such as presently henceforth I must make proofe of. What then? haue I not seene very many that haue abridged the course of their life? I haue seene them, but I esteeme them farre more, which come vnto death without hatred of life, and admit her, but draw her not on. Furthermore, he said, that this trembling and feare which we haue, when we beleue that death is neere vnto vs, is forged by our selues, and we trauell to tire our selues. For to whom is the not assitant in all places, and at all times? But let vs consider, saith he, when any occasion of death seemeth to approach vs, how many other causes there be that are more neere, which are not feared at all. We should feare death at the hands of our enemy, and in the meane while cruditie, or a catarrhe cutteth vs short. If we would distinguish the causes of our feare, wee shall find that they are other then they seeme to be. We feare not the stroke of death, but the thought. For wee

are not further off her at one time then we are at another. So if death be to be feared, it is alwaies to be feared, for what time is exempted from death? But I had need to feare, lest thou hate so

long Epistles worse then death: I will therefore make an end. But thinke thou alwaies on death, that thou mayest neuer feare it.

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Epist.

EPIST. XXXI.

That both the vowes and iudgements of the common people are to be despised. That the true good is to bee sought for, and that is the knowledge of things, by which thou mayest discern truth from falsehood, perishable from durable. Hee doth illustrate it by examples.

NOw doe I acknowledge my *Lucilius*, hee beginneth to discover himselfe to be such a one, as he alwayes promised he would be. Continue then to keepe this course, and follow this tract and seruour of minde, by which in contemning the popular goods, thou embracest those things that are of better condition. I desire not that thou shouldest make thy selfe either more great or better, then thou endeourest to be. Thy foundations haue occupied a great place, onely doe as much as thou hast intended to doe, and keepe thy selfe to those things which thou hast already conceived. In summe, thou shalt bee wise, if thou close vp thine eares, which it sufficeth not to damme vp with Wax: thou must close stop them after another manner, then *Vlysses* did those of his companions. The voice which he feared was sweet and alluring, yet not publike. But that which is to be feared, commeth not from one Rocke only, it foundeth from all parts of the Earth. Pass therefore speedily, nor onely one suspected place of this trayterous pleasure, but all Cities. Bee thou deaf vnto those that loue thee most. They with a good intent afford thee euill wilhes, and if thou wilt bee happy, beseech the Gods that no one of those things that are withdeth thee, may fall vpon thee. They are no goods, which they with thou shouldest be replenished with. There is but one good, which is the cause and foundation of a blessed life, to trust a mans selfe. But this cannot happen except labour be contemned, and esteemed in the number of these things, which are neither good nor euill. For it cannot come to passe, that one thing should be now euill, and straight good; now light and to be suffered, now insupportable, and to be feared. Labour is not good, what then is good? the contempt of labour: I should blame those that are vainly industrious, and to no purpose. Again, such as endeavour after honest things, the more they busie themselves, and the lesse they permit themselves to be overcome and kept at a stand, I shall admire and cry, arise by so much better, and respire and get the top of this Cliffe with one breath, if thou canst. Labour nourisheth generous minds. Thou art not therefore, according to that old Vow of thy Parents, to make choice, what thou wouldest, should befall thee, or what thou shouldest with: and in summe, to a man that hath ouer-passed already mightie things, it is vncomely and loathsome as yet to wearie the Gods. What neede there any Vowes? Make thou thy selfe happy, and happie shalt thou make thy selfe, if thou vnderstand that those things are good, which are mixed with Vertue; Euill, which are coupled with Malice. Euen as nothing is cleere without the mixture of light; nothing blacke, but that which hath darknesse in it, or hath drawne some obscuritie into it selfe. Euen as without the helpe of fire nothing is hot, nothing without the ayre is cold; so the societie of Vertue and Vice, makes things honest, or dishonest. What therefore is good? the knowledge of things: what is euill? the ignorance of things. Hee is a prudent man, and his Arts Master, that according to the time repelleth or chooseth euerie thing. But neither feareth he that which he repelleth, neither admireth hee

that

that which hee chuseth, if so bee his minde bee great and inuincible. I forbid thee to submit or suffer thy selfe to bee deprest. If thou refuse not labour, it is a little matter, require it. What labour therefore, sayest thou, is frivolous and void; that into which base causes haue called vs. It is not euill, no more then that which is employed in worthy actions, because it is onely the patience of the minde, which encourageth it selfe to hard and desperate attempts, and saith: Why fearest thou? It is not a manly part to feare labour: and hereto let that be annexed, that thy vertue may be perfect, namely, an equalitie and tenour of life in euery thing consonant vnto it selfe; which cannot bee except the knowledge of things happen, and art, by which both Diuine and Humane things may be knowne. This is the chiefest good, which if thou possessest, thou beginnest to be a companion, not a suppliant of the Gods. But how, sayest thou, may one attaine therunto? It is not by the *Apeninne Alpes*, or the Mount *Gratus*, neither by the deserts of *Candania*, neither art thou to passe the *Syrtes* or *Scylla*, or *Charybdis*, all which thou hast done, for the price of a base pettie gouernment. The way that Nature hath made and taught thee, is full of securitie and pleasure. Since hath giuen thee those things, which if thou forsake not, thou shalt be made like vnto God; but equall with God thy Money will not make thee. God hath nothing: Thy dignities will not make thee. God is naked: The reputation of men, thy ostentation, and the knowledge of thy name will not make thee. No man knoweth God, diuers men haue a preposterous opinion of him, yet are they unpunished. The troope of Seruitours and Slaues which are about thy Litter, and that beare thee vpon their armes in Field and Citie, cannot likewise serue thee any thing. That mighty and most powerfull God, he it is that dispoeth all things. Neither thy beautie or strength likewise can make thee blessed, none of these but is subiect to alteration. Thou art therefore to seek out that, that is not impayred from day to day, and which cannot be resisted. What is this? a minde: but this right, good, and great. What else wilt thou call this, but a God, dwelling in a humane bodie? This mind may fall as well into a Romane Knight, as into a Libertine, or into a Seruant. For these names are forged out of ambition or iniury. It is lawfull from the least corner of the World, to leape vp into Heauen. Rayseth thy selfe therefore, and fashion thy selfe worthy of God: but this cannot bee made either with Gold or Silver. Of such matter as this a man cannot make an Image that resembleth God. Remember that they when they were fauorable vnto vs, had their Images made of Earth.

EPIST. XXXII.

He prayseth *LUCILIUS* his solitnde and retyring. *Storeouer, hee exhorteth that no man should steale away the time, being so short and sitting. That hee contemne also vulgar Vowes.*



Diligently enquire of thy behaviour, and demand of all those that come from the place where thou dwellest, what thou doest, and where, and with whom thou abidest. Thou canst not deceiue me, I am with thee. Liue thou in that fashion, as if I heard what thou diddest, yea, as if I saw thine actions. Thou requirest of me, what delighteth me most, of those things I heare of thee? Truly it is that

that I heare nothing of thee, and that the most part of those whome I question with about thee, know not what thou doest. It is a wholesome aduice not to conuerse with those which are different from thy nature, and that affect other things then thou doest. I am seled in this hope, that thou canst not bee misled, and that thou wilt firmly keep thy deliberation, although a troop of troublesome men doe haunt round about thee. What is it then? I feare not that they will change thee, but I feare they will hinder thee. But hee hurteth very much that delayeth and especially in this life, which is so short, which wee abrenuate by inconstancy, giuing it now one beginning, afterwards, (and that instantly) another. We diuide it, and cut it in pieces. Hasten thee then, my dearest *Lucilius*, and thinke with thy selfe, how much thou shouldest double thy pace, if behind thee thou wert pressed by thine enemy, if thou thoughtest the Horse-man pursued thee, and traced after the foot-steps of those that fled. Thou art at that point, thou art chased, halte thee, and escape: bring thy selfe into a place of securitie; and then incontinently after consider, how more worthy a thing it is to consummate a mans life, before death, then to expect security in the remainder part of his time placed in the possession of a blessed life, which is not made more blessed if longer. O when shalt thou see that time, wherein thou mayest know that time appertaineth not vnto thee, wherein thou shalt bee peaceable and contented, and neglectfull of to morrow, and in chiefest facietie of thy selfe? Wilt thou know what it is that maketh men greedie of that which is to come? No man is for himselfe: thy Father and Mother haue wished thee diuers things; but contrariwise, I wish thee the contempt of all those things, whereof they would haue thee enioy the affluence. Their vowes spoyle many to enrich thee: whatsoever they transerre vnto thee, is to be extorted from another. My desire is, that thou shouldest dispose of thy selfe, that thy spirit being assailed with incertaine fantasies should resist them, and be seled; that it should please it selfe, and vnderstanding true goods, which are possessed as soone as they are knowne, and need no adiection of age. Finally, hee hath ouer-gone his necessities, and is discharged and free, who liueth when his life is done.

EPIST. XXXIII.

Hee denieth that Sentences or short Lessons should bee gathered from the Stoicks: first, because all things are replenished and full of such things; againe, because it is vnseemly to speake alwayes by authoritie. Let vs make them ours, and preferre them in our life.



Thou desirest in these Epistles also as in the former, that I set down certaine sentences of our Masters. They were not much occupied about the flowers of discourse: all their manner of speech was substantiall and many: know thou that inequality is there, where those things that are eminent are notable. No man admireth one tree, when as all the wood is growne to the same height. With these and such like Sentences, all Poems and Histories are stuffed. I will not therefore haue thee thinke that they are of *Epicurum*: they are vulgar, and especially of the Stoicks. But in that are they most noted, because they seldom occurre, because vnexpected, because it is a wonder that any thing should bee constantly spoken

spoken by a man that professeth delicacie: for so doe diuers men iudge; but in my opinion *Epicurus* is valiant, although effeminately dressed. Fortitude and industrie, and a mind addrested to Warre, as well lodgeth in a Persian as a high-girt Romane. Thou must not therefore exact at my hands choice and well digested stuffe, that is continuall amongst our Masters, which amongst others is selected. We vent not therefore these eye-pleasing and odoriferous wares, neither deceiue we our Merchant, like to find nothing when hee entreteth, besides those which are hanged vp in the front for a show. Wee permit them to take their patterne from whence they please. Thinkest thou that I will take out of the whole Map the particular Sentences of any? To whome shall I assigne them, to *Zeno*, or *Cleanthes*, or *Chrysippus*, or *Panetius*, or *Possidonius*? Wee are not vnder a King; euery one maintayneth himselfe in his owne libertie; with them whatsoever *Hermarchus* saith, whatsoever *Metrodorus*, it is referred to one. All whatsoever any man hath spoken in that company, is spoken by authoritie, and directions of one alone. Wee cannot, I tell thee, (although wee attempt) out of so great abundance of equall things, bring forth any thing:

It is a poore mans part to count his Flocke.

Wherefouer thou fixest thine eye, thou shalt meet with that which might be eminent, vnlesse it were read amongst others of equall worthinesse: for which cause lay apart this hope, which flattereth thee with the possibilitie, that thou mayest summarily conceiue the choylest things, which the greatest spirits haue conceited. They are intyrelly to be looked ouer, and wholly to be discussed. When a man doth any thing, he intendeth the same, and by the prolect of his spirit the worke is compiled, of which a man can dismember nothing without the ruine of the whole. I deny thee not but that thou mayest consider euery member one after another, provided it bee in a man that hath them. The woman is not faire whose legges or arme is prayd, but shee whose full representation is cause that a man admireth not her other parts; yet if thou exact the same, I will not deale so niggardly with thee as I make shew for, but will furnish thee with a full hand. There is a huge company of them that lye scattered here and there: they are to be taken, but not gathered; for they fall not, but flow perpetually, and are tyed together amongst themselves: neither doubt I but that they will profit those who are as yet rude, and yeeld but a superficiall attention. For those things that are circumscribed and moulded after the manner of a Verse, are more easily remembered. Therefore giue we Children certaine Sentences to commit to memorie, and those which the Grecians call *Chries*, because a childish wit can comprehend them, being as yet vncapable of a more certaine and solid Science. A complete man hath no honour to gather Nose-gayes, to flay himselfe and build on certaine vsuall or few words, and to trust vnto his memorie, he ought to trust himselfe. Let him speake these, but not as though hee had learned them. For it is a base thing for an olde man, or such a one as is steep in yeres, to be wise in nothing but his Note-booke. This said *Zeno*, what sayest thou? This *Cleanthes*, but what thou? How long art thou directed by others? Both command and say what shall be committed to memorie, and produce somewhat of thine owne. I thinke therefore that these neuer-authors, but alwayes interpreters, lying hid vnder the shadow of other men, haue no generous nature in them, which neuer dares to publish that which they had learned in long space of time, but haue exercised their memo-

rie

rie on other mens labours. It is one thing to remember, another thing to know: to remember is to keepe a thing in memory which is committed; but contrariwise, to know is to make euery thing his owne, neither to hang on examples, and so oftentimes to looke backe to his Master. This saith *Zeno*, that *Cleanthes*: make some difference betwixt thee and thy Booke; how long wilt thou be a Learner? At last employ thy selfe to teach others: what profiteth it mee to heare that I may read? The liuing voyce, sayth hee, doth much; nor that which is recommended by another mans wordes, and serueth but in stead of a Register. Adde hereunto now, that they who are neuer their owne Masters, first in that thing doe follow their Ancestors, wherein no man hath not crucio- ked from the former. Againe, they follow them in that, which is yet in question: but it will neuer bee found, if wee shall bee content with those things that are found. Morcouer, hee that followeth another man hath found nothing, and which is worse, he seeketh nothing. What then? Shall I not follow the steps of mine Ancestors? Truly I will keepe the olde wayes: but if I find out one more short, I will take it and maintayne it. They that before vs haue managed these things, were not our Lords, but our Guides. Truth is open vnto all men: she is not as yet borne away all; there is much of her left for Posteritie to find out.

EPIST. XXXIV.

That he is glad of LVCILIUS proficiencie, because it was from him, and he formed him. Morcouer he exhorteth him to goe forward euen to perfection.

Grow great, and leape for ioy, and shaking off mine old age, I grow young againe, as often as I vnderstand by those things thou doest and writest, how much thy selfe exceedest thy selfe (for long since thou haddest forsaken the troopes of common societie.) If the tree being growne to beare fruit, delighteth the Husbandman: if the Shepheard take pleasure in the fruitfulnessse of his flocke: if no man beholderth his foster child otherwife, but that hee reputeth his young yeres to bee his owne: what thinkest thou befalleth them which haue formed young spirits, when those they haue trayned vp raw, they suddenly see ripe. I challenge thee for mine, thou art mine owne labour. When first I saw thine inclination, I laid holde on thee, I exhorted thee, I encouraged thee; neither permitted I thee to pace on softly, but I pricked thee forward, and now doe I the like. And although thou runnest and exhortest mee, all is to performe my dutie, yet will I not cease to aduertize thee. If thou askest mee what other thing I desire? very much in this. Some say, that a Worke well begunne is halfe ended, but so it is not in the affaires of the mind. The greater part of good, is to desire to become good. Knowest thou whom I call good? I meane a perfect and absolute man, whom no force or necessitie can prouoke to doe euill. And alreadie, me thinkes, I espye such a man in thy selfe, if thou perseuer and endeavour, and effect this, that all thy deeds and wordes may be agreeable and correspondent in themselves, and stamped after one Coyn. His minde is estranged from the right way whose acts are discordant.

EPIST.

EPIST. XXXV.

He misseth him to be his friend that is a good man, otherwise no man is a friend although he loueth. Let him therefore doe, and especially learne this, to liue conveniently, that is, constantly, that is, wisely.

AHenas so earnestly I entreat thee to studie, I doe mine owne business: I will haue a friend; which will not come to passe, except thou perseuer to beautifie thy selfe, as thou hast begun. For now thou louest me, but thou art not my friend: what then? is there any difference betwixt these two? what else? they are vnlike. Hee that is a friend loueth, and he that loueth is not assuredly a friend. For which cause friendship alwayes profiteth, and loue sometimes hurteth. If thou doest no other thing, profit at least wife so well, that thou mayest learne to loue well. But about all things haste thy selfe during the time thou studiest for mee, for feare thou learnest not for another. Verily I doe already participate the fruit, when I imagine with my selfe that we shall be both of one minde, and that all that vigor which is eclipsed in mine age, shall returne vnto mee from thine, although there is little difference betwixt the one and the other, yet will I really and essentially take my pleasure. There is a certaine contentment that cometh vnto vs from those we loue, although they bee absent; but it is but a light and traile pleasure. The sight, the presence, and conuersation haue some liuing pleasure in them, and principally if thou beholdest not onely him whom thou desirest, but him who is such a one whom thou desirest. Present thy selfe therefore vnto me as an honourable and acceptable gift; and to the end thou mayest presse in the more, thinke mee to be olde, and thy selfe to be mortall. Hasten thee to mee, but first of all to thy selfe, profit thy selfe indeed. And about all things let this be thy care, that thou bee constant to thy selfe. As oftentimes as thou hast a will to make tryall, whether in any sort thou beest changed, obserue thy selfe, whether thou wilt the same things to day, that thou diddest yesterday. The change of the will brokeneth that the minde swimmeth in one place, and appeareth in another, even as the wind carrieth it. That which is firme and hath a good foundation varieth not. This perfectly happeneth to a Wife-man, and in some measure to a Proficient; and hee that hath as yet attained further. What difference is there then? He that profiteth is in a manner moued, yet forsaketh he not his place, but returneth to his bounds; the perfect Wife-man is in no sort moued.

EPIST. XXXVI.

He prayeth a certaine man that had disposed himselfe to rettyrement, and forsaken the Common-weale. He aduiseh him to contemne the common talke, to proceed in goodness, or rather to bee made good. Let him goe forward to despise death, and that with reason.

EXhort thy friend to contemne those with a mightie minde, that blame and reprocue him for seeking out rettyrement and quiet, forsaking his dignities, and for preferring his quiet aboute all things, whenas he might haue obtained most honour. He shall make them every day perceiue, how profitably hee hath managed

ged his affaires. They whose felicitie is enuied, will not desist from alterations, some shall be stricken downe, other some shall fall. Felicitie is a turbulent thing, she tormenteth her selfe, she moueth the mind after diuers fashions: she pulseth her followers from one into another, some into greatnesse, other some into effeminacie: these she puffeth vp, those she mollifieth and wholly resolueth. But some man beareth his felicitie well, yea so as some doe their wine. There is no reason therefore, that these men should perswade thee, that he is happy who is besieged with many suiters; they flocke to him, as to a lake which they most trouble who most draw it drie. They call this friend, and louer of *Philosophy*, a trisler and a sluggard. Thou knowest that some men speake peruerely in a contrarie sence. They called him happie: What of this? was he so? I make no account of this, that to some man he seemeth too seuer and fallen minded. *Ariston* said, that he had rather haue a sad young man, then such a one as was pleasing and amiable to the common sort. The Wine that in the beginning was sharpe and hard, becometh ripe; but that which is readie to be drunke, as soone as it is put into the tunne, cannot be kept long. Let them call him sad, and enemy to his aduancements: this sadnesse of his will giue him good in his latter daies. Provided that he perseuer onely to loue vertue, and exercise himselfe in the good and Liberrall Sciences, not those wherewith it sufficeth to be onely tainted and informed, but those wherewith the mind is to be stained and confirmed in. This is the true time of learning. What then? Is there any time wherein we are not to learne? Not so, but euen as at all times it is honest for vs to studie, so in all ages is it not convenient to begin? It is an absurd and base thing to see an old man at his *Abaco*. The young man must get, and the old man enioy. Thou shalt therefore doe a thing profitable for thy selfe, if thou makest this young man, a good man. Behold the benefits which we ought to wish for and giue, not the vncertaine goods of fortune, which serue as well giuen as receiued. Finally, he is no more his owne, he hath giuen his word, and is obliged: but it is lesse shame in non-payment of a mans debt, then in betraying that hope which hath bene conceived of vs. To get a discharge from the hands of a creditor, he that trafficketh hath need of a good and happie navigation; he that tilleth the field, of a fertile soile and a fauourable climate. Thy friend may with his only will acquite himselfe of his debt. Fortune hath no power ouer manners. Let him dispose these in such sort, that that most quiet mind of his may come to perfection, which neither feelth any thing taken from him, neither added to him, but remaineth in the same state, whatsoever casualties befall him: who, if common fortunes be heaped on him, is eminent about his meanes; or if any of these things, or all, by fortune are taken from him, is no waies lessened by his miserie. If he were borne in *Parthia*, he would presently bend his bow, being an Infant; if in *Germanie* he were a verie Infant, he would shake his tender speare. If he had liued in the time of our Ancestors, he had learned to ride, and to combat with the enemy hand to hand. These are the things which the discipline of the Countrey teacheth and commandeth euery one. What is it then that this man ought to meditate? That which is proofe against all offensive armes, and all sorts of enemies, which is the contempt of death. Which euery one confesseth to be terrible and dreadfull to our minds (whom Nature hath formed for the loue of her selfe): neither also should it be needfull to adresse and accustom our selues to that whereunto our naturall inclination sufficiently disposeth vs, as is the desire to conserue a mans selfe. No man learneth to haue power, if need so required, to lye sweet-

lively and softly amongst the Roses: but to this end fortifieth he himselfe, that he may not disclose his secrets on the rack; that in time of necessity, although he be wounded, he may stand sentinell in the trenches, without leaning on his dart, because sleepe sometimes is wont to steale on those that leane to any stay. Death hath no incommoditie, for there must be something which she should indempnifie. But if thou hast so great a desire of prolonging thy life, consider that none of these things which vanish and are hidden in the bosome of Nature, from which once they are parted, and shall againe depart, is not consumed. They cease, but perish not, and the death which we feare and refuse, onely intermitteth life, but ravisheth it not. A day will come that shall restore vs once more to light, which haply diuers would refuse, except it reduced those that are forgotten. But hereafter I will shew more exactly, that all things which seeme to perish are changed: he therefore that must returne, ought not to be grieved to depart. Obserue the circle of things that returne to themselves, thou shalt see that nothing is extinguished in this world, but that all things descend and mount againe by changes. The Summer departeth, but another yeare bringeth it againe. The Winter passeth, but yet hath he his months to bring him back againe. The night concealeth the Sunne, and presently the day driueth this away. The Stars returne in their course backe againe to the place where first they began, and which they passed over. A part of the heauen is continually rising, and a part setting. To conclude, after I haue annexed this one thing, I will make an end; neither infants nor children or madde men feare death. It were therefore more then an abiection error in vs, if reason should not afford vs that securitie, whereunto folly animateth vs.

EPIST. XXXVII.

That we ought to perseuer in the way and warfare of wisdom: on her dependeth health, felicitie, and libertie. That we may obtaine, and overcome the same by the conduct of reason.

THe greatest obligation that hath tied thee to be a good man, is this, that thou hast promised to be such an one, and by oath thou hast confirmed it. If any man tell thee that a souldiers profession is delicate and facile, he shall abuse thee; I will not haue thee deceived. The forme of that honourable oath, and of that other so dishonourable, are in the same termes, that is, *To be burnt, bound, and slain with the sword.* To those that gaue their hands to hire vpon the sands of the Theater, that eat and drinke that which they ought to pay with the price of their bloods, it is couenanted with them that they suffer these things against their wills: from thee it is expected, that thou willingly and freely suffer the same. To them it is permitted to lay downe their weapons, and to implore the mercie of the people. Thou shalt neither submit thy selfe, nor begge for thy life; it is thy part to die constantly, and with an inuincible mind. But what profiteth it to gaine a few daies or yeares? We come into this world without releasement. How then, sayest thou, may I acquite my selfe? Thou canst not auoid necessities, but thou mayst overcome them. Make thy way, and *Philosophie* shall giue it thee; to her haue thy recourse, if thou wilt be safe, if secure, if blessed; and finally (which is aboute all) if thou desirest to be free. This cannot

not otherwise happen. Folly is a base, abiection, fordid, and a seruile thing, subiect to many, and they most cruell affections. Wisdom, which is the sole libertie, dismisseth those rude masters, which sometimes command by course, and sometimes are together. There is but one way to attaine therunto, and certainly it is the right way: thou canst not wander out of it, march boldly; if thou wilt make all things subiect vnto thee, subiect thy selfe to reason; thou shalt gouerne many, if thou be gouerned by reason. Thou shalt learne of her, how and to whom thou shalt adresse thy selfe. Thou shalt not bee surprized in affaires. Thou shalt not bring me any man that knoweth how he began to will that which he willett. He is not inuited therunto by mature deliberation, but it is an enforcement that driueth him therunto. Fortune oftentimes doth no lesse haunt vs, then we hunt after her. It is a base thing, not to go, but to be carryed perforce, and suddenly (being altogether amazed amidst the storme of affaires) to aske; How came I hither?

EPIST. XXXVIII.

That Precepts are oftentimes more profitable to wisdom then disputes. That they steale vpon the minde, and doe fructifie and spend themselves after the manner of Seed.

NOt without cause requirest thou, that we frequent this commerce of Epistles betwixt thee and me. The discourse profiteth much, that by little and little stealeth into the minde. Those prepared disputes which a man is adressed to vent in the eares of the attentive multitude, haue brute enough and lesse priuacie. *Philosophie* is good counsell. No man giueth counsell with clamour, yet must wee sometimes (as I should say) vse these declamations, when he that doubteth had need to be enforced. But where this is not necessary, to inkindle a will in man so learne, but that in good earnest he learneth, it is good to vse these more submissiue speeches. They enter more sweetly, but they continue, for there need not many, but such as are effectuell. We ought to spread them as Seed, which although it be little, dilareth his forces, when it falleth into a good Soile; and of so little as it is, it extendeth it selfe into great and marvellous great increase. The like doth Speech; it hath no extent, if thou looke into it, it increaseth in the worke. They are few things which are spoken, but if the minde entertaineth them well, they fructifie and increase in themselves. The same I tell thee is the condition of Precepts, as of Seeds, they effect much, although they bee short: but as I haue said, let a minde well disposed and seled, draw them to it selfe. Himselfe will profit very much at his time, and shall restore more then he hath receiued.

EPIST. XXXIX.

That diuers, and they diuersly haue written in Philosophie. That we ought to bee stirred up, and enkindled by example. That Nature hath this scope to call vs to high things. In which they are no Plebeian felicity, neither pleasure, because they are either fraile or hurtfull.

I Will orderly digest, and abridge as carefully as I can those Commentaries which thou desirest. But consider whether an ordinary Discourse continued after the accustomed manner, bee not more profitable then that which is now commonly called a *Breviary*, and in times past when we speake Latine, a *Summarie*. The one is more necessarie for him that learneth, the other for him that vnderstandeth; the one teacheth, the other admonisheth. But I will furnish thee both with the one and the other. It needeth not now that thou exact at my hands, either this or that authority. He is vnknowne that brings his Proctor with him. I will write what thou wilt; but after mine owne manner. In the meane time thou hast many, whose Writings I know not whether they be sufficiently digested or no. Take in hand the List of the *Philosophers*. This very sight will compell thee to rowethy selfe, and if thou seest how many haue laboured for thee, thou thy selfe likewise wilt desire to be one of them. For a generous mind hath this excellent impression in it, that it is inkindled and incited to honest things. There is no nobly minded man, that is delighted with base and contemptible things: he only seeketh after, and extolleth those things which make shew of greatnesse and worthinesse. Euen as the flame directly mounteth vppward, neither may be disnured nor depressed, or lose his activitie: so is our spirit in continuall motion, by so much the more stirring and actiue, by how much it is more vehement and mightie. But happy is hee that hath employed the viuacity hereof in matters of better estimate: hee shall settle himselfe in a place exempted from Fortunes command or iurisdiction: his felicities hee shall temper, his aduersities conquer, and contemne those things that draw other men to admiration. It is the effect of a great minde to contemne great things, and rather to affect the meane, then be infected with excessse. For these are profitable and permanent, the other hurtfull, because superfluous. So too great fertility layeth the corne, so boughes ouer-loden are broken, so too much fruitfulness neuer endeth in maturity. The like also befalleth those mindes, that are broken, and corrupt with immoderate felicitie, because they are not onely employed to other mens iniurie, but also to their owne. What enuie was euer so outrageous against any man, as is some mens voluptuousnesse against themselves: whose impotencie and mad lust thou mayest pardon for this one reason, because they suffer that which they offended in. Neither vnderstand they this fury vexeth them; for it is necessary, that desire should extend it selfe above measure, that hath falsified the mediocrity of Nature: for naturall affection hath his end, but vaine things, and such as spring from an excessive lust, are interminable. Profit measureth things necessary; how wilt thou confine superfluities? They therefore drowne themselves in pleasures, which they cannot shake off, in that they are brought into a custome: and for this cause are they most miserable, because they are growne vnto those termes, that those things which were superfluous vnto them, are made necessarie; they therefore

EPIST. XL.

He exhorteth to write, because in it is the Image of the minde. Then of Serapions prompt and profuse speech, which hee alledgeth to bee vndecent for a Philosopher. A graue and slow speech entrench and descendeth farther.

IN that thou writest often vnto me, I thanke thee; for by that onely meanes which thou canst, thou shewest thy selfe vnto me. I neuer receiue thy Epistle, but that forth-with wee are together. If the Pictures of our absent friends bee pleasing vnto vs, which renew their memorie, and by a false and fained solace doe lighten the griefe of their absence; how much more pleasing are Letters, which let before our eyes the true trace and lively Picture of our absent friends? For that which most contenteth vs, both to behold and acknowledge, that doth the hand of a friend afford, it being imprinted in an Epistle. Thou writest vnto me, that thou hearest that *Serapion* the Philosopher, when hee arriued in these parts, continued (according to his custome in discourfing) to huddle vp his words with great volubilitie, which he poweth not out together, but smothereth and forceeth: for more is vttered then one voyce can articulate. This allow I not in a Philosopher, whose pronounciation, as his life, ought to bee composed. But nothing is well ordered that is precipitate and hasty. For this cause that running and continuat discourse in *Homer* that falleth incessantly like Snow, is properly attributed to the Orator; where that which is more slow and sweeter then Honey floweth from an old man. Resolute therefore on this, that this violent and abundant vigor of Discourse, is more fit for a Iester or Mountebanke, then him that debateth on a graue and serious subiect, or such a one that will teach another man. Neyther will I that the Discourse bee too head-long, neyther too dreaming, neyther such as may suspend attention, or confound the hearing. For that defect and imbecillitie of speech maketh the Auditor lesse attentive, by reason of the digress of interrupted slownesse: yet is that more easily imprinted in memory which is expected, then that which passeth away slightly. Furthermore men are said to giue Precepts to those will learne: it is not giuen, that flyeth. Adde herunto now, that the Discourse which serueth to manifest truth, ought to be simple and without flourish. This popular Discourse, hath no truth in it, it tenderh onely to moue the people, & is forcible to rauish inconsiderate eares, it admitteth no moderation, but suffereth it selfe to be carried away. But how can it gouerne, which cannot be gouerned? Finally, what should a man thinke of that Discourse, which serueth to heale the infirmities of the spirit, except it should search and descend into vs? Medicines cure not except they be digested: moreouer, it hath much lightnesse and vanity in it, and hath more report then reckoning in it. The things that terrifie me must be lenified, which prouoke me must be pacified, that deceiue me must be shaken off: Lechery must be restrained, Couetousnesse reprobued; what one of these things can

be done suddenly? What Phylitian cureth his Patients by onely passing by them? What proueth this noyle of head-long and vncholen words, which yeeld not a shadow of any pleasure? But euen as it is sufficient to know diuers things, which thou wouldst not beleue they could be done, so it is sufficient to heare them once, that haue exercised themselves in this manner of discourse. For what can a man learne, or what will he imitate, or what can hee iudge of their minds whose speech is confused and huddled, and cannot be restrained? Euen as they that runne from a sleepe hill, stay not themselves in that place where their intention was, but are borne downe swiftly by the weight of their bodies, and transported further then they would; so this celeritie of speech, neither can command it selfe, neither is it sufficiently becomming Philosophie, which ought to employ words, and not to cast them away, but by little and little to aduance it selfe. What then? Shall it not sometimes be railed? Why not, provided that the honestie of manners be not intercelled; which this cunct and mimick impetuositie of words hath banished? Let his speech haue great effect, yet be tempered with moderation. Let it runne like the water that continually flowes, not like the Land-flouds which are quickly dried. I scarcely will permit an Orator to haue such swiftnesse in discourse, that it proue both irreuocable, and boundlesse: for how can a Iudge follow the list of his discourse, especially if it be impertinent and rude, if he suffer himselfe at that time to be borne away by ostentation, or such a passion as he cannot master? Let him in such sort make haste, and inferre, that his Auditories attention may be able to conceiue. Thou shalt therefore doe iustly, if thou disdainest them who strue to speake much, and not to speake well; and if thou hadst rather, when necessitie requireth, declaime after the manner of *Publius Vinicius*, of whom it being on a time demanded, how he discoursed? *Affellius* answered, Word by word: Contrariwise, *Geminus Varus* said of him, I know not how you call this man an eloquent man, he cannot couple three words together. But for thy part, my *Lucilius*, follow thou *Vinicius* in his manner of speaking. Should some ielling companion come and obserue him, and heare him dreame out his words, one after another, as if he dictated and not discoursed, would he not bid him, *Speake, or neuer speake*? My opinion is, that the forme of halie speech, which in that time the famous Orator *Harterius* vsed, ought to be reiected by men of vnderstanding: he neuer doubted, he neuer intermitted, he began and ended after the same manner: yet thinke I, that some things are more or lesse conuenient for people of different nations. Amongst the Greekes, this licence were to be borne withall, and we also when we write, are wont to poynt euerie word. And our *Cicero* also (from whom Roman eloquence gathered excellencie) was temperate in his discourses. The Romane tongue is more deliberate in it selfe, and more aduised, and giueth estimation to it selfe. *Fabianus*, a worthy man both in life and science, (and therewithall eloquent also) disputed more quickly then vehemently, so as it might be said, that it was facilitie, and not a celeritie. This admit I in a wise-man: I exact not that his speech be deliuered without impediment; rather had I it should be pronounced then lauishd. And the more doe I deterre thee from this sickness, because this thing cannot other wise befall thee, then by ceasing to haue modellie. Thou must of necessitie shew thy selfe shamelesse, and canst not heare thy selfe: for this vnadvised course will draw on many things, which thou wouldst not let slip without reprehension. These things, I tell thee, cannot happen vnto thee without preiudice of thy modellie. Besides, it behooueth

ueth thee to exercise the same daily, and leaue the substance of things to remember words: and these also, although they flow with thee, and may runne fluent without any labour of thine, yet are they to be tempered: for euen as a modest gate becometh a wise-man, so doth a contracted and seled distance become him. The totall summe then of this account shall be this, I enioyne thee to be slow in speech.

EPIST. XLI.

Oh excellent and deepe Epistle! That God dwelleth in vs, and that a good man is nothing without him. Let vs honour him, and the mind that descendeth from him. In him are our peculiar and proper goods, all other are --forreine. But the thing that is good is perfect reason.

THOU doest a worthy thing, and profitable to thy selfe, if, as thou writest, thou perseuerest to obtaine a good mind. How fond is it to wish the same, when as it dependeth on thine owne will? Thy hands are not to be belisted vnto heauen, neyther is the Prelate to be intreated, to admit thee to the cares of an Image, that thou mightest be the better heard: God is neere vnto thee, he is with thee, he is within thee. Thus tell I thee, *Lucilius*: A sacred spirit is resident in vs, an obseruer and guardian both of our good and euils: In like manner, as we intricat him, so handleth he vs. There is no good man, but hath a God within him. May any man insult ouer fortune, except he be assisted by him? hee it is that giueth the noblest and most vpright counsailes. In euerie good man (but what God, it is vncertaine) God inhabiteth. If haply thou light into a thick groue, full of ancient trees, and such as exceed the common height, shadowing the sight of heauen from thee, through the thicknesse of boughs couering one another; that height of the wood, and fecrecie of the place, and the admiration of the shadow, so thicke and continuante in a territorie so spacious, will perswade thee there is some diuine presence. And if a Cave ouer-hangeth a Mountaine, eaten out of the Rocks, not made by hands, but hollowed by naturall causes into such a concauitie, it will strike thy mind with a certaine conceit of Religion. We adorne the head-springs of great riuers. A suddaine eruption of a vast riuier out of the depth, hath altars. The fountaines of warme waters are honoured, and the bredth or hugh depth of some standing poole hath sacred it. If thou behold a man that is dreadlesse of perils, vntouched with desires, happie in his afflictions, pacified in midle of tempests, beholding men from a high place, the gods from an equall; wilt thou not grow into a certaine veneration of him? Wilt thou not say, this is a greater and more high thing, then that it might be trusted to so little a bodie as it inhabiteth? The diuine power descendeth hither. This excellent and moderate mind, overpassing all things as if abiect, laughing at whatsoever we either feare or hope, is inkindled by a celestiall power. So great a thing cannot consist without the helpe of a God. Therefore as touching the greatest part of him, he is there from whence he descended. Euen as the Sunne-beames doe in a manner touch the earth, but are in the heauens, from whence the Sunne darterth them; so a great and sacred mind, and to this end humbled that he may more neerely apprehend diuine things, is conuerfant in vs, but cleaueth to his originall. Thereon it dependeth, thereat

it aymeth, and thereto it endeouureth, to vs it appertaineth, as the better part. What a one therefore is this? a mind that dependeth on no other good but his owne. For what is more foolish then to praise that in a man which is forcine to him? And who more mad then that man, that admireth those things, which may immediately be transferred vnto another man? The golden raines make not the horse the better. In one sort doth the golden crested Lion subiect himselfe whilst he is handled, and is compelled (being ouer-weared) patiently to receiue his ornaments; in another sort, such a one as is generous and vntamed. This being sharpe in his assault, such as nature would haue him to be, faire in his dreadfulness, whose comeliness is in this, not to be beheld without feare, is preferred before that faint and trapped one. No man ought to glorie but in that which is his owne. Wee praise the Vine, if shee load her branches with fruit, if she beareth downe her vnder-props vnto the ground, by reason of the weight of those branches she beareth. Will any man preferre that Vine before this, that hath golden grapes, and golden leaues hanging from it? The proper vertue in the Vine is fertilitie: in a man also that is to be praised which is his owne. He hath a faire traine, a goodly house, he loweth much, he makes much by vsurie; none of these things is in him, but about him. Praise that in him, which neither may be taken away, nor given, which is properly a mans. Asketh thou what it is? The mind, and perfect reason in the mind. For man is a reasonable creature; his good therefore is consummate, if he hath fulfilled that to which he was borne. But what is that which this reason exacteth at his hands? An easie matter, to liue according to his nature: but common madnesse maketh this thing difficult. We thrust one another into vices, but how may they be recalled vnto health, whom no man restraineth, and the people thrusteth on?

EPIST. XLII.

That we are not suddenly to giue credite or iudgement of a good man, because it is a matter of much moment. That some make shew, others dissemble; not unlikely to prone euill, if occasion be offered. He teacheth this by a certaine mans example. Then, that we are not to labour in externall things, which haue incommidities, or false commodities in them.

THis man hath alreadie perswaded thee, that he is a good man, and yet a good man may not so soone either be made or vnderstood: Knowest thou now whom I terme a good man? Him who is ordinarily so reputed: for that other, haply, like another *Phoenix* is borne once in fūe hundred yeates: neither is it to be wondered at, that great and rare things are in long continuance and space of time begotten. Fortune often-times produceth meane and ordinarie things, but such things as are excellent, she commendeth in their raritie. But this man as yet is verie farre from that which he professeth; and if he knew what a good man were, he would not as yet beleeue himselfe to be one; and haply also, he would despair that he might be one. But he thinketh ill of the euill: and this doth the euill also: neither is there any greater punishment of wickednesse, then that it displeaseth both himselfe and his. But he hateth those proud men that

that abuse the authoritie they haue gotten in a little time. The same will hee himselfe doe, when the staffe is in his owne hand. Diuers meane vices lie hidden, because they are weake, addressed not withstanding to attempt, and dare as much as they whom felicitie hath discovered, as soon as they may haue any assurance of their forces. They want the instruments to expresse their malice. So may a venomous Serpent likewise be safely handled whilst he is stiffe with cold, not that he wanteth his venomes, but because they are benumbed. The crueltie, ambition, and intemperance of diuers men, would attempt as bad offices as the basest men, if fortune failed them not; giue them onely the power as much as they list, thou shalt easily perceiue their will. Doeest thou not remember, that when thou toldest mee, that thou haddest such a man in thy power, that I answered thee, that he was vnconstant and variable, and that thou heldest him not by the foot but by the feather? Told I thee a lie? He was held by a feather, which hee shaked off and fled. Thou knowest verie well what Tragedies he afterwards excited, and how many things he attempted, which in all likelihood at last were to fall on his owne head: he perceiued not how by other mens perils, he came head-long into his owne, he thought not how burthen some the things were which he asked, although they were not superfluous. In those things therefore which we affect, and for which we trauel with great labor, we ought to obserue and looke into this, that either there is no commoditie in them, or else more incommiditie. Some things are superfluous, some are not of so much esteeme; but these things we fore-see not, and those things that cost vs most dearly, seeme vnto vs to be giuen for nothing. Herein vndoubtedly our stupiditie is most apparent, that we onely thinke those things to be bought, for which we pay our money, and those things we call gratuitall, for which we sell and giue our selues; which we would not buy if it should cost vs one of our houses, or if we should redeeme the same with some fruitfull and pleasant possession: to these are we most readie to attaine with much care, with perill, with hazard of our modesties, libertie, and time; so is there nothing more abiect and contemptible to euerie man then himselfe. Let vs therefore in all our counsailes and affaires doe that which we are wont to doe: as often as we goe to the Merchant of any ware to buy, let vs see and examine that which we desire, and know the price thereof. That oftentimes is highest prized for which no price is giuen. I can shew thee many things, which being gotten & possessed, haue extorted our liberty from vs. We should be our owne, if these were not ours. Thinke therefore very carefully vpon these things, not only where there shall be question of gaine, but also of losse. Is this perishable? for it was casual; thou shalt as easily liue without this as thou liuest before. If thou hast had it long, thou lovest it after thou art glutted therewith: if but a little while, thou lovest it before thou haddest the true taste and vse thereof. If thou haue lesse money, thy trouble shall be the lesse; if lesse fauour, thou shalt haue lesse enuie also. Looke into all these things which enrage vs, and which we lose with many teares, and thou shalt know that the opinion of the damage, and not the damage it selfe is troublesome vnto vs; no man feeleth but apprehendeth that these are lost. He that hath himselfe, hath lost nothing; but how many had the hap to possesse themselves?

EPIST.

EPIST. XLIII.

*That he doth, lies not hidden, but that rumour publisheth all things. Therefore
soline (saith he) as if thou liuest in publike. What if thou be hid also?
Thy mind knoweth and seeth.*

THou desirest to know how these newes came to mine cares, who it was that told me that thy thought was thus, whereas thou haddest disclosed it to no man living: He that knoweth the most rumour. What then (sayest thou) am I so great that I can excite a rumour? Thou art not to measure thy selfe in regard of this place where I bide, but respect thou that wherein thou liest: whatsoever is eminent amidst the places nere vnto thee, is great in that place where it is eminent. For greatness hath no certaine measure; comparison either raiseth, or depresseth it. The Ship which is great in the River, is little in the Sea: the helme that to one ship is great, to another is little. Now in that Prouince where thou liest thou art great, although thou contemne thy selfe. It is inquired of and knowne, both how thou suppest, and how thou sleepest. So much the more oughtest thou to be more circumspect in thy carriage. Then iudge thy selfe happie when thou canst liue publicly, when as thy rooffe and walls may couer and not hide thee; which for the most part wee iudge to be builded about vs, not to the intent we may liue more safely, but to the end we may sinne more secretly. I will tell thee a thing by which thou mayest estimate our manners, thou shalt scarcely find any man that can liue with an open doore. Our conscience, and not our arrogance hath set a guard at our gates: so liue we that we esteeme a sudden espiall to be an actuall surprisall. But what profiteth it a man to hide himselfe, and to auoid both the eyes and cares of men? A good conscience challengeth the whole world, an euill is alwayes doubtfull and carefull, yea euen in the desert. If thine actions be honest, let all men know them: if dishonest, what skilleth it if no man know them, so thou know them thy selfe? O wretch that thou art, if thou contemnest this witness.

EPIST. XLIIII.

*An excellent Epistle. Let no man contemne himselfe for his baseness
of birth, if he commeth vnto wisdom, that is, to vertue. This onely
ennobleth.*

Nece againe thou playest the coward with mee, and sayest that nature first; and after her, fortune haue bene contrarie and vnkind toward thee: whereas thou mayest exempt thy selfe from the common sort, and obtaine the most high felicitie that may befall men. If ought else be good in Philosophie, this is it, that it regardeth not Nobilitie or descent. If all men be reuoked to their first originall they are of the gods. Thou art a Romane Knight, and to this order thine industrie hath aduanced thee: but vndoubtedly there are diuers to whom the fourteene degrees are closed. The Court admitteth not all men. The Campe likewise discerneth it more curiously, maketh choice of those whom they entertain
for

for labour and travell. A good conscience is at euerie mans command, that in this we are all noble, neither doth Philosophie reiect or elect any man, but shineth vnto all. *Socrates* was no *Patritian*: *Cleanthes* drew water, and earned his liuing in watering Gardens. Philosophie entertained *Plato*, not so thorowly noble as she made him. And what cause haile thou to despaire, but that thou mayest be like vnto these? All these are thine Ancestours, if thou behauest thy selfe worthy of them: and so shalt thou behaue and carrie thy selfe, if thou incontinently perswade thy selfe that no man can outstrip thee in Nobilitie. There are before vs as many as we are, and the originall of all very farre surpasseth our memorie. *Plato* saith, that there is not any King that is not descended of a slave, and that there is not any slave which is not descended from Kings. All these things hath long varietie mingled together, and fortune hath turned topsie-turue: Who is therefore a Gentleman? He that is well compoised by nature vnto vertue. This onely is to be looked into, otherwise if thou recallest me to antiquitie, no man is not but from thence, before which nothing is. From the first beginning of this world vnto this day, the line of alteration hath deriued vs from noble to villaines. It maketh not a Noble-man to haue his Court full of smooke Images: no man liued for our glory, neither is that which was before vs, ours. The mind maketh the Noble-man, which from how base condition soeuer, ennobleth vs to rise about fortune. Thinke thy selfe therefore that thou art no Roman Knight, but a libertine. Thou mayest attaine this, that thou alone mayest be free amongst libertines. But how sayest thou, if thou distinguish not good and euill by the peoples iudgements? We must regard, not whence they come, but whither they goe. For if there be any thing may make the life happie, it is absolutely good, because it may not be depraved or turned into euill. What is it then wherein we erre? In this, that all who affect a happy life, take the instruments thereof for the thing it selfe; and whilst they seeke the same, flie the same: for whereas solid securitie is the scope of a blessed life, and the vnshaken confidence thereof, they flie from it who gather all that which they can to purchase their owne miserie, and not content to beare their burthens, dragge them along after them thorow the rugged high-way of this life. Thus alwayes reioyle they farre from the effect of that they seeke, and the more labour they employ, the more are they intangled, and carried backward, and so fare they as those that runne in a Labyrinth, their very speed intangleth them.

EPIST. XLV.

*That not many, but good bookes are necessarie to obtaine wisdom. That the ancient
vainly wrote some things superfluous; some subtilly. Then against Cautellers
and mistaking of words. The matter, and the difference thereof is to be sought
for. Who is blessed, and what is truly good?*

THou complainest thee of the want of bookes in those parts where thou dwellest. It skilleth not how many, but how good thou hast; a certain reading profiteth & that which is full of varietie delighteth. He that will attaine to his predestinated scope, let him follow one way, and not wander in many; for this is not to go but to erre. I had rather, sayest thou, that thou gauest me bookes, then counsell, and
for

for mine owne part, I am readie to send thee all those that I have, and to void my whole store; yea, I would transport my selfe vnto those parts, if it were possible, and had I not a hope, that very shortly I should accomplish and let an end to thy endeavor. I had vnderaken the iourney in these mine old yeres, neither might *Charybdis*, *Scylla*, and this fabulous Sea affright me. I had not onely failed, but swomme ouer these Seas, so as I might embrace thee, and being present with thee, estimate, how much thou wert increased in thy courage. And whereas thou desirest that my bookes should be sent vnto thee, I esteeme my selfe no more eloquent for that, then I would account my selfe faire, if so be thou shouldest require my picture of me. I know that this proceedeth from thy opinion of me, and not from thy iudgement, and if it be thy iudgement, thy affection hath abused thee. But whatsoever they be, see thou reade them in such sort, as if I sought the truth, but knew it not, but peremptorily hunted after it. For I haue not securely tied my selfe to any, I beare the name of no man, I ascribe much to the iudgement of great men, and challenge something to my selfe. For they also left vs not things onely found by them, but also those things which remain to be found; and peradventure they had found our things necessarie, had they not sought after the superfluous. The caualation of words, and captious disputations, which exercise a vaine braine, stole much time from them. We weaue knots, and tie ambiguous signification to words, and then dissolve them. Haue we so much leasure? Know we now how to liue, and how to die? Thither with all our minds are we to adresse our selues, where prouision may be taken, that the things themselves may not deceive vs, without spending much labour about words. Why labourst thou so much to shew me the difference betweene these and these words, wherewith no man is euer caught, but when he disputeth? The things themselves deceive vs; discern them: We embrace euill things in stead of good, we will contrary to that we haue wished, our vowes impugne our vowes, our counsels our counsels. How much doth flatterie resemble friendship? It doth not onely imitate the same, but it ouercometh and outstrippeth it: It is received with open and fauourable eares, and descendeth into the inward heart, gracious in that wherein it hurteth. Teach me how I may know this similitude. There comes vnto me, in stead of a friend, a flattering enemy. Vices creepe vpon vs vnder pretext of vertue; temeritie lies hidden vnder the name of fortitude: Moderation is called sloth, a wearie man is accounted fearefull. In these things we erre with great danger; imprint certain notes on these, to make them knowne. But he that is demanded whether he hath hornes, is not so foolish to rubbe his brow; neither againe so foolish and beetle-headed, that he is ignorant that he hath none of those hornes, which thou wouldest perswade him to haue by a subtil collection of arguments. But these deceive without damage; in such manner as the boxes and lots of the iuglers, in which the deceit is delight. Bring to passe that I may vnderstand how it is done, I haue lost the vse. The same say I of these cauellings, for by what more fit name can I call Sophismes? Neither hurt they the ignorant, neither helpe they the vnderstanding: verily if thou wilt take away all ambiguitie of words, teach vs this, that he is not blessed whom the common people teareth so, into whose hands great summes of money are gathered; but he, whose mind is all his goodnesse, who is erect, vpright, high minded, and a contemner of those things which other men wonder at; who seeth no man with whom he would exchange himselfe, which estimateth a man onely in that part wherein he is a man, who vseth Na-

ture

ture as his mistress, and is composed according to her Lawes, and so liueth as she prescribeth. From whom no force can rauish his good, who turneth euill into goodnesse, assured in his iudgement, vnshaken, vndoubted; whom some power moueth, but none perturbeth; whom Fortune, when with her greatest force, hath darted the most dangerous dart the bath against him, pricketh, but woundeth not, and that verie seldome. For all other weapons of hers, wherewith she warreth against mankind, are as the baile which falleth on the house eues, it striketh on them without any incommoitie to the inhabitants of the same, and maketh a noise, and is dissolved. Why detainest thou me in this, that thou thy selfe callest *Pseudomenon*, (that is to say, a lyer) of which so many bookes haue bene written? Behold, all my whole life deceiveth me, reproue thou it, reduce this to truth, if thou art so subtle. See iudgeth those things necessarie, which for the most part are superfluous, and that which seemeth profitable, hath not for thy cause the power to make me happy; for that which is necessarie, is not presently good. We prostitute goodnesse and abuse it, if we attribute that name to bread and cakes, and such like things, without which life cannot be maintained. That which is truly good is necessary, but that which is necessarie is not presently good; for some things are necessarie which are most abiect. There is no man that is so ignorant of the dignitie of goodnesse, which comparably will abuse it with those things that haue their lasting but for a day. What then? Wilt thou not employ thy studie and care to make manifest vnto euery man, and let them see, that with great losse of time a man searcheth for superfluous and vnprofitable things; and that diuers haue ouerpassed their life, in onely employing themselves in seeking out the instruments of life? Looke into euery particular, and consider the whole, there is no mans life, but is aimed at to morrow. Thou askest mee what euill there is herein? Infinite, for they liue not, but are to liue, they deserve all things. Although we were circumspect, yet life would outstrip vs, and now when we are stayed, she commeth and ouergoeth vs, and is ended in the last day, and euery day perisheth. But lest I should exceed the measure of an Epistle, which should not fill a mans left hand in reading, I will deferre this debate with the ouer-subtill Logicians till another time, who onely haue care of speaking, and not of doing.

EPIST. XLVI.

He iudgeth of *LUCIUS* his Booke, and praiseth it.

I Haue received the booke which thou promisedst me, which I opened at first to ouer-read at my leasure, hauing an intention but to run and reade it ouer here and there: But afterwards, it so flattered and tolled me on, that I thought fit to passe further; which how eloquent it is, thou mayest coniecture by this, it seemed short vnto me. For that neither of thy time nor of mine, but at first sight it seemed to be either *Titus Livius*, or *Epicurus*: but with so much sweetnesse it detained and allured me, that without all delay I ouer-read it. The Sunne inuited me, hunger admonished me, the thower threatned me, yet did I reade it ouer, not so much delighted as gladdened. Might I say, What a wit hath this man? What a minde? What abilitie? If he had pawled, if he had risen by degrees.

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degrees. But he would not grow thus vehement, but obseruing a mediocritie, he hath composed a worke both manly and hely, notwithstanding there was a mixture of sweetnesse and grace. Meane while, a man might discover in certaine places thereof a sweet and fluent Style: otherwise, sublime and graue, and this is that which I desire thou shouldest obserue and follow. The matter also is fitting, therefore is it to be chosen fruitfull, that may rauish a mans mind, and excite him. I will write more of thy Booke when I haue re-examined it; but as yet my iudgement is not settled. I seeme but as one that hath heard it, and not ouer-read it. Suffer mee likewise to make inquisition. Thou needest not feare, thou shalt heare the truth. O happie man that thou art, that hast nothing for which a man should lie vnto thee from so farre off, but that (euen where the cause is taken away) we lie for customes sake.

EPIST. XLVII.

That we ought to behaue our selues, and liue with our seruants familiarly. That the error of his age was in their pride and contempt: yet that according to each mans disposition and vertue, that the one and the other are either more freely or severely to be handled.

LHaue willingly vnderstood by those that come from thee, that thou liuest familiarly with thy seruants: This becommeth thy prudence, this is answerable to thy wisdom. Are they thy seruants? nay rather thy companions. Are they thy seruants? nay rather thine humble friends. Are they thy seruants? nay rather thy fellow seruants; if thou remembrest that Fortune hath as much power ouer the one, as ouer the other. I therefore laugh at those that thinke it an abiect and base thing to suppe with their seruants: and why? It is for that a proud custome hath commanded that a troupe of seruants should waite and attend their Master, whilst he late at the Table. This Master is more great then the place he sitteth in; he greedily chargeth his distended belly, and becommeth bound in such sort as he hath a greater labour to empte then to fill his panch; meane while his poore seruants dare not stir their lips to speake. Each murmur is filled by the rod. A cough, a sneeze, a hicket, (which are casuall accidents) are punished with great strokes: a little word that interrupteth silence, is the cause of his great miserie that letteth his tongue at libertie: all night long they stand fasting, and attend silent. So commeth it to passe, that these speake of their Lord in his absence, who in his presence haue no libertie to discourse. But they who had not onely libertie to speake before their Masters, but to conferre with them, whose mouth was not sewed vp: were ready to hazard their heads for them, and turne their imminent perill on their owne neckes. At the banquetts they spake, but in their toiments they were silent. Finally, this arrogance hath giuen way to a common Prouerbe, which saith, That as many seruants we haue, so many enemies. We haue them not our enemies, but we make them. I take not our other cruelties and inhumanities, how in stead of seruing vs like men as they are, we abuse them as if they were beasts: being set at the Table, one wipeth away our spittings, and other crouching vnder the Table, gathereth the reliques of the drunkards: another cutteth

cutteth vp the dearest fowle, and conueying his cunning hand thorow their brealls and hinder parts, in certaine conceits of caruing, cuts them in peeces: vnhappy he that liueth to this one thing, to cut vp wild-fowle decently: except for that we ought to suppose him more miserable, that for voluptuousnesse sake teacheth this, then he that learneth it for necessitie. Another skinning the Wine, attired after woman-like fashion, striueth with age: he cannot flee childhood, yet is he drawne backe, and now sweet faced, his haire either shauen or pulled vp by the rootes, in his martiall habite attendeth and watcheth he all night, which he diuideth betwixt his Lords drunkennesse and lust; and in the Chamber from it is a man, and at the banquet a boy. Another, he to whom the censure of the ghueits is permitted, attendeth (vnhappy as hee is) and expecteth those, whom flattery or the intemperance either of their mouthes or tongues recalleth the next day. Adde to these, the Caterers, who haue a certaine and subtle knowledge of their Lords best liking; who know the fauour of that meat, they hold best pleasing to their appetite: what most affecteth their eye, what meat will quicken their loathing stomackes, what he loatheth in his fulnesse, what he longeth for that verie day. With these hee cannot abide to sup, and thinketh it a diminution of his Maiestie, to sit downe at the same Table with his seruant. The Lords of this world haue demeaned themselves better, who of their slaues haue made their Masters. I saw *Callistus* Master attend at his doore, and him excluded amongst many that entered, who had set him a seruile schedule on his breast to be sold, and had brought him forth to sale amongst his most ridiculous and abiect slaues. That verie slaue of his did him fauour, who was by his set to sale amongst the most abiect first ranke, fruitlesly prostituted by the Crier, basely made vendible by the master, yea he him selfe thought him vnworthie of his house. The Lord sold *Callistus*: but how many things did *Callistus* sell to his Master? Wilt thou thinke, that he whom thou termest thy slaue, was borne of the same seed, enioyeth the same aire, equally breatheth, liueth and dieth as thou shalt? Thou mayest see him as noble, as he thee seruile. How many men did Fortune depress in the Marian slaughter, of noble birth, and such as after being thrice Tribunes were in election to be Senators? One of those she made a shepheard, another the keeper of a Cottage. Contemne not the man of that fortune, into which thou mayest be transferred, whilst thou contemnest. I wil not intrude my selfe into a large field of discourse, and dispute of the vse of seruants, in respect of whom we are most cruell, proud, and consumelious: yet is this the summe of my precept. So liue with thine inferiour, as thou wouldest thy superiour would liue with thee. As often as thou bethinkst thy selfe what power thou hast ouer thy seruant, bethinke thy selfe that so much power thy Master hath ouer thee. But I, sayest thou, haue no Master: the better thy fortune, happily thou shalt haue. Knowest thou not in what yeares *Hecuba* began to serue, in what time *Craesus*, in what time *Darius* mother, in what time *Plato*, in what time *Diogenes*? Liue with thy seruant kindly and courteously, vouchsafe him conference, admit him to counsaile, and conuersation with thee. In this place the whole troupe of these nice companions will crie out at me: There is nothing more base, nothing more abiect then this. These verie same men will I find kissing the hand of other mens slaues. See you not, that likewise how by this meanes our ancestors withdrew all enuie from the Masters, all contumely from the seruants? They called the Master the father of the household, the seruants (which as yet continueth amongst the Mimicks) his familiars. They in-

stituted a holy day, wherein not onely the masters feasted with their seruants, but wherein, beside that, they permitted them to beare honor in their house, and to giue sentence and iudgement; in briebe, they esteemed their house to be a little Common-weale. What then? Shall I let all my seruants at my Table? as well all my children. Thou errest, if thou thinkest that I will reject some of them, as destinated to a more seruile office, as that Muliter, and that Cow keeper, I will not measure them by their offices, but by their manners. Each one giueth himselfe manners, casualtie assigneth him ministeries. Let some of them sup with thee, because they are worthie, some that they may be worthie. For if any thing be seruile in them, by reason of their fordid conuersation, their liuing and conuersing with those that are better nurtured will shake it off. Thou art not, my *Lucilius*, onely to seeke thy friend in the Market-place, and in the Court, if thou diligently attend, thou shalt find him in thy house also. Oftentimes a good matter is without vs without the worke-man; trie and make experiment. Euen as he is a foole, who hauing a horse to buy, looketh not on him, but on his Furniture and Bit; so is he most fond, that esteemeth a man, either by his garment, or by his condition, which is wrapped about vs after the manner of a garment. Is he a seruant? But haply a free-man in minde. Is he a seruant? Shall this hurt him? Shew one that is not. One serueth his Lust, another his Auarice, another Ambition, another Feare. I will shew you a man that hath bene Consul, seruing an old woman. I will let you see a rich-man seruing a poore maid: I will shew you the noblest young men, the verie bond-slaves of Players. There is no seruitude more foule, then that which is voluntarie. For which cause, thou hast no reason that these disdainefull fellows should deterre thee from shewing thy selfe affable to thy seruants, and not proudly superiour. Let them rather honour thee, then feare thee. Some man new will say, that I call seruants to libertie, and cast downe masters from their dignitie, because I say that masters ought more to be beloued then feared. Must they onely yeeld reuerence, as if they were vassals or saluters? Hee that shall speake thus, remembreth not that such Masters are discontented with that which contenteth God who is worshipped and loued. Loue cannot be mingled with feare. I therefore thinke, that thou doest most vprightly, if thou wilt not be feared by thy seruants, that thou vnest the chastisement of words. Such as are dumbe are admonished by stripes: euery thing that offendeth vs, hurteth vs not. But daintinesse compelleth vs to outrage, so that whatsoever is not answerable to our will, provoketh vs to wrath. Wee put vpon vs the mindes of Kings, for they also forgetful of their own strength, and other mens imbecillity, are so incensed, so wrathfull, as if they had receiued an iniurie, from the perill of which thing, the greatnesse of their fortune secureth them most; neither are they ignorant hereof, but they take occasion of hurting by seeking it; they receiued an iniurie, that they might doe wrong. I will not detain thee longer, for thou hast no need of exhortation. Good manners haue this amongst other things, they please themselves and continue. Malice is light, and is often changed, not to the better, but to another thing.

EPIST.

EPIST. XLVIII.

That the same things are expedient for friends, and that the one is profitable to the other. Then against captious cauits and difficult follies: What doe you? What play you? The question is of life. Assist and forme it. Of fortune. Against her giue defence.

I will answer the Letter which thou sendst me in the way, which hath continued as long as the way it self. I must recreate my self, and looke about me what I counsaile. And since thou also who counselest me, diddest bethinke thee long, whether thou shouldst counsaile; how much more ought I to doe the like, where-as a longer respite is requitt to resolute and answer, then to propound the question? since thou hast need of one thing, and I of another, I will once more speake like *Epicurus*. But to me the same is expedient that to thee, else am I not thy friend, except whatsoever is done that concerneth thee, bee mine. Friendship maketh a mutuall interchange of all things betwene vs, neither hath any one of vs in particular a felicitie or aduersitie, but they are communicable to both. Neither can any man liue happily who onely respecteth himselfe, who conuerteth all things to his owne profits; Thou must liue vnto another, if thou wilt liue vnto thy selfe. This societie ought both diligently and religiously to be obserued, which intermixeth all of vs one with another, and the weath that there is some common right of humane race. It aualeth verie much also to perfit that interior societie of friendship, of which I spake. For he shall haue all things in common with his friend, that hath many things common with man. This would I haue taught me (*O Lucilius*, the best of men) by those subtill Sophisters, what I ought to performe vnto my friend, what vnto a man; then after how many manners a friend may be called, and how many this word Man signifieth. Behold, wisdom and folly are separated diuerfly, to which doe I incline? to which part wilt thou me to goe? To this Stoicke a man is a friend, to that Epicure a friend is not for a man: he getteth a friend for himselfe; this other, himselfe for a friend. Thou wredest my words, and distinguishest syllables. Verily, except I compose idle Interrogations, and by a false conclusion deriued from truth, I write a lie, I cannot distinguish those things that are to be desired from such as are to be eschued. I am ashamed. In so serious a thing as this, though old, yet we trifle. Moufe is a syllable; but Moufe gnaweth the Cheefe, *Ergo*, a syllable gnaweth the Cheefe. Thinke now that I cannot resolute this doubt, what damage should this ignorance of mine do me? What discommoditie? Doubtlesse it is to be feared, lest at sometimes I should catch the syllables in my Moufe-trap, or that haply if I should become negligent, my Booke should eate the Cheefe: vnlesse haply that collection is more acute; Moufe is a syllable, but the syllable gnaweth not the Cheefe; the Moufe therefore gnaweth not the Cheefe. O childish triflings! Haue we for this cause humbled our browes? For this cause haue we lengthened our beards? Is it this we teach both sad and pale? Wilt thou know what Philosophie promisseth to humane kind? It is counsaile. One man, death calleth; another, povertie burneth; another man, either his owne or other mens riches torment; This man is afraid and terrified at euill fortune, that man would withdraw himselfe, and escape his felicitie; this man disliketh men,

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that man the gods: Why proposelt thou vnto mee these toys? There is no place of ielling; the miserable craue thy assistance. Thou hast promised that thou wilt helpe such as are ship-wrackt, captiue, poore, such as sub eēt their heads to axe and blocke: whither art thou diuerted? what doest thou? The very man with whom thou iestest is a raide. Yeeld succours, whatsoever thou art more indued with cloquence, to the paines of such as perill. All of them, on euerie side lift vp their hands vnto thee, and implore some helpe in their perilled and decaying life; in thee is the hope, in thee the means. They beseech thee to draw them out of so great turmoyle, that thou wouldest leue them that are scattered and wandering the cleere light of truth. Shew what Nature hath made necessarie, what superfluous, what easie Lawes she hath established: How pleasant and expedite the life of those men is that follow them, how bitter and implicate theirs is, that haue beleueed opinion more then truth. What extinguisheth these mens desires? What temperateth them? Would to God they did but only not profit. They hurt. This will I make manifest vnto thee when thou wilt, that a generous spirit is broken and weakened, being puzled with these subtilties. I am alhamed to tell, what weapons they lend to those that are to warre against fortune, and how they suborne them. This is the way, say they, to the chiefest good; this Philosophicall way hath darksome, loathsome, and infamous lodgings, especially for those that are but young Students: for what else do you, when as wittingly you entangle him whom you aske, then that he might seeme to be non-suited? but euen as the Prejor wholly restoreth the one, so doth Philosophie these. Why faile you in your great promises? and hauing promised mountaines, that you will bring to passe that the shining and brightnesse of gold shall no more daze mine eyes, then that of the sword: that with great constancie I should contemne & spurne at, both that which all men wish, and that which all men feare, descend you to the elements of the Grammarian? What say you, is this the way to eternitie? For this is it that Philosophie promisseth me, to make me like to God. To this I am inuited, to this end I came, performe thy promise. As much as thou maist therefore, my *Lucilius*, reduce thy selfe from these exceptions and prescriptions of the Philosophers. Open and simple things become honeste and goodnesse. Although a better part of life were yet to be spent, yet must it now bee sparingly dispensed, that it may suffice for necessities; now what madnesse is it to learne such vnnecessary things in so great scantling of time?

EPIST. XLIX.

That by the sight of a house called POMPEY, the memorie of his LUCILIUS was renewed in him. Of the shortnesse and swiftnesse of time, that nothing is long or old in it. By the way against the Logicians, and that all that sort are onely to be looked on.



Ee truly, my *Lucilius*, is idle and negligent, who had need of aduertisement from some Countrey to reduce his friend to his memorie: notwithstanding it often times cometh to passe, that certaine more accustomed places awaken the friendship which is hidden in our hearts, and in stead of extinguishing the memorie, awaken, and refresh it; euen as the griefe of those that mourne, although

though for a time it be mitigated, either the familiar admissiō of a seruant, or a garment, or the house reneweth the same. Thou canst not beleue how much the Territorie and Citie of *Naples*, where I haue scene thy Palace, hath imprinted in my heart a new desire to be with thee. Thou art wholly before mine eyes, euen then when I am most separated from thee. I see thee supping vp thy teares, and insufficiently resisting thy affections, breaking forth in their restraint. And now seeme I to haue lost thee; for what is not present, if thou remembrest? Not long since I conuerfed being a child, with *Sotion* the Philosopher; anon after, I began to plaide causes; not long after, I desisted from being willing to wrangle in them: now giue I ouer to haue power to follow them. Infinite is the swiftnesse of time, which appeareth most to those that look back: for to those that intend the present, it deceiveth them, so light is the passage of his headlong flight. Dost thou demand the cause hereof? Whatsoeuer time is past is in the same place, it is beheld at once, and at once is extinguished, and all things from thence fall into the depth, and otherwise there cannot be long spaces in that thing which is wholly short. It is but a point that we liue, and as yet lesse then a point; yet Nature hath diuided this least vnder a certaine kind of longer space. Of this point she made one part infancy, another childhood, another youth, another a certaine inclination from youth to age, another age it selfe. How many degrees hath she placed in one point? Thou hast out-stripped me in one point, and notwithstanding a great part of our life is inclosed in this point; let vs thinke that the short end of the same will follow. The time was not wont to seeme so swift vnto me: now doth the course thereof appeare incredible, either because I perceiue the end at hand, or for that I haue begun to conceiue and summe vp my losse. And the more am I vexed, because I see some lauish the greater part of this time in vanities, which scarcely can suffice for necessities, although it were kept verie diligently. *Cicero* denieth, that if his age were doubled, he should haue time enough to reade the *Lyriques*; and in like sort the *Logicians*. They are bitterly foolish. These play the professed wantons: they thinke that they doe somewhat. Neither denie I but these may be looked into, but that they are onely to be looked into, and slightly ouer-past, to this onely intent, lest we should be deceived, and that we should iudge that there is some great and secret good in them. Why dost thou torment and macerate thy selfe about that question, which it is more policie to contemne then satisfie? It is the worke of a carelesse man, and such a one as ereth from his profit to make search after trifles. When the enemy is hard at our heeles, and the souldier is commanded to march, necessitie shaketh off all that which idle peace had recollected. I haue no leisure to affect these equiuocating words, and make triall of my craft in them.

*Behold what armies march, what walls,
What warre with closed gates.*

This noise of warre sounding on euerie side, is to be heard by me with a mightie courage. I should worthily be accounted mad in all mens eyes, if when as both old men and women gathered and brought stones to fortifie the Rampire, when as the yong men being armed within the gates, expected or required a summons to fall, when the enemies armes were at the ports, & the very ground did shake with Mines, if I should sit idle and employ my time in such like questions: That which thou hast not lost thou hast; thou hast not lost thy

horne, *Ergo*, thou hast hornes, and such like, fashioned according to the tenor of this acute madnesse. But thou mightest iustly repute me for a foole, if I should lose my time in such like exercises. I am now besieged. In the siege of a Towne, the danger would be externall, a rampire should be betweene mee and the enemy, but at this present the perill of death is within me. Now haue I no leasure to thinke vpon these toyes. There is a weightie businesse in hand. What shall I doe? Death followeth me, life flieth. Againe these, teach mee somewhat, teach me the meanes how I may not flie death, and how I may not runne after life; exhort me to constancie in the middelt of confusions; make way vnto my dayes to traueise that from whence I cannot escape. Teach me that the good of life consisteth not in the space thereof, but in the vse; and that it may be, yea, that it often falleth out, that he who hath liued longest, hath liued a little or nothing. Tell mee when I lye downe to rest, it may be thou shalt not wake. Tell me when I am awake, it may be thou shalt not sleepe any more. Tell me when I goe forth of doores, it may be thou canst not returne. Tell me when I returne, it may be thou canst not goe out againe. Thou art deceiued, if thou thinkest that there is but three fingers betweene death and life, to them only who haue the seas: in all places of the world, death and life are not farre asunder. Every where death shewes not himselfe so high, yet euery where is hee as high. Shake off these clouds of error, and thou shalt more easily discouer those things, to which I am prepared. Nature bred vs docible, and gaue vs imperfect reason, yet such as may be perfected. Dispute with mee of Iustice and pietie, of frugallie, of both sorts of modestie, both of that that can abstaine from anothers bodie, and this that hath care of his owne: if thou wilt not leade me the indirect way, I shall more easily attaine to that I affect. For as that tragicke Poet saith, *The speech of truth is simple*: and therefore we must not implicate the same: for nothing is lesse conuenient then is this subtiltie, to those minds that labour after great matters.

EPIST. L.

That we are blind in vices, or that we seeke a cloake for them. Yet that they are to be acknowledged, and that the remedies are to be sought for; whence otherwise is the health of the mind deriued, which may likewise happen, euen to the most inueterate vices, because he is easie to be bent, and Nature stieeth vnto goodnesse.

Received the Epistle which thou sentest me, after many months. I thought it therefore an idle thing to enquire of him that brought the same, what thou didst. For it is a signe of a good memorie, if he remembereth, & yet hope I that for the present thou liuest so, that where soeuer thou art, I know what thou diddest. For what other thing shouldst thou doe, then that daily thou shouldst better thy selfe, that thou shouldst lay aside some one of thine errors, that thou mayest vnderstand that they are thine owne follies, that thou thinkest to be forraine? Some things ascribe we to places and times, but they, whither soeuer we transport our selues will follow vs. Thou knowest, *Harpaste*, my wines foole; thou knowest that she remained in my house as an hereditarie burthen. For I am

much

much distastd and disgusted with those prodigies. If at any time I wil take pleasure in a foole, I need not seeke farre off, I find sufficient matter to laugh at in my selfe. This Foole suddenly lost her eyesight. I tell thee an incredible matter, but yet true: she knoweth not that she is blind, oftentimes the prayeth her Gouvernour to giue her leaue to waile abroad, shee saith the House is darke. This that seemeth ridiculous vnto vs in her, take thou notice, that it happeneth vnto vs all: no man vnderstandeth that he is couetous, no man that hee is auaritious; yet doe the blind seeke a guide, but wee erre without a guide, and say: I am not ambitious, but no man can otherwise liue in Rome. I am not sumptuous, but the Citie it selfe requires great expence. It is not my fault, that I am wrathfull, that as yet I haue not settled my selfe in a certaine course of life; it is youth that causeth this: Why deceiue we our selues? our euill is not extrinsecall, it is within vs, and is settled in our entrailes. And therefore doe wee hardly recouer health, because we know not that we are sicke; if we haue but begunne our cure, when shall wee shake off so many plagues and sicknesses? But now scarce seeke wee for the Physician, who should spend lesse time and labour, if he were counsell'd vpon the beginning of the disease. Tender and rude minds would follow him, directing them straight. No man is hardly reduced vnto Nature, but hee that hath revolted from her. Wee are ashamed to learne a good mind, yet vndoubtedly it is a shamefull thing to seeke a Master in this matter. That is to bee despair'd, that so much good may casually befall vs: wee must take paines, and (to speake vprightly) the labour is not great: if, as I said, wee beginne to conformance and recorrect our mindes, before they bee confirmed in wickednesse. Yet despair I not of those that are indurate. There is nothing that industrious labour and intent, and diligent care cannot compass and impugne. Thou mayest straighten the stiffest Oakes, although crooked; heate straighten crooked beames, and such as are otherwise fashioned by Nature, are applyed to that which our vse exacteth. How far more easily doth the mind receiue a forme being flexible and pliant to any humor? For what other thing is the mind, then after a certaine manner a spirit. But you see that a spirit is by so much more facile then any other matter, by how much hee is more thinn and delicate. That my *Lucilius*, hath no reason to hinder thee from hoping well of vs, because malice alreadie hath hold of vs, that of long time it hath harboured with vs. To no man comes a good mind before an euil. We are al preoccupied in learning vertues, and forgetting vices: but therefore the more ardently must we endeavour our amendment, because the possession of a good once imparted to vs, is perpetuall; vertue is not forgotten. For the cogitative euils haue a forcaine dependance, and therefore may be expelled and excluded; they are surely settled that succed in their place. Vertue is according to Nature, vices are our enemies & infectors. But euen as receiued vertues cannot easily be dispossessed, and their conseruation is easie: so is the beginning to obtaine and aime at them very difficult, because this especially is the signe of a weak and sicke mind, to feare things vnattempted. Therefore is the minde to be enforced, that it may beginne: moreover the Medicine is not bitter for it quickly delighteth, while it healeth. Of other remedies, there is a certaine pleasure after health: Philosophy is both wholesome and pleasing.

EPIST.

EPIST. LI.

Somewhat of Etna, and more of Baia. And upon this occasion he inveiyeth against such as are effeminated, and given over to their pleasure. That this is to be driven from vs, and that we are to warfare : against whom? against Pleasure, Paine, and others. That he who doth so, doth good in serious and holy places, annoyeth lascivious things, or such as are soe delightfull.

Ere each one dispose himselfe as he can, my *Lucilius*, thou hast on that side Etna that famous Mountain of Sicily, which why *Messala* called the onely Mountain, or *Valgius* (for in both of them haue I read thereof) I find not : when as many places vomit out fire, not only such as are high, (which oftentimes happeneth, because that fire mounteth vpwards, but also such as are low. We, howsoever we may, are content with *Baia*, which the very next day after I had visited, I forsooke; a place for this cause to be avoided, although that it hath certaine naturall endowments, because superfluitie hath made choice thereof her selfe, to celebrate the same. What then? Is there any place to be hated? No, but euen as some garment is more decent and comely for a wife and good man, then another, neither hateth he any colour, but thinketh one more fit for him that professeth frugality: so is there a region, which a wife man, or one that tendeth to wisdom, declineth, as if changed from good manners. I thinking therefore of his retirement, he will neuer make choice of *Canopus*, although *Canopus* hinder no man from being frugal. Neither *Baia* likewise; they are begun to be the hostrie of vices. There Luxurie permitteth her self very much, there as if a certain libertie were due vnto the place, men more grow dissolute. It behooueth vs to chuse a place, not onely healthfull for our bodies, but for our manners. Euen as I would not dwell amongst Hangmen & Torturers, so would I not liue amongst Vintuallling-houses. What needeth it to see Drunkards reeling vp and downe the shore, and the Banquets of such as saile, and the Lakes reckoning the content of Songs, and other things, which lasciuiousnesse (as if freed from all restraint) not onely sinneth in, but publisheth? This ought we to doe, that wee flye farre from the prouocations of vices. The minde is to bee confirmed, and abstracted farre from the allurements of pleasures. One onely Winter weakned *Hannibal*, and the delicacies of *Campania* effeminated that man, whom neither Snowes nor Alpes could otherwise vanquish: He conquered in armes, hee was conquered by vices. We must likewise play the Souldiers, and in such a kind of seruice as neuer affordeth vs rest, or euer giueth vs leasure. Vices in especiall are to be conquered, which (as you see) haue drawne the fiercest and cruellst wits vnto them. If a man propose vnto himselfe, what a taske he hath vndergone, he shall know that nothing is to be done delicately or effeminately. What haue I to doe with those hote Pooles, with those fumes in which a dry vapour is included to waste our bodies? Let all sweat breake forth by labour: If we should doe as *Hannibal* did, that interrupting the course of affaires, and neglecting warre, we should employ our selues in nourishing our bodies, there is no man but might iustly reprehend our vnseasonable sloth, not onely dangerous for the Conquerour, but for the conquered also. Lesse is permitted vs, then those that followed the Carthaginian warres, more danger impendeth ouer our heads, if we giue way, worse also if we perseuere. Fortune vrgeth war

with

with me, I will not obey her, I receiue not her yoaake, nay more (which with greater courage I ought to accomplishe) I shake it off. The minde is not to bee mollified. If I giue place to pleasure, I must be subiect to griefe, slave to labour, seruant to pouertie; both ambition and wrath will haue the same priuiledge ouer me: amongst so many vices I shall be distracted, or rather dismembred. Libertie is proposed: for this reward doe we labour. Thou askest me what libertie is? To serue nothing, no necessitie, no fortunes; to keepe Fortune at staires end. That day I vnderstand my selfe, that I can more then she may, she can nothing. Shall I suffer her when as death is at hand? To him that intendeth these thoughts, retirement both serious and sanctified, ought to be sought for and chosen. A place of two much pleasure effeminateth the mind, and vndoubtedly the Countrey may doe some what to corrupt the vigor. Those cattell easily trauell in any way, whose hooves are hardened on the craggie wayes: such as are bred in the rotten and foggie Pastures, are quickly wearied. The Souldier exercised on the Mountaynes, returneth more hardy; the Citizen and home-bred is recreant. Those hands refuse no labour that are transferred from the Plough to the Pike. The anointed and nice Souldier endureth not the first shock. The severer discipline of the place firmeth the courage, and maketh it more apt to attempts. *Scipio* was more honestly a banished man at Linternum then at Bayas. His ruine is not to bee planted in so effeminate a place. And they also to whom at first, and in especiall the fortune of the Romane people translated the publike Riches, *Caius Marius*, *Cneius Pompey*, and *Cesar*, builded certaine Mannor-houses in the Region of Bayas, but they planted them on the tops of the highest Mountaines. This seemed more warlike, from an eminent place to behold the low Countrey farre and neare. Behold what situation they chose, in what places, and what they builded; and thou shalt know that they were rather camping places, then houses of pleasure. Thinkest thou *Cato* would euer dwell in Vicia, to the end he might number the Adulterers that saild by him, and to behold so many kinds of Boats painted with diuers colours, and the Roses floating ouer the whole Lake, that he might heare the night-brawles of such as sing? Had he not rather bene within his Trench, which in one nights space he had digged, and caused to be inclosed, why should it not better please him? Whosoever is a man had rather be awakened from sleepe by the Trumpet, then a melodie or concert of voyces. But long enough haue wee contended about Bayas, but neuer enough with vices, which I beseech thee my *Lucilius*, persecute beyond measure, and without end; for neither haue they end or measure. Cast from thee whatsoever tormenteth thy heart, which it they could not bee drawne out otherwise, thy heart were to be pulled out with them. Especially driue from thee pleasures, and hold them in greatest hatred, after the manner of those theenes whom the Egyptians call *Philetæ*; to this end they kisse vs, that they may kill vs.

EPIST.

EPIST. LII.

That we are vncertaine in the truth, and haue need of helpe and direction. But that some are more easily guided and formed; then other some according to their nature. But to the intent that thou mayest be formed, make thy choyce out of the ancient, and the present. Yet flie prailers, ambitious, and such as affect applaus.



What is that, say *Lucilius*, that draweth vs one way when we intend another, and forceth vs thither, from whence we desire to flie? What is that which wraileth with our mind, and permitteth vs not to will any thing once? We wauer twixt diuers counsailes, we will nothing freely, nothing absolutely, nothing alwaies. It is but folly (sayst thou) to be constant in nothing, and not long pleased with any thing. But how, or when shall we withdraw our selues from the same? No man is able to accomplish it of himselfe; some man must lend a helping hand, some one must bring vs out. Some (saith *Epicurus*) attaine vnto truth without any mans helpe, and haue made their owne way thereto. These prayseth he most, who aduanced themselves, and animated themselves; and faith, that there are others who had need of another mans helpe, who goe not except some one marche before them; but that they willingly follow. Of this sort he accounteth *Metrodorus*. Such a spirit is excellent, but yet of the second ranke. We are not of the first number, it sufficeth vs if we be receiued into the second ranke: neyther concerne thou that man that may be saued by another mans meanes; for it is a very great matter to haue a will to be saued. Besides these, as yet thou shalt find another sort of men, and they not to be contemned, namely, they that may be enforced and compelled to the right, who haue not only need of a guide, but a helper, or to speake more properly, a compeller. This is the third kind. If thou seeke an example hereof; *Epicurus* saith, that *Hermachus* was such a one; therefore gratulateth he more the one, and admireth the other. For although both of them obtained one and the same end, yet the praise is greater, to haue performed the same in a more difficult matter. Suppose that a man hath builded two houses, both equall, alike high and magnificent, the one of them planted on a firme foundation, whereon the worke is suddenly raised, the other on an vncertaine and false ground, where we ought to digge deepe, and employ infinite paines before we light on firme land. In the one, all appeareth in sight, that hath bene builded: in the other, the better and more difficult part is hidden. Some wits are facile and expedite, some are (as they say) to be fashioned by the hand, and to be laid hold and wreught vpon in their foundation: therefore account I him more happy, that hath had no businesse with himselfe, and him likewise to haue deferred best of himselfe, that hath overcome the malignitie of his nature, and hath not ledde himselfe, but forcibly drawne himselfe to wisdom. Thou must know that this hard and troublesome trauell is forced on vs. We trauell a way full of dangers: Let vs therefore combate and call for assistance. Whom sayest thou shalt I call vpon, that, or this man? For thine owne part, I counsaile thee to returne vnto the first, that haue now no more to doe: for not onely they of this time, but those that haue bene our predecessors may assist vs. And amongst those that liue, let vs chuse, not them that diuide and precipitate

tate many words with great volubilitie, and turne ouer common places, and that in priuate hath subtilties: but those whose liues are our instructions, who when they haue told vs what is to be done, approue the same by their actions; who teach that which is to be eschued, and are neuer surprisid or found guilty in doing that, which they haue forbidden to be done. Chuse him for thine assistant, whom thou admirest more when thou seest him, then when thou hearest him: neither therefore forbid I thee to heare them likewise, whose custom it is to admit the people, and to dispute, if so be they expose themselves to communitie to this intent, that they may amend themselves, and make others the better, provided they exercise not this for ambition sake. For what is more base then Philosophie, that searcheth the fauours and acclamations of the people? Dost the sicke man praise the Physitian that launceth him? Be silent, sit still, and suffer your selfe to be cured. Although you yeeld me acclamations of honor, I will not other wise heare you, then if you sigh at the touch of your iins. Will you haue it testified, that you are attentiu, and are moved with the greatness of things? You haue free libertie; why should I not permit you to iudge, and giue your voyce to that which you thinke best? Vnder *Pythagoras*, his Schollers remained five yeares without speaking: I thinke thou that it was lawfull for them incontinently after to speake and praise? But how great is his folly, whom the applauses of the ignorant dismissh with ioyfullnesse out of the auditorie? Why art thou glad, because thou art praised by those men, whom thou thy selfe canst not praise? *Fabianus* declayned before the people, but he was heard with modestie. Sometimes a great acclamation was raised of those that praised him; but such as the greatnesse of the things prouoked, and not the sound of a discourse smoothed and fluent. There is some difference betwix the applause of a Theater, and of the Schooles. There is some libertie also in praying. There are alwaies some markes and signes of those things that are discouered. And a man may likewise gather an argument of anothers manners, even in the slightest things. The gate, the carriage of the hand, and sometimes one onely answer, or the finger dallying with the hand, or the bent of the eye, discouereth the impudencie of a man. A man knoweth a wicked man by his laughter, and a mad-man by his countenance and habite. For these things are outwardly shewed by certaine signes. Thou shalt know what euerie one is, if thou consider how he is praised. On euery side the auditor applaudeth the Philosopher with his clapping, and all this troupe that admireth him, sitteth about his head; now is not this man praised, if thou vnderstandest it, but that is onely an acclamation. Let these applauses be referred to those arts that haue a purpose to please the people, let Philosophie be adored. A man may giue sometimes leaue to young men to vse this heat of spirit, but they will doe this out of violence of their spirits, when they cannot command themselves lience. This manner of praise serueth sometimes for some exhortation to the auditors, and animateth the minds of yong men. But better were it they should be moved with matter, then with painted words. Otherwise, eloquence would but endanger them, if it should rather procure a desire of it selfe then of matter. I will speake no more for the present: for it desireth a proper and long discourse and execution, to know how a matter is to be handled before the people, what is permitted him by them, what them by him. It is not to be doubted, but that Philosophie hath lost much of her lustre, after it is thus prostituted; but she may be shewed in her most retired abode, if so be shee be managed by a wise-man, and not by a Sophist.

EPIST. LIII.

He describeth his Navigation and toying on the Seas; By occasion that wee are tossed in our lues, but that verie few know and confesse their owne faults. Philosophie will teach and excite. Let vs gine our selues vnto it, shew will make vs equal with God.

WHat cannot I be perswaded vnto, who haue beene perswaded to failer? I set saile in a calme Sea, yet vndoubtedly the skie was ouer-charged with darke cloudes, which for the most part eyther are resolued into water, or into winde. But I thought that so few miles, betwixt thy *Parthenope* to *Puteoli* might easily and quickly be cutouer, although the skie were doubtfull and dangerous. To the end therefore that I might more swiftly finish my iourney, I put out forth with to sea, and shaped my course for *Nesida*, without accosting the shores: when I had passed so farre already, that I cared not whether I went forward or returned, first, that equalitie of heauen that perswaded me to saile, was ouer-blowne; as yet it was no tempest, yet began the Sea to rise, and the surges to swell and beat one another. Then began I to require the Maister to let mee on some shoare. But hee told me, that the shores of the sea were dangerous, and vnfit to land at, & that he feared nothing more in a tempest then to beare vp for land; yet was I so tormented, that I remembered not my selfe of any danger: for a certaine languishing desire to vomit, that prouoked but preuailed mee nothing in emptying my stomacke, pained me infinitely, which stirred but voyded not choller. I therefore importuned the Maister so, that wil he nill he, I compelled him to beare for the shoare; whereto when we somewhat neered, I expected not to doe any thing that *Virgil* commandeth, that the Prow of the Ship should be turned towards the shore, or that the anchor should be let slip into the sea; but remembering my selfe of that I was accustomed to doe, I cast my selfe into the water, covered in a rough mantle, as they are wont who wath themselves in cold water. What thinkst thou I suffered, whilst I strue to escape those perils, whilst I seek, whilst I make a way thorow these dangers? I vnderstand, and that vpon good ground, why the Mariners feared the land. They are incredible things that I suffered, considering that I could not support my selfe. Learne this of me, that *Vlysses* had neuer the sea so much his enemy, although he were daily & in all places in danger of shipwracke, because he vomited easily. But I had need of twice so many yerres more then he to finish a voyage by sea; if I should vndertake it. As soone as I had recovered my stomack (for thou knowest well that in leauing the Sea, a man loseth his desire to vomit) and for my recreation had annointed my bodie, I began to berinke my selfe, how great forgetfulness of our finnes followed vs, not onely of vices, which because they are more great, keepe themselves hidden, but also of the vices of the bodie, which at all times draw vs into remembrance of them. A light alteration may well deceiue some one man; but when it is augmented and groweth to be a burning Feuer, it causeth the most strong and endure perforce to submit himselfe. Our feet paine vs, the ioynts feeble some little shooings; we dissemble as yet, and say that it is some straine, or that we haue tired our selues too much in doing some exercise. We are much troubled what to call our infirmities, which is not as yet knowne, but when it beginneth to swell vp our ankles, we are enforced to say it is the gowt. It salseth out farre otherwise, in regard of those sicknesses which seize our soules

For.

For the more that any one is sicke, the lesse sensible is he of the same. Thou must not wonder deare *Lucilius* heret: for hee that slumbreth slightly, and dreameth in some sort during his repose: sometimes in his sleeping thinketh that he sleepeth; but a profound sleepe extinguisht Dreames also, and drowneth the mind more deeply, then that it permitte the same to make vse of any her intellectuall faculties. Why doth no man confesse his faults? Because hee is as yet plunged in the same. It is the part of one that is awake to shew his dreame, and it is a signe of amends for a man to confesse his faults. Let vs awake therefore, to the end we may blame and correct our errorrs. But onely Philosophie must quicken vs, the only must shake off our heauie sleepe. To her only dedicate thy selfe, thou art worthy of her, and shee worthy of thee; embrace ye on another, deny thy selfe constantly, stoutly and openly to all other things. Thou canst not Philosophie vpon credit. If thou wert sicke thou wouldst giue ouer the care of thy whole Family, and neglect thy forreine businesse; there is no friend so deare vnto thee, whose cause thou wouldst desire to plead; all thy care and cost should be to recover thy health speedily. What then, wilt thou not now doe the like? Lay aside all impediments, and thinke on nothing, but how to make thy soule more perfect; no man commeth vnto her that is occupied or distracted. Philosophie vseth Soueraigne Power as a King, she giueth time, and taketh it not: she is no secondary care, but will be serued seriously; shee is a Mistress, she is present and commandeth. When as the inhabitants of a Citie presented vnto *Alexander* a part of their Lands, and the halfe of all their goods: I am come, saith he, into Asia with this resolution, not to take that which you will giue mee, but that you should enioy nothing else, but what I leaue you. Philosophie vseth the like authoritie in all things. I will not, saith she, accept that time that you haue to come, or haue referued contrariwise: you shall haue none, but which I will giue you. Address thy minde wholly hither, be alwayes neere vnto her, giue her all the honour thou canst; there will be a great difference betwixt thee and others. Thou shalt farre exceed all mortall men, and the gods shall but very little surpasse thee. Wilt thou know what difference there is betwixt them and thee? They shall continue more long. But truly it is the act of a good Worke-man to include the whole in a little. A wise-man is as content with the space of his life, as God is of all the time of his eternitie. Some thing there is wherein a Wiseman exceedeth God; Hee is wise but by the goodnesse of his nature, and the Wiseman by his owne industrie. Behold a marvellous thing to haue the frailtie of a man; and the securitie of a God. Incredible is the force of Philosophie, to repell all the forces of Fortune. There are some sorts of Armes that can conquer her. Shee is covered with thick and massie Armour: she wearieth some things that combat her, and like light Darts, receiveth them with her open breast; some she shaketh off, and darteth them backe on him that cast the same.

This, according to the proud Ubrine of Statues, shew is a little too high; Christ hath taught us otherwise.

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EPIST.

EPIST. LIIII.

That hee was troubled with often sighing, and thereupon thoughts on death. That it is not to be feared, because that we shall be the same after death, that we were before. Let vs be prepared.

MY sicknesse, that had giuen me a long truce and intermission, suddenly invaded me. Alter what manner, sayest thou? Truly thou hast reason to aske mee, for there is not any one sort, but that I haue beene sensible of it: yet am I, as it were destinated to one sicknesse, which why I call by the Greeke name I know not, for it may aptly enough be called of sicknesse. It continueth a very little time in his violence; and is like vnto a gult, and passeth away almost in an houre. For who is he that could liue if this difficultie of breathing should continue? All either the incommodities or dangers that may trauell a bodie, haue passed by mee, yet no one of them seemeth more troublesome vnto me: and why? For in all other evils whatsoever, a man is but sicke, but this is death it selfe. And therefore the Physicians call it the meditation of death. In the end this short breathing finisheth that which it hath often attempted. Thinkest thou that I write this vnto thee with great ioy, because I haue escaped? If to this end that I took delight to be in health, I doe as ridiculously as hee, that thinketh himselfe dismissed of the suite, when he hath deferred his putting in baile to the action: yet in the very suffocation intermitted, I cease not to comfort my selfe with some pleasing & confident cogitations: What is this (say I?) Doth death come so often to assaile me? Let him do it hardly. For mine owne part, it is a long time I haue proued it. When was it (sayest thou?) Before I was borne: it is a death not to be that it was before. Now I know what thing it is; that shall be after my death, which was before my birth: if a man feele any torment therein, it must needs follow, that we had some sense thereof before we came into this World; but then felt I no vexation. I pray you, should he not be a great Foole, that should thinke that a Candle were more vnhappie after it were extinguished, then before that it was light? So farreth it with vs, wee are lightned and extinguished; betwixt both these times we suffer some things. But before and after is a certain and profound assurance of our evils. For in this, my *Lucilius*, we erre, except I be decciued, in that wee iudge death to follow; whereas (hee goeth before, and is like to follow after. Whatsoever was before vs, is death? For what difference is there whether thou beginnest not, or whether thou endest; the effect of both these is not to be. With these and such like silent exhortations (for speake I might not) I ceased not to talke vnto my selfe; at length by little and little, this sighing which began alreadie to returne to be a breathing, tooke more long pauses, and hauing more libertie, kept his accustomed tune and proportion. Neither as yet, although the fit bee ceased, hath my breath his naturall course. I feele a certaine touch and hanging on thereof. Let him doe what hee will, provided that I sigh not in my soules assure thy selfe thus much of me, that when I shall find my selfe at the last gaspe, I will not be astonished. I am already resolved, I care not when the day commeth. Praise and imitate him that is not agrieved to die, when as he hath the greatest occasion to reape the pleasures of life. For what vertue is it to issue out, then when thou art cast out? Yet is there

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there a vertue herein. True it is, that I am driuen out, but so it is as if I issued voluntarily. And therefore a Wiseman is neuer driuen out; for to bee driuen out, is to be cast out of a place in spite of a mans teeth: but a Wiseman doth neuer any thing perforce, he flyeth necessitie, because he willeth that which he may contrayne.

EPIST. LV.

Of the Manner of Vatia, and of Vatia himselfe. Then of good and euill Leisure. Likewise that friends may and ought to be present in mind.

VHEN I descend from my Coach, I am no lesse wearied, then if I had walked so long time as I was sitting: for it is a labour to bee long time carryed, and I know not whether in that it bee more great, because it is against Nature, which gaue vs feet, that wee might walke by our selues; eyes, that wee might see by our selues. Daintinesse hath caused this infirmite in vs, and that which long time wee will not, wee cease to be able to doe: yet had I need to trauell my bodie, and to doe exercise, to the end, that if I had either choller stayed in my throat, I might discusse the same; or if my breath by any cause were growne short, I might extenuate the same by this agitation, which I haue known to haue done me much good: and therefore caused I my selfe to be carryed more long time, for the pleasure that I tooke vpon the shore, which shooteth out a certaine abutment or bowing Land, betwixt the Towne Cumæ and *Seruius Vatia* his Lordship, enclosed as a strait passage betwene the Sea, which is on the one side, and the Lake which is on the other, because at that time it was more hard and more thicke, by reason of the tempest which had raged a little before. And as thou knowest when the billowes of the raging flouds cover the same very often, the sands become more full and vnite, but a long calme time causeth them to relent, and diuideth the sand which was hardened by the water, after the humour hath bene wholly dried: yet according to my custome I beganne to looke about me, if I could find any thing in that place that might breed mee any profit, and I addressed my sight vpon a Countrey house which had in times past pertayned to *Vatia*. There it was, where that rich man, who in times past had bene Pretor, and had neuer bene knowne by any other means, but for retrying himselfe thither, spent his later yeares, and was for this only cause reputed happie. For as often as *Asinius Gallus* friendship, as often as *Scianus* hatred or fauour had drowned some men, (for it was as dangerous to haue offended him, as to haue loued him) all men cryed out, O *Vatia*, thou art the only man that knoweth how to liue; and yet hee knew but how to hide himselfe, but not to liue. Truly there is a great difference, whether thy life bee idle or slothfull. I neuer passed by this house of *Vatia*, but that I said *Vatia* is entered here. But Philosophie, my *Lucilius*, is a thing so sacred and venerable, that if there be any thing that resembleth it, it pleaseth the World. For the common sort suppose, that a man that is retired from the Citie, to liue in repose, is full of assurance and contentment: and that he liueth but to himselfe, but none of these can befall any one but a Wiseman. For he being distracted by nothing knoweth how to liue vnto him selfe. For (that which is the principall good) he knoweth how to liue. For he that flyeth both from men and affaires; he whom

the misery of his ambitions hath banished out of the Citie, that could not endure that any should be more happy then himselfe; that like a slothful creature lay hid for faires, he liueth not to himselfe, but that which is more lothsome and disliking, he liueth to his belly, his sleepe and his lust. He liueth not continually to himselfe, that liueth to no man; yet constancie and perseverance in our first desires, is a thing so valued, that obstinate idlenesse retayneth and hath some authoritie also. Touching the building it selfe, I can speake or write thee nothing certaine, for I onely know it outwardly, and by the shew it maketh to all Passengers. There are two Causes of marvellous Workmanship, hauing two large porches of equall structure, and builded by hand; the one whereof neuer admitteth the Sunne, and the other is filled with his reflections vntill he set. There is a place planted with Plane-trees, in the midst whereof there runneth a brook, that falleth afterwards into the sea, & into the lake of Acherusium, diuiding it selfe into diuers Brookes, sufficient to nourish much fish, although a man take them daily: but it is spared when the Sea affordeth good fishing time, and when as a tempest restrayneth the Fisher-men: each one may catch and fish them easily. But the greatest commoditie that is in this house, is that it hath behind the wals thereof, the *Bayas*, and yet being exempt from all the incommodities thereof, it partaketh all the pleasures and delights of the same. I my selfe on my knowledge can giue it this commendation, that I beleue it to be a place fit to be inhabited all the yeare long. For it is opposite against the West-wind, and intercepteth it so conueniently, that it hindereth it from blowing vpon *Bayas*. Not inconsiderately, as it seemeth, did *Vatia* make choice of this place, in which he might bestow his idle time, and old age; yet very little or nothing doth the place profit to the tranquillitie of the spirit, it is the mind which commendeth all things, I haue seene some liue pensine and melancholy in their houses of pleasure: I haue seene other some liue in solitarie places, as if they had much businesse. Wherefore thou art not to thinke, that therefore thou art little at thine ease, because thou art not in Campania: but why art thou not? send thy thought hither: Thou mayst confer with thine absent friends yea as often, and as long as thou wilt; then most of all enuie we this pleasure (which is the greatest) when we are absent. For presence maketh vs wantons, and because that we conferre together, that wee walke together, and that at sometimes we sit together; so soon as we are departed one from another we remember them no more, whose presence we haue lost of late. And for this cause ought we not to be grieved with the absence of our friends, for there is not one, that is not farre absent from them, euen in their very presence: if thou wilt first recount all the nights, wherein thou art separated from them: the diuers occupations that both one and the other haue; the secret studies, the goings and comings out of the Citie; and thou shalt see that the time, which long Voyages make vs lose, is not ouer-great. A friend is to be possessed in minde: theseeeth alwayes him whom he will see. And therefore I pray thee studie with mee, sup with mee, and walke with mee: we should liue in a miserable restraint, if any thing were hidden from our thoughts. I see thee, my *Lucilius*, then with most content, when I heare thee. I am so truly with thee, that I am in doubt whether I should begin to write, not Epistles, but Bookes vnto thee.

EPIST.

EPIST. LVI.

That a settled mind enioyeth it selfe, and intendeth his studies, yea euen amidst the praise of men. This teacheth he by his example. That inward silence and peace is more to be wished for. Furthermore, that sloth is euill, and the contrary of desires.



Et me die, if silence be as necessarie, as it seemeth to him that is retired to his studie. Behold what different cries found about me on euery side, I am lodged euen ouer the bathes. Represent vnto thy selfe now all sorts of voyces, that may draw the eares into hatred of them: when the stronger sort doe their exercises, when they spread their hands loaden with Lead; when either they trauell, or imitate him that laboureth, I heare their groanes. As soone as they haue giuen libertie to their retained breath, I heare their wheellings and weightie breathings. When a man falleth into the hands of an vnmannly sort, that taketh vpon him to annoynt men, and is content to serue them, as he would doe any one of the inferior people, I heare the stroake of his hand that striketh them on the shoulders; which according as he layeth it on, either flat or hollow, changeth his sound. But if perchance he that casteth the balles, annoynted with pitch to nourish the fire vnder the baynes, commeth in, and that he beginneth to reckon them, all is lost. Count him likewise that cleanseth the ordures, and the theefe taken in the act, and he also that taketh pleasure to heare his voice ring in the bath. Add likewise to this number, those that with a full leape, and with a great shout, cast themselves into the bayne. Moreouer, put them in this ranke, who at the least, if they doe no other thing, haue their voices and words full-mouthed; as him that draweth the haire from the arme-pit, that incessantly breatheth forth a small and trembling voice, to the end he may be the better noted amongst the rest; that neuer holdeth his peace, but at such time when he riddeth the arme-pits of haire, to some one whom he constraineth to crie for him. A man heareth afterward an infinite crie of Cake-sellers, of Sausage-mongers, and crackling Merchants, and all the Cookes skulions, who sell their meat, euerie one of them with their proper tune, to the end they may be the better marked. O how yron a braine is thine (sayest thou!) O how deafe art thou, if thy spirit be not troubled, amidst such dynne, and diuersitie of cries, since our *Christippus* fell downe almost dead, to heare the good-morrowes which men gaue him in saluting him. For mine owne part, I honestly sweare vnto thee, that I care as little for all these cries, as for the floods or fall of a riuer; although that I haue heard say, that a people was constrained, for this only cause, to goe and rebuild their citie in another country, because they could not endure the fall which the noise of *Nilus* made. In my opinion, words distract a man more then noyses. For words distract the minde, and noise doth no other thing but fill and beate the eare. Amongst those that make a noise, but distract not my spirit, I place those Coach-men and Smithes that hire my shop, the Lock-maker my neighbour, and he that dwelleth neere to the Temple of peace, when hee trieth his Trumpets and Haut-boyes, and who not onely singeth, but exclaimeth. The noise likewise more troubleth me that is intermitted, then that which is continued. But I am now in such sort hardened to all this, that I can heare a Capitaine of a Gally, when he teacheth his Gally-slaves with a sterne voyce, how

to

to manage their cares. For I compell my mind to be intentive to it selfe, and not to be distracted by exteriour things. Let whatsoeuer voice be made exteriourly, provided there be no debate in my soule, provided that desire and feare in me are not at odds, provided that avarice and prodigalitie haue not any quarrell together, and that the one maketh not warre against the other. For what auaileth it vs to haue silence round about vs, if the passions of the minde forme and be discomposed?

Night covered all compos'd to quiet rest.

This is false, there is no peaceable sleepe, but that which reason hath composed. It is the night that representeth vnto vs all our troubles, in stead of drawing them from vs, and doth nothing but change our cares. For the dreames of those that sleepe are as troublefome vnto them, as is the day. That is true tranquillitie, in which a good and holy soule may repose. Make mee him that seeketh for his sleepe in a large and spacious house, and how to provide that no noise offend his eares: all the troupe of his seruants keepe silence and are still, and how they that would approach his bedde, lift vp their feet, and set them softly on the ground. Truly he doth nought else but turne and tosse this way and that way, he taketh but a slight rest, intermixed with discontents of the mind, he complaineth that he heareth that which he heareth not. What thinkest thou is the cause hereof? It is a tumult that is engendered in his soule, that is it which he should appease; it is the sedition of the mind that should be extinguished, which thou must neuer suppose to haue quiet rest, although thy bones be laid to rest. Repose sometimes is without repose. It shall be therefore requisite for vs to awake our selues by the managing of some affaires, and to occupie our selues in the search of good arts and sciences, when wee perceiue that the source of idlenesse (which cannot endure it selfe) doth ouerwhelme vs. The greatest Generals of armies, at such time as they perceiue that their souldiers doe grow disobedient, they make them march, to keepe them in obedience, and cause them to vndertake some sudden Voyage. They that haue businesse, haue no leisure to wax wanton. It is a thing most certaine, that there is nothing that more confoundeth those vices which are engendered by idlenesse, then travel and occupation doth. We seeme verie often to haue retired our selues out of the Citie, by reason of our distaste, for the euer managing of publike affaires, and for that we repent our selues, that we haue so long time remained in a place, where we receiue nothing but miseries and displeasures. And yet notwithstanding, in that very cause, into which our feare and wearinesse hath cast vs, our ambition reuiueth and flourisheth. For it is not wholly lost, it is onely wearied, it is onely repulled, seeing the affaires grew not answerable to his expectation. As much say I of prodigalitie and lauish expence, which seemeth sometimes to be retired, and cometh afterwards to sollicite those anew who haue resolved with themselves to liue soberly and wisely, and in the midst of their thrift the reassumeth those pleasures (which she had not wholly condemned, but onely left for a time) with a force as much more violent, as she is covertly hidden. For those vices which appeare outwardly are much lesse dangerous, and infirmities themselves begin to take remedie, when they appeare in sight, and manifest their venom. Make account therefore, that avarice, ambition, and those other euill passions which traile our soules, are more pernicious, when we faile our selues to be healed, and to haue lost them. We seeme to be idle.

and

and we are not. For if it were true that we are, if we had founded retreat to retire our selues from vices, if we haue contemned that which seemeth to be faire in outward appearance (as I haue said a little before) there is nothing that can recall vs, there is neither long of birds, nor musick of men that may crosse our holy thoughts, when they shall already be firm'd and assur'd. That wit is slight, and as yet scarce well retired into it selfe, that admireth at the brute of euerie small accident. He hath some care hidden in his soule, and some feare that maketh him pensive; and as our *Virgil* saith,

*And me whom erst no darted weapons mou'd,
Nor Grecian, troupes for courage once appro'd,
Now euerie winde that breathes or beats mine eare,
Awakes my sleepes, and breeds my sudden feare,
Starting I wake, and feare doth me surprize,
For him I beare, and for my charge likewise.*

The first of these is wife, and is not daunted with the darts that are shot against him, neither with the threatening armes of a great Squadron of the enemy, nor with the out-cries of a Citie disturbed with sedition. But the other is an ignorant sort, he is afraid to lose his goods, he is afrighted at the first noyse he heareth, he thinketh that a little voice is a great rumour, and the least motion abateh his courage. The burthen of his riches maketh him thus fearefull: make choice of whom thou wilt, amongst all these rich men, that gather much, and beare great wealth with them, thou shalt see that he is alwaies in feare, both for those that he beareth with him, and for those that follow him. Know therefore that then thou art well composed, when no feare can moue thee, when no voice can make thee depart out of thy selfe; not at that time when it flattereth thee, nor then when it threatneth thee, neither then when with a vaine rumour it shall make a noise in thine eare. What then? Is it not more commodious not to heare their slanders? I confesse it. Therefore is it that I would retire my selfe from this place, but my intent was to make triall of, and to exercise my patience. What needeth it a man suffer himselfe to be tormented a long time, if *Phyllos* haue found for easie a remedie for his companions, against the Sirens themselves?

EPIST. LVII.

Of the Neapolitan Vault, and the horror there. Then that our first motions are not in our power. Somewhat of the iemittie and clericke of the minde.

WHEN I would depart from *Baia* to returne to *Naples*, I easily beleued that we should haue a tempest, because I would no more traile by sea: but there were so many sloughs all the way long, that a man might iustly imagine that I had iourneyed by water. I was enforced that day to suffer all the fatality of the wretchles. For after we had bene well wet, we were tormented all the day long with dust in the Vault of *Naples*. There is nothing more long then that prison, nothing more obscure then the entrance of that caue, which was the cause that wee saw northrough the darknesse, but darkenesse themselves; neuertheless, although

the

Encid. 2.

the place had light in it, yet the dust which is likewise as troublesome and displeasing in open aire, would obscure the same. What doth it in the Vault, where after it is raised like a tempest, and is enclosed in one place where no aire breatheth, it falleth downe on those that haue raised it? We haue suffered two great and contrarie incommodities, in the same way, and the same day, we haue bene tormented with dirt and with dust. Yet this obscuritie gaue mee some fit matter to thinke vpon. I felt, as it were a great shake and carelesse change in my minde, which the noueltie of a thing so vnaccustomed, and the loathsomenesse of that place had caused. I speak not now with thee of my self, who am farre short of a tollerable man, much lesse from him that is perfect. I speake of him, ouer whom Fortune hath no power, for such a ones minde will receiue some touch: such a ones mind and colour may be changed. For there are certaine passions which a man cannot auoid, by any vertue. Nature admonisheth him that he is mortall. And therefore he will frowne at the first cause of sorrow; he will tremble for feare at a sudden accident, his sight will be troubled, if being carried to the height of a huge mountain, he behold the huge and valed depth. This is not feare, it is a naturall passion, which reason cannot conquer. Therefore is it, that there are some valiant men, & most readie to head their owne blood, that cannot endure to see another mans. Some that cannot behold a fresh wound, and other some that s wound, with only touching an old and matterie sore; and others that are afraid to see a naked sword drawne in iell, and yet feare not to be killed. I felt then, as I told thee, not an astonishment, but a change. Again, as soone as we came vnto the light, a sudden ioy surprised me, without thinking of that. Then began I to say in my selfe; how feare we without cause somethings more, somethings lesse; although the end of all of them be alike? For what difference maketh thou, whether the ruine of a Tower, or of a Mountaine, fall vpon a Sentinel? Thou shalt find none: notwithstanding there are some that will feare more the fall of the Tower, although both of them be powerful enough to make them die: because feare apprehendeth not the effects, but those things from whence the effects proceede. Thou thinkest (it may be) that I will speake of the Stoicks, who are of opinion, that the soule of a man, which is stifled and crushed vnder a great ruine, cannot issue, but that she disperseth her selfe incontinently, because she might not escape freely. But I do not; and they that say so are verie much deceived, in my opinion. Euen as a flame cannot be choaked, because it lieth and retireth it selfe, with that which driueth it: as the aire cannot be hurt with a stroke, nor be diuided, or harmed by a whip, but spreadeth it selfe round about the body, to which it maketh place: So the soule, which is the subtlest and purest thing of the world, cannot be either retained or tormented within the bodie, but by the meanes of her subtiltie, she glideth thorow all that which presseth her. And euen as the lightning, after it hath beaten and hugely blasted an house, departeth thorow a verie little hole: So that soule which is farre more subtle then fire, passeth and penetrateth thorow all sorts of bodies. Therefore may we enquire thereof, whether it may be immortall. But hold this for a thing assur'd, that if it furniue the bodie, that consequently it cannot perish by any meanes whatsoever, because it may not perish. For there is not any immortallitie, that is subiect to exception or condition: and there is nothing also which may hurt that which is eternall.

He proueth the
immortalitie of
the soule.

EPIST.

EPIST. LVIII.

That certaine late words are now out of vse. He passeth to the Physiques, and sheweth how manifest Ens or Being is out of PLATO. He fitteth it to the Ethick, and that nothing here is the same, or perpetuall. Then what use can subtilties haue, and that this is to be taken in euerie thing. He addeth of olde age and death, and that neither is to be wished or refused.

NEver had I better knowledge of the pouertie, or, to speake truly, the indigence which we haue of words, then I haue at this day. A thousand things presented themselves when as casually wee spake of Plato, which wanted or had not their names, and some which had, and some that through our delicacie had lost that name which they had by antiquitie. But who can allow of that disgust in so great pouertie? That Ox-sie which the Grecians call *Oestrum* that stingeth and chaferth beasts, and scattereth them in the Forrests, our Latines called *Asilus*. Thou mayest well beleue *Virgil*:

*And those Ox-sies that in great troups doe lie
Neere Alburne Mountaine, or so Siler Woods;
The which in Rome Asilus signifie,
And by the Greekes for Oestrum vnderstood,
Stinging and buzzing, which make cattell fray
Amidst the Forrests scattered with dismay.*

I thinke that hee vnderstood that this word was wholly lost. And to the end that I delay thee no longer, there were some simple words in vs, as when they said amongst themselves, *Cernere ferro inter se*, that is to say, to determine their quarrels betwixt themselves by armes. The same *Virgil* shall proue this,

*And King LATINVS too amazed stands
To see two men both borne in forreine Lands,
In severall angles of this mightie frame,
Could thus assembled meete, and ioyne their bands,
To trie their right by sword, and winne the same.*

Which now we call *decernere*, which is as much to say as Decide. The vse of this simple word is lost. Our ancestors said *Si iussu*, that is to say, *Si iussu*, which signifieth, If I command. I will not that thou beleue me. Hercin *Virgil* is a faithfull witnesse;

*Let all the other troups
Which I command, come after to the fight.*

I labour not now by this diligence, that I may shew how much time I haue lost after the Grammarians, but that thou mayest vnderstand this, how many words a man readeth in *Ennius* and *Attius*, which at this day are ruttie and out-worn, since those of *Virgil* himselfe, who is daily ouer-looked and handled by vs, are in some sort lost vnto vs. What meaneth this preparation, sayst thou?

Where-

Whereto tenderst it? I will not conceal it from thee. My desire is (without offending thine eare) to say *Esſence*; if not, I will neuertheleſſe ſay it, although I ſhould diſpleaſe thee. I haue *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, (the Father of all Romane eloquence, and whom it is no ſhame to imitate) author and approper of this word; whole example and authoritie I thinke is ſufficient. If thou art deſirous to haue one of our late Writers, that hath vſed this word, I haue *Fabianus*, one of our owne profeſſion, a man of great learning and eloquence, of a ſtile full of ſharpenſſe and elegancie, and of an extraordinarie puritie and neatneſſe of tongue, which although it be excellent in his kinde, yet ſometimes diſguileth with too much affectation. What ſhould I doe, my *Lucilius*? How ſhould I call this Greeke word, *idea*, that is to ſay, Eſſence, or Exiſtence, or Being, or Subſtance? a thing ſo neceſſarie, containyng in the vnderſtanding thereof, all the whole frame of that, which by all Philoſophers both ancient and moderne is called Nature, and which is the foundation of all things? I pray thee giue me leaue to vſe this word. Yet will I make vſe of the libertie thou haſt giuen me to vſe this word, moſt ſparingly; and will not vſe it but vpon neceſſity, when no other word will ſo perſectly explicate the ſence: and it may be that I will not vſe it at all, but content my ſelfe with the priuledge onely. But whereto ſhall this facilitate of thine ſerue me, conſidering that I cannot in any ſort expreſſe this word in Latine, which is the cauſe that I haue ſo much exclaimed againſt our language? yet more wilt thou condemne the Romane penurie and pouertie, when thou ſhalt find there is a ſyllable which I cannot tranſlate. Aſketh thou me what it is, *idea*, which is as much to ſay, as, That which is. Thou mayeſt ſuppoſe me to be groſſe witted, and imagine it a verie eaſie matter to be done, and that a man may tranſlate thereaſter this manner, and ſay, *Quod eſt*, That which is. But there is a great difference betwene them. For I am contrayned to vſe a Verbe for a Noun; & if I muſt needs giue one, I will ſay *Quod eſt*, That which is. A friend of mine, and a man of great knowledge, told me this preſent day, that *Plato* gaue fixe ſignifications to this word: I will expound all of them vnto thee, ſo ſoone as I haue explicated vnto thee, that there is a certain *Genus* and certaine *Species* alſo: for firſt of all we ought to ſeek out this Gender, on which all the other *Species* and kinds doe depend, from whom all the difference and diuiſions proceed, and vnder whom all is comprized. But this ſhall we find out if we begin to reade all things backward: for by this meane we ſhall aſcend and attaine vnto the firſt. A man, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, is a kinde, a horſe is a kinde, a dogge is a kinde. A common bond is therefore to be found out, which knitteſh together all theſe things, and comprehendeth them all in himſelfe; and what ſhall all this be? A liuing creature. A liuing creature then hath begun to be the Gender to all thoſe I named of late; of a man, of a horſe, & of a dog. But there are certain things which haue a ſoule, which are not liuing creatures: for it is a thing moſt certaine that ſeeds and trees haue ſoules; and therefore we ſay that they liue and die. Liuing creatures then ſhall hold the higheſt place, becauſe that all things which haue life and ſenſe are vnder this forme, yea, ſeedes alſo. Some things want a ſoule, as ſtones. Some things therefore ſhall be more high and greater then ſuch as are liuing creatures, that is to ſay, a bodie. That I will I diuide after this manner, that I may ſay that all bodies are animated or inanimated: and notwithstanding all this, there is ſomething more high than a bodie. For we ſay that there are ſomethings corporeate, and other incorporate: what then ſhall that be from whence theſe are deduced? That it is to which we haue heretofore assigned a name improper enough.

That

That which is: for ſo will it be diuided into *Species*, if we ſay, That which is, hath either a bodie, or is incorporate. So here then is the firſt Gender & the higheſt, and if I ſhould ſay ſo, the general; the reſt, to ſpeake truth are Genders, but they are *Species*, as a man is a *Genus*. For he containeth vnder him the kindes of Nations, Greekes, Romans, and Parthians; and of colours, as white, black, and red. There are alſo ſome particulars, as *Plato*, *Cicero*, *Lucretius*. For this cauſe when he containeth diuers things vnder him, he taketh the name of a Gender, & when he is contained vnder any other, he is called a *Species*. But that Gender which is general, hath nothing aboue it ſelfe: it is the beginning of all things. All whatſoeuer is, is vnder the ſame. The Stoicks would place another Gender aboue this as more principall, whereof I will ſpeak anon, ſo ſoone as firſt of all I haue made manifeſt this, that the Gender whereof I haue ſpoken, ought in right to be placed in the firſt ranke, ſince in it ſelfe it comprehendeth all things. I diuide That which is, into theſe kinds; that is to ſay, into corporeall and incorporeall: for there is no third. But how ſhall I make diuiſion of the bodie? I muſt ſay, that either they are animated, or inanimate. Againe, how diuide I things animated? I will ſay that ſome haue vnderſtanding, other ſome haue but a ſoule: or rather thus; ſome haue motion, walk or paſſe; ſome others are tied to the earth, and are nourished and increaſe by the roots. Againe, into what kindes ſhould I diſtinguiſh liuing creatures? Either they are mortal, or immortal. Some Stoicks ſuppoſe the *primum Genus* to be *Quid*, but why they ſo thinke I will hereafter ſet downe: In nature, ſay they, there are ſome things which are and are not; and that nature comprehendeth thoſe things which are not, and preſent themſelues to our vnderſtanding, as are Centaures, Giants, and all other ſuch things; which being formed by a falſe imagination, begins to haue ſome Image, although they haue no ſubſtance. Now returne I to that which I promiſed thee, that is to ſay, how *Plato* hath diuided all things that are in fixe ſorts. That firſt, *Which is*, a man cannot comprehend either by ſight or touch, or by any other ſenſe. That which is general, is but in imagination. As a man in general is not ſeene by the eye, but a particular man is, as *Cicero* and *Cato*. A liuing creature is not ſeene, but is onely comprehended in the vnderſtanding; yet are the kinds thereof ſeene, as a horſe and a dog. Of things which are, *Plato* putteth for the ſecond Gender, that which is called eminent, & ſurpaſſeth all other. He ſaith that this is in way of excellencie. As a Poet is a common name, for all they that make verſes are ſo called. But now amongst the Greeks this word ſignifieth but one, and when thou ſhalt heare theſe ſay Poet, thou muſt vnderſtand that it is *Homer*. What is it then that thou wouldeſt ſay? It is God, who is the greateſt and the moſt powerfull of all other things. The third kind is of thoſe things which are proper, and theſe are innumerable, but they are alſo placed out of our ſight. Aſketh thou me what they are? They are *Plato's* proper implements and mouables, he calleth them *Ideas*, of which all things which we behold are made, and to which all things are formed. Theſe are immortal, immutable, and inuiolable. Heare, I pray you, what *Idea* is, and what *Plato* thinketh of it. It is a patterne, and eternall mold of all things, which are made by nature: yet will I adde an interpretation to this definition, to the end the matter may more plainly appeare vnto thee: I haue a will to make thy picture. Thou art the patterne of my picture, of which my mind gathereth ſome habit, which he will delineate in his worke. So that face teacheth and inſtruſteth me, and from which I deriue my imitation, is *Idea*. Nature then, the mother of all things, hath an infinity of theſe paterneſs, as of men, of fiſhes, of trees, on which

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is drawne and exprest all that which he ought to do, The fourth place is given to an Image. But it behoueth thee to be very carefull in vnderstanding what this Image is, and that thou lay the blame on *Plato* and not on me, as touching the difficultie of things. Yet is there nothing that is subtil, which is not accompanied with difficultie. Not long since I vied the comparilon of the Image which a Painter made. He when in colours he would paint *Vergil* tothelife, beheld him. *Vergil's* face was the *Idea*, and the patterne of his intended worke; but that which the Painter hath drawne from that visage, and that which he hath painted on his table is *image*, that is to say, an Image. Askest thou me what difference there is? The one is the patterne, the other the figure, drawne from the patterne, and put vpon the worke: the one is that which the Painter imiteth, and the other is that which he maketh. A statue that representeth a man, hath some face that is *image*, which is as much to say, as an Image. The patterne it selfe also hath some face, on which the worke-man in beholding it, hath formed his Image, and that is the *Idea*. Askest thou as yet another distinction? *image*, that is to say, an Image is the worke which is made, and the *Idea* is out of the worke, and is not only out of the worke, but it is before that the worke was. The fite Gender is of those that are commonly, and they begin to appertain vnto vs. There is where all things are, both men, and beastes, and all other things. The sixth Gender is of those things that seeme to be, as Void and Time. *Plato* numbeth not amongst these that which we see and touch, because they fleet and passe & haue no being, but in a continual diminution and adiection. There is no one of vs that in his old age is that which he was when he was yong. No one man is the same in the morning, which he was in the euening, our bodies are rauished and rolled after the manner of riuers. All that which thou seest, runneth with the course of time, nothing is permanent whatsoeuer we see. I my selfe, whilst I say that these things are changed, am changed my selfe. This is it that *Heracitus* saith, we neuer descend two times into the same riuer: the same name of the riuer remaineth, but the water is stolne by. This is more manifest in a riuer then in a man; yet doth no lesse a current carrie vs away. And therefore maruell I so much at our folly, that we can so heartily loue the bodie, which is a thing to subiect vnto sight, and that we haue teare to die some day, since euery moment is a death of the first estate, wherein we were. Wilt thou feare kill that shall be once done, which is daily done? I haue spoken of a man, which is a matter frail, perillable, and subiect to all accidents of fortune. But the world also, although it be eternall and inuincible, yet is it subiect to changes, and remaineth not in the same estate. For although as yet it hath all that which it neuer had, yet hath it the same otherwise then it had it, and changeth his order. What, saist thou, shall this subtilty profit me? I thou ask, I will answer thee nothing. But euen as the Grauer, after he hath held his eyes so long time fixed on his work, that they are wearied, sheweth & recreateth them, or, as we are wont to say, reposeth them: so likewise ought we sometimes to recreate our spirit, and refresh the same with some delights, provided that these recreations be workes. Amidst which, if thou take good heed, thou shalt find something that may be wholsome. This my *Lucilius*, am I went to doe. In all things wherein I employ my selfe, although they be far estranged from Philosophie, I endeavour to draw some profit whereof I may make vse. But what profit can I take from this Discourse that I haue now intertained, so estranged from reformation of manners? How can these *ideas* of *Plato* make me better? What shall I draw from these that may reframe my desires? At leastwise I shall learne that *Plato* denieth, that

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nothing of that which serueth our sensuallitie, that heateth and prouoketh vs, is of the number of those things that are really. These things then are imaginarie, and beare some appearance for a time: There is nothing in them that is firme and assured; and notwithstanding we desire them as if they should bee alwaies durable, and continually permanent with vs. Wee are wearied and feeble, and linger for a time in the way. Let vs fixe our mindes on those things that are eternall: let vs admire the formes of all things that flie on high, and how God conuersing amongst them, and prouiding for all, conferueth that against death which he could not make immortall, because the matter hindered him; and how by reason he might surmount the vices of the bodie. For all things remaine, not because they are eternall, but because they are defended by the care of him that gouerneth them. Immortall things need no conferuer or tutor; the work-man that made them, maintaineth them, surmounting by his vertue the frailtie of the matter. Let vs contemne all these things which are not so pretious, which are to be doubted whether they be at all. Let vs thinke also by the same meanes, that if the diuine prouidence freeth and keepeth this world (which is no lesse mortall then we are) from all perils and dangers, that wee likewise may by our prouidence lengthen out a little time, and prolong life in this little bodie of ours, if we can bridle and moderate our pleasures, by meanes whereof the greater part of men are lost. *Plato* himselfe by a discreet gouernement of himselfe, attayned to old age. He had a strong and able bodie, and men gaue him that name by reason of the broadnes of his breast; but his voyages by sea, and those dangers he had passed, had very much diminished his forces: yet his sobrietie and the moderation of those things which call on and prouoke voracitie, and the diligent gouernement of himselfe, tho many other causes bindred him, continued him to his old age. For thou knowest, as I think, that this befell *Plato* by reason of the benefit of his diligence, that he departed on his birth-day, and finished the race of foure-score and one yeares without any deduction. And therefore it was that certaine *Stagi*, who by fortune were in the Citie of *Athens* at that time, sacrificed vnto him after his death, supposing that his nature was more excellent then that of other mens, because that he had iustly attained the most perfect number of life, which nine times nine accomplish. I doubt not but that he was readie to remit some few daies of this sum, and sacrifice. Frugalitie may lengthen old age, which in my opinion, as it is not to be desired, so is it not to be refused. It is a matter of great contentment for a man to be with himselfe as long as he may, and especially when he hath made himselfe worthe to enioy himselfe. As neerely approacheth he the nature of a Coward, that slothfully expecteth the last houre of his life, as he that is ouermuch addicted to Wine, who not onely emptieth and drinketh vp the Wine in the Vessell, but swalloweth downe the Lees likewise. Yet may it be demanded and questioned, whether the last part of our age be the Lees of our life, or whether it be the most pure and liquides part of our age, provided that the soule be not any waies enfeebled, and that the senses be as yet entire for the seruice of the same, and that the bodie be not destitute of his forces, and halfe dead before his time. For it importeth very much to see whether a man prolong his life, or linger his death. But if the bodie bee in such sort vnpromisable, that it cannot any longer performe his functions; why should not a man draw 'his soule out of prison, that doth but languish? Peradventure it were the best to doe it the soonest that a man might, lest when it should be done thou canst not doe it.

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And whereas there is a greater danger of living badly, then of dying quickly: he is a foole which with the price of the losse of a little time will not redeeme the hazard of a great inconvenience. Few men hath long age brought to death without iniurie. And diuers men haue ouer-past their life time idly, without doing any thing. But why shouldst thou esteeme him more cruell to lose some part of life, which must likewise take an end? Be not displeased to vnderstand that which I say, as if this sentence should bee pronounced against thee; but iudge thou of that which I say. I will not abandon mine olde age, if I thererue me wholly vnto my selfe. I say wholly, in respect of that part which is the best. But if I haue begun to trouble mine vnderstanding or to ruinate some part, or that I haue not left me my life, but my soule: I will depart out of this ruinous and rotten house. I will not flie a sickness by the remedie of death, provided that it may be healed, and that it breed no damage to my soule: I will not kill my selfe, to make an end of my paine; for it is as much as to be vanquished, to deaier this manner: yet if I knew that I should endure the same all the rest of my life, I would depart from it, not by reason of the griefe, but for that it would hinder me from doing all things for which a man desireth to liue. A man is a recreant, and of little courage, that dyeth to escape from paine. He is a foole likewise that liueth to feele nothing but paine. But I am ouer-long, there is matter besides which cannot be exprest in a day. But how might he make an end of his life, that cannot make an end of his letter? Farewell then: for thou wilt reade these later words more willingly, then the other discourses which intreate of nothing but death.

EPIST. LIX.

The difference betwixt voluptuousnesse and ioy, and that this is an honest word. Then praiseth he LVCILIUS his style, and that a Philosopher likewise is not to neglect words: and that parables and similitudes are to be loued, yet that we are seriously, and not slightly to studie Philosophie, neither must wee please our selues quickly, since flatterie confoundeth vs.



Haue read thy letter with great pleasure, permit me (I pray thee) to vse these common words; neither reuoke them to the Stoicks signification. We beleuee that pleasure is a vice. Put case it be; yet are we wont to vse this word to expresse an affection of ioy in our soules. I know well, I tell thee, that pleasure (if we will that our words be aymed to our own purpose) is an infamous thing, & that ioy cannot happen but to a wise man. For ioy is a certaine lifting vp of the mind, that trusteth to his proper goods and forces. Yet commonly we speake thus, & say that we haue conceived a great ioy of such a mans Consulate, or of some mariages, or of our wifes bringing to bed; which are not so certaine ioyes, but that oftentimes they are the beginning of future sadnesse. But true ioy hath this benefit, to accompanie it, that it neuer hath end, neither is turned to his contrarie. Therefore when our *Virgil* saith, *And the euil ioyes of the mind*, he speaketh elegantly, but yet not properly. For there is not any euil that bringeth ioy. He hath giuen this name vnto pleasures, & hath very well exprest that which he would say; for he meant and exprest those men that reioyce in their euill and misfortune: yet haue not without cause said that I took great pleasure in thy Epistle.

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For although an ignorant man reioyce vpon a good occasion, yet so it is, that I call that affection which he cannot moderate, and that presently will cast it selfe vpon other diuers subiects. I call it, I say, pleasure, conceiued by opinion of a fained good, conducted without measure and discretion. But to returne to my purpose, heare what delighted mee in thy Epistle: Thou hast words at will, thy discourse transporteth thee not, & draweth thee not further then thou hast destinated. There are some that are drawne by the beautie of some word that best likes them, to write more then they had purposed, but the same befalleth not thee. All is well ordered, and well applied. Thou speakest as much as thou wilt, & significst more then thou speakest; this is a sign of some greater matter. Moreover, it appeareth that it hath no superfluitie in it, & nothing proud: yet finde I sometimes Metaphors, which as they are not ouer-hardie, so are they not vnprovided of beautie, and that haue readie made proofe of their good grace. I finde certaine comparisons, whereof it there be any one that will interdict vs the vse, and permitte them onely to Poets, hee seemeth to me that he hath not read any of the ancient Authors: Amongst whom as yet a plausible speech was not affected or expected. They that speake simply, and to make vs only vnderstand that they would speake, were full of Metaphors & similitudes, which in my opinion were necessarie, not for the same cause the Poets had to vse them, but to assist the feeblenes of our spirit, and to represent most liuely to the Disciple and to the auditor that which they said. As behold, when I reade amongst other, *Sextius* a vehement and subtil man, Philosophizing in Greeke words and Romane manners, I tooke great pleasure to see the similitude and comparison which he vfed, that an army which feareth to be assailed by an enemy, marcheth in a square battell, to be more readie for the fight: The wise man, saith he, should do the like; he ought to stretch out his vertues on all sides, to the end that if there be any danger that threatneth him, his supply may be in readinesse, and that without any disorder they may obey their Governour; which we see to fall out in armies, which great Captains know how to arrange, where all the troupes are so orderly disposed, that both the one and the other vnderstand at the same time the commandement of their Generall, and the watch word is as soone heard amongst the battell of footmen, as the troupes of horsemen. But *Sextius* saith, that this is more necessarie for vs, then for men of warre. For they haue oftentimes had feare of the enemy without cause, and the high-way they feared to be most dangerous to them, was most assured. Folly hath nothing which is exempt from feare. She feareth as much from above, as from beneath; she is afraid both of the one quarter and of the other. There are dangers that come before her, and that follow after her. She is afraid of all things; she is neuer assured, but feareth her owne succours and assistants. But a wise man is armed, and aduised against all fortunes and violences, although poertie, miserie, ignominy, and paine assault and charge him, he will neuer retire; he wil march, without any feare against his mischiefs, and in the midst of them. Diuers things hold vs bound, & retrain vs; diuers other take from vs our forces, wee haue so long time lyen soyled in these vices, that wee can hardly be cleansed from them. For we are not onely soyled, but also wholly poysoned. And to the end, that from one comparison we passe not to another, I will aske thee (which I haue oftentimes considered in my selfe) why it is that folly doth so obstinately tie vs vnto her? First, because we repulse her not valiantly, and that we will not doe our vttermost endenour to seeke helpe. Next, because we giue not sufficient credit to those things which are found out by wise men; nei-

ther receiue them with an open brest, but passe ouer, and that ouer-lightly, a thing of great importance. But how can any man sufficiently learne what sufficeth againt vices, who leaurneth but then, when he hath leasure to giue ouer the libertie of his vices? There is none of vs that diueth to the bottome, we haue onely gathered the top. And to men so much and more occupied, it hath sufficed to imploy some little time in Philosophie. But that which most hindereth vs, is that we ouer-much please our selues, with our selues: If we finde any man that will call vs good men, wife and holy men, we beleue them. We are not satisfied with a moderate praise: whatsoeuer immoderate flattery hath heaped on vs, we receiue as due vnto vs; we consent vnto those that say we are verie wife and verie good, although we know well that they are accustomed to lie. And so farre flatter we our selues, that we will be praised for things wholly contrarieto that we doe. Such a one there is that heareth, that euen they whom he sendeth to execution, call him sweet and mercifull, liberall in his thefts and robberies, sober and temperate in his drunkenness and lecherie. Whence it cometh to passe, that we will not make any change in our selues, because wee iudge our selues to be honest men. *Alexander*, at such time as he ouer-ran all India, and pillaged the same by war, as farre as those nations that were scantily knowne to their neighbors, riding about the walls of a Citie, which he held besieged, to know on what side it was most easie to be assaulted, & finding himselfe wounded by the shot of an arrow, he remained a long time on horse-back, and continued his enterprize. But after the blood was stanchd, and that the paine of the wound which was already dried, began to encrease, and that his legge which hung on his horse pommel, began to be astonied, he was constrained to retire himselfe, and to say, *All the world sweareth that I am a VIRTUOUS man, but this wound of mine crieth out that I am a man*: T he like let vs do, when as by force of flattery, euery one of vs are made fooles. Let vs say, You report that I am wife, but I see how many vnprofitable things I desire, and how many hurtfull I wish for. Neither vnderstand I this which societie teacheth brute beastes, what measure should be allotted for meat, what for drink, as yet I know now how much I should take. Now will I teach thee how thou mayest vnderstand, that as yet thou art not wise. He may be termed, and is wife, who is replenished with ioy, glad and moderate, and that feeleth no passion, liueth equal with the gods. Now counsell thou thy selfe, if thou art neuer sad, if no hope sollicite thy mind, in expectation of that which is to come; if day and night, thy spirit enioy an equal and assured repose, if it be contented in it selfe, thou hast attained to the fulnesse of that felicity a may desire. But if as yet thou huntest after all sorts of pleasures, both here and there, make account that thou art as far estranged from wisdom, as thou shalt be from ioy and content. Thou hast a will to attaine therunto, but thou deceivest thy selfe, if thou thinkest that thou mayest achieve the same by the means of riches? Searchest thou thy ioy amidst honours, that is to say, amongst cares? These things which thou thus desirest, and thinkest to be the means to breed thee pleasure & content, are but occasions of sorrowes. All these, I say, thinke to finde ioy and pleasure, but they know not the means to gaine a great and perdurable contentment. One supposeth to find it in his banquets and foolish expences: another in his ambition and great troope of vassals, that follow and flocke about him on euery side; another by the fauours of his friends, another by vaine ostentation of the studie of liberall Arts and Sciences, and letters which beale nothing. All these are befottd with a flattering pleasure, which continueth not long; as drunkenness,

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which yeeldeth some foolish ioy for an houre, and seeth it selfe afterwards followed with a tedious repentance. Or as the honour of an applause, and fauourable acclamation of the people, which hath beene gotten and ended with much paine. Thou must then thinke this, that the effect of wisdom is the equality of ioy. The minde of a wiseman is such, as is the state of the world about the Moone, there is the ayre alwayes peaceable and faire. See here wherefore thou oughtest desire to be wife, for the wiseman is neuer without ioy. This contentment groweth not, but from the conscience of vertues. No man can reioyce, but he that is constant, iust, and temperate. What then, (sayest thou) do Fooles and wicked men neuer reioyce? No, no more then Lions do, that haue found their prey. When they are wearied and glutted with wine, and all other pleasures, when as the night which they wholly ouer-passe in drinking, is as yet but very short vnto them, when in a little bodie a man hath included greater pleasures then it may containe, and that he beginneth to giue ouer, and cast them out, then wretches as they are, beginne they to exclaime and cry out this Verse of *Virgil*:

*For how we lewdly spent this latest night
In faded pleasures, thou well vnderstandst.*

They which are addicted to foolish expence and superfluitie, passe all the night long in foolish pleasures, as if it should be their last. But that pleasure and ioy that followeth the gods, and those that liue as they doe, is neuer interrupted or brought to end: it should cease, if it proceeded and were borrowed from another. But because it cometh not by the means of another, it dependeth not also on the power and authority of another. Fortune cannot take that away which she hath not giuen.

EPIST. LX.

That the vices of the common sort are to bee despised, and Nature is to be heard.

I Complain, I wrangle, and am wrathfull. Dost thou now wish for that which thy Nurse, thy Tutor, or Mother haue desired for thee? Thou knowest not as yet how many evils they haue wished thee. O how harmefull are the desires of our friends vnto vs! yea euen then most hurtfull, when they fall out most happily. I do not now marvell if all the mischiefs of the World befall vs, from our first infancie. For we haue taken increase amidst the execrations of our Parents. Let the gods likewise heare our Prayers sometimes, when we importune them for nothing. How long shall it be, that we wil alwayes craue some good at their hands, as if wee had not wherewith to nourish our selues? how long shall we fill the fields of great Cities with our tillage: how long time shall it be, that a whole Province or Nation shall be employed in reaping our Corne? How long time shall it be, that a great number of ships shall be employed, to carrie from diuers seas the corn that should serue but one mans table? The Bull is fatned in the Pasture of a few Acres. One only Forrester sufficeth many Elephants. A man feedeth both of the Land and Sea. What then? Hath Nature giuen vs so vnstable a belly, in regard of that little bodie she hath giuen vs, that it should surpasse the voracitie and hunger of the hugest and most rauenous beasts in this world?

world? No truly. For that which wee giue vnto Nature is as small as nothing, she is contented with a little. It is not the hunger of four bellies that coſeth vs ſo deare, it is our glorie and ambition. And for this cauſe (as *Saluſt* ſaith) they which follow the pleaſures of their belly, ought to bee reckoned and ranked amidſt the number of beaſts, and not of men; and ſome of them beſide, not amongſt the number of beaſts, but of the dead. He liueth that vſeth himſelfe, but they that lye hid in ſluggiſhneſſe, ſo liue in their houſes as in a Sepulcher. Although in their porches thou regiſter their names in Marble: yet they are buried before they are dead.

EPIST. LXI.

Let vs ſtudie to bee amended and changed. Let vs thinke on Death, as if alwayes imminent, and addreſſed to lay hold on vs.

ET vs deſiſt to will that which we would. I truly endeavour my ſelfe in my old age to behaue my ſelfe ſo, that men may iudge that I haue another will then I had when I was young. In this one thing employ I all my dayes and night; this is my onely labour, this is my thought, to be able to bring mine olde euils to an end. I endeavour that one day may be to me as much as my whole life. I lay not hold of it as if it were my laſt, but behold the ſame as if it might bee the laſt. I write vnto thee this Letter with ſuch an apprehenſion, as if Death ſhould call mee, whileſt I am writing of it. I am readie to depart, and therefore in ſecuritie enioy I liſe, becauſe I am not much troubled how long it ſhall laſt. Before old age I tooke care that I might liue well, in old age that I might dye well; and to dye well, iſt to dye willingly. Labour with thy ſelfe that thou doe nothing vnwillingly: what ſo euer muſt come to paſſe will come to paſſe, neceſſitie iſt but to him that reſuſeth, and not to him that willeth. There iſt no neceſſitie for him that hath a will, I ſay this, that hee who willingly doth that which hee iſt commanded, hath ſced the moſt vnreaſonable and cruelleſt part of ſeruitude, that iſt to ſay, to doe that which he would not doe. Not be that vpon any command doth any thing, iſt a miſerable man, but he that doth it againſt his will. In ſuch ſort therefore let vs compoſe our mindes, that wee will that which neceſſitie requireth to be done: and aboue all things let vs thinke vpon our end, without any ſhew of heauineſſe. We muſt ſooner prepare our ſelues to death then to liſe. Liſe hath but ouer-much to entertaſne the ſame, but we are they that long after thoſe inſtruments that entertaſne the ſame. Wee thinke, and ſo ſhall wee alwayes ſuppoſe, that we want ſomewhat, neither yeares nor dayes ſhall bring to paſſe that we haue liued ſufficiently, but the minde. I haue liued, my deareſt *Lucilius*, as much as ſufficeth; I expect death, as one glutted with liſe.

EPIST.

EPIST. LXII.

That neither men or affaires are hinderances to a good minde. The praſe of DEMETRIUS.

THEY that would make men beleue, that the multitude of affaires iſt a hinderance vnto them, in the purſuite and ſearch of liberal ſtudies, doe nought elſe but lye. They pretend and ſaine occupations, they augment them, and buſie themſelues. I am diſcharged of affaires, my *Lucilius*, I am diſcharged, and whereſo euer I am, I am wholly to my ſelfe. For I ſubiect not, but accommodate my ſelfe to affaires. I runne not after the occasions which might make me loſe time, and in what place ſo euer I bide, there iſt that I entertaſne my thoughts, and ruminate ſome profitable matter in my mind. When I giue my ſelfe vnto my friends, yet for all that I am not diſtracted from my ſelfe. I ſtay not alſo long time with them, whole company I haue entertaſned for a time, and for ſome occaſion produced from the dutie of my charge. But I am alwayes with vertuous men; I ſend my thoughts and minde vnto them, in what places, and what times ſo euer they haue beene. I leade alwayes with me, my *Demetrius*, the beſt of men, and leauing apart theſe purpured fellowes, I talke with this man halfe naked, and admire him. But how ſhould I chooſe but admire him? He wanteth nothing. Some man may contemne all things, but no man can haue all things. The ſhorteſt way to riches iſt by contempt of riches. But our *Demetrius* liueth in ſuch ſort, that hee ſeemeth not to haue contemned all things, but onely to haue permitted that others ſhould enioy them.

EPIST. LXIII.

A Conſolatorie Epistle vpon the death of a friend, both wiſe and excellent.

THOU art very impatient, becauſe thy friend *Flaccus* iſt deceaſed, yet will I not that thou ſubiect thy ſelfe to diſordinate ſorrow. I dare not exact this at thy hands, that thou ſhouldeſt not grieve, yet know I this, that it iſt the better. But to whom iſt it, that ſo firme a conſtancie of minde may happen, but to him alone who hath trodden Fortune vnder his feet? Yet him alſo would this thing trouble and prick, yet would it but onely prick. For our ſelues we may bee pardoned, if we melt in teares, provided that they be not ouer-lauſh, and that wee our ſelues haue repreſſed them. In the loſſe of a friend, neither let our eyes be dry, nor ouerflowing; wee muſt ſhead teares, but not weepe out-right. Suppoſeſt thou that I ſubiect thee to a rigorous Law? When as the greateſt Poet amongſt the Greekes, gaue leaue and limit to teares for one day onely, when he ſaid that *Niobe* alſo be thought her of her meate. Wilt thou know from whence theſe plaints and immeaſurable teares proceed? By teares wee ſecke the teſtimonic that wee bewaile them, and we follow not griefe, but wee ſhew it. No man iſt ſad to himſelfe. O vnhappy ſolly, there iſt alſo ſome ambition in griefe. What then, ſayeſt thou, ſhall I forget my friend? Vndoubtedly thou promiſeſt him a very ſhort remembrance, if it muſt continue no longer then thy griefe. The leaſt

least occasion of Fortune, will suddenly change the wrinkles of thy brow into smiles. To resolve my selfe a short time will suffice, which allwageth all sorrow, and pacifieth the most grievous afflictions of this World. As soone as thou shalt cease to observe thy selfe, this Image of sadnesse will forsake thee: now keepeth thou, and entertaynest thy sorrow; but how charily soever thou keepe it, it will escape from thee, and the sooner, the more sharper it is. Above all things, let vs labour that the remembrance of our friends which we lose, be agreeable and pleasing vnto vs. No man taketh pleasure to remember such a subject, whereon hee cannot thinke without torment: notwithstanding if it cannot otherwise be, but that the name of our friends whom we haue lost, must be reduced to our memorie, with some touch and attaint of sorrow, yet that very touch it selfe hath some pleasure in it. For as our *Antalus* was wont to say, So is the memory of our deceased friends pleasing vnto vs, as some Apples which are sharply sweet, as in ouer-olde Wine the very bitternesse delighteth vs. But after a little time is ouer-past, all that which tormented vs is extinguished, and then a pure and true pleasure is conceived in our minds. If wee will giue credit vnto him, to thinke that our friends are in health, is to cate Honey and Cakes. But the memorie of those that are deceased can yeeld no ioy, but that which is intermixed with some little bitternesse. But who is he that would deny that these sharpe things, and such as haue in them some acrimonic, doe auate and whet the stomack? Yet am not I for all this, of that opinion. The remembrance of my friends that are deceased, is agreeable and pleasing vnto me. For I had them, as if I were to lose them, and I haue lost them, as if I had them. Doe therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which thy discretion requireth. Forbear to giue an euill interpretation of the benefits of Fortune, she tooke away, but she had giuen. Let vs then enioy our friends with a greedie desire, because wee know not whether they shall continue with vs a long time or no. Let vs thinke that we haue oftentimes lost them, when as wee had made some long Voyages, and how oftentimes abiding with them in the same place, wee haue not seene them; and we shall find that we haue lost more time when they were aliue. Canst thou endure those that make no reckoning and account of their friends when they haue them, but bewaile them afterwards most miserably, and neuer loue any, but euen then when they haue lost them? They then more abundantly weepe, because they are afraid, lest it should grow in doubt whether they loued their friends or no; and seeke (but too late) to testifie their amitie. If we haue other friends, we doe them iniurie, and conceiue an euill opinion of them, to thinke that they cannot comfort vs as much as one onely whom we haue lost. And if we haue not any, we our selues doe our selues greater wrong then wee haue receiued at Fortunes hands. Shee hath onely taken one from vs, and we haue not made any. Again, hee scarcely loued any one, which could not loue more then one. If a man that were robbed, and had lost the onely one Coate that he had, had rather bewaile his misfortune, then be thinke him by what meanes hee might escape the cold, and finde something to couer his shoulders, wouldst thou not esteeme him for agreeat Foole? Thou hast buried him thou louedst, seeke now another whom thou mayest loue. It is better to get a new friend, then to bewaile an olde. I know well that the thing which I pretended now to speake is very vulgar, and knowne vnto euery man: yet will I not pretermite it, though all the World hath vsed it. Hee that by reason and counsaile could not finde an end of his sorrow, met with it in time; but it is most contemptible, for a Wiseman to finde no remedie for his

sorrow, but by wearying himselfe with the same. I had rather thou shouldst relinquiſh thy sorrow, then that thou shouldst be left by it. Desist from doing that as soone as thou canst; which although thou wouldst thou canst not long doe. Our Ancestors limited the terme of a year for women to mourne in; not that they should mourne so long, but that they might not mourne longer. To men they prefixed no distinct time, because no time is honest; yet which of these women wilt thou name mee, which could scarcely bee drawne from the pile where their Husband was burned, or dragged from his dead Carcasse, whose moanes continued for a whole moneth? Nothing groweth more soone into barred then griefe; which being new, findeth a Comforter, and draweth some vnto him to solace him, but being inueterate is detided; and not without cause, for either it is fayned, or it is foolish; yet doe I write this vnto thee, euen I, who haue immeasurably bewayled *Annaeus Serenus* my deare friend, that (which I write with hearts-griefe) I might bee numbred amongst the examples of those, whose sorrow hath ouercome. But at this present time I condemne mine owne action, and thorowly perceiue that the greatest cause of my so mourning, was, because I neuer thought that hee might haue dyed before me. I thought onely that hee was younger, and farre more young then I, as if the Destinies called vs by order of our birth. Let vs therefore continually meditate, as well on our owne mortallitie, as theirs whom wee loue. Then should I haue said: my *Serenus* is younger, what is this to the purpose? he must dye after mee, but he might also before me: and hauing not thought hereupon, fortune surpriseth me on the sudden, ströoke me thus. Now know I that all things are mortall, and that they are mortall, vnder an vncertaine Law. That may bee done to day, what euer may be done. Let vs thinke therefore deare *Lucilius*, that we shall quickly come thither where hee is lodged, whom wee so lament for. And haply (if the opinion of Wisemen fauour of truth, and any place receiue vs,) he whom wee suppose to haue perished, is but sent before vs.

EPIST. LXIV.

The praise of *Quintus Sextius*, and then of wisdom it selfe. That the Authors thereof are venerable, and that notwithstanding wee may add thereto.



Hou wert yesterday with vs. Thou mightst complaine thy selfe if yesterday onely, and therefore I added, with vs; for thou art alwayes with mee. Certaine friends were come to visit mee, for which cause the Chimney smoked more then it was accustomed; not that this smoake was of that kind, as that which was wont to fume from the Kitchens of those that entertaine Feasts, which is wont to terrifie those that watch by night; but a little smoake that signified that some Guests were come to me. Wee deuised on diuers things according to the custome obserued in Banquets, reducing nothing to a resolution; but passing from one thing to another. At last the Booke of *Quintus Sextius* the father (a man of much knowledge in my opinion, and a Stoicke, although some would deny it) was read vnto vs. O good God, how is this man replenished with constancie and courage! Thou shalt not find the like amongst all the Philosophers.

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Sometimes Writings haue only a goodly Title, the rest is without life. They make institutions, they dispute, and cauil, they adde no courage, because they haue none. When thou hast read *Seneca*, thou wilt say hee liueth, he is full of vigour, he is free, he is more then a man. Hee leaueh mee alwayes replenished with great assurance. Howsoeuer my minde be disposed, if I reade him (I will confesse vnto thee) I am addrest to prouoke all casualties, and freely to exclaime. Why ceasest thou Fortune? Come and encounter me, thou feelt I am ready for thee; I inuelt my selfe with his courage who seeketh where hee may approue, and where he may expresse his vertue:

*He wisheth freely that he might behold
A sowing Boare amidst his idle fold,
Or some fierce Lion from the hills descend,
With golden Crest his castell to offend.*

I desire to haue somewhat that I may overcome, by whose patience I may be exercised: for *Seneca* likewise hath this admirable qualitie in him, that he will shew thee the excellencie of an happie life, and will not put thee out of hope to obtayne the same. Thou shalt know that thee is lodged in a place very high, notwithstanding a man that hath will, may mount therunto. Amongst all other things, only vertue may giue thee this that thou mayst admire, without losing thy hope to attaine her. Truly the only contemplation of wisdom, very oftentimes robbeth me of very much time. I behold the same with no lesse astonishment, then I doe the Heauens and the World, on which I oftentimes cast mine eyes, as if I had neuer seene the same: therefore is it that I reuerence and honour the inuentions of wisdom, and the inuentors also: It delighteth me to goe and take possession thereof, as of an heritage common vnto many. These things are gotten, these things are laboured for mee. But let vs play the part of a good Father of a Family: let vs increase that Inheritance which was left vs, and let this Possession descend to my Posteritie, in more ample manner then I receiued it from mine Ancestors. Much there is that as yet remaineth to be done, and much more shall remaine: for after the revolution of a thousand ages, the occasion shall neuer be left to them that are borne hereafter, to adde somewhat. And although Antiquitie hath inuented all things, yet the vse, the science, and disposition thereof, which hath bene inuented, shall alwayes remaine new. Put case wee had some Medicines left vnto vs for the healing of eyes, I need not seeke for other; yet are these to bee fitted both to the diseases, and to the times: by one of them the heate of the Eyes is extinguished, by another the thickeesse of the Eye-lids is attenuated; by one a sudden Flux of Humor and Rheume is diuerted, by another the sight is quickened. It behooueth thee to grinde these remedies, and allay them well, to make choise of the time, and that thou obserue a measure in euery one of them. Theremedies of the minde were inuented by our Ancients, but it becometh vs to seeke, how and when they should bee applied. They that liued before vs haue done much, but they haue not done all. Yet must we honour them, and reuerence them as Gods. Why then should I not haue the Images of these vertuous and great men in my House, to kindle and quicken vp my spirit? And why should I not celebrate their Birth-dayes? Why should I not name them alwayes for Honours sake? That Veneration that I owe to my Masters, the same owe I to these Masters of Mankind, from whom the begin-

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nings of so many benefites are deriued. If I see either a Consull or a Pretor, I will doe all that which is vsually done in yielding them honour and reuerence; I will light off my Horse, I will put off my Hat, and giue him the way: What then? can I remember both the *Catoes*, wife *Laelius*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Zeno*, and *Cleanthes*, without some great acknowledgement of Honour? Truly I reuerence them, and hearing the greatnesse of these names, I alwayes arise to yield them Honour.

EPIST. LXV.

He intreateth of the search of naturall things. Of cause and matter, and teacheth how much they are profitable, if they be moderately handled, and to a good end, that is of life: by these the mind is lifted up to God and honestie.



Diuided yesterday into two parts; the one was for my selfe, the other for my sicknes, which vsurped all the fore-noone to it selfe, & left the after-noon for me for which cause I first of all assayed the forces of my spirit in reading some Book. But when I saw that he took pleasure herein, I grew bold to command him far more, yea, I permitted him. I wrote therefore something with a greater care then I was accustomed, whilst I contend with a difficult matter, and will not be overcome, vntill such times as some of my friends came in vnto me, who withdrew me perforce, and reprehended me for a man intemperate in the time of my sicknesse. In stead of writing, some Discourse was let abroad, whereof I will relate vnto thee that part which is in question, wherein thou art made Vmpire. Thou hast more businesse in hand then thou thoughtest of. Certaine it is, that there are three causes, & the Stoicks, as thou knowest, say, that there are two things in nature, whereof all other things are made, The Cause and the Matter: the Matter remaineth idle; yet prepared to all things, which will not stirre, except it be moued. But the Cause, that is to say, the reason, formeth the Matter, and turneth it which way soeuer the listeth, and produceth out of it diuers workes. There must be then something, whereof a thing may bee made, and after that a meanes by which it is made. This is the Cause; that the Matter. All Art is the imitation of Nature; and therefore all that which I haue said of the vniuersall, may bee transferred to these, which are to bee made by man. A Statue had a Matter that should receiue the workmanship, and an Artizan that should giue forme vnto the Matter. Therefore in the Statue the Matter was Brasse, and the cause the Workman: all other things are of the same and alike condition. They take their Essence from that whereof they are made, and of him which maketh them. The Stoicks say that there is but onely one cause, namely that which maketh. But *Aristotle* saith, that the cause may be said after three manners. The first cause, saith he, is the Matter it selfe, without which nothing may be made: the second is the Workman: the third is the forme, that is annexed to any Work whatsoever, as vpon a Statue: for *Aristotle* calleth it *ἰδέα*, that is to say, an Image. There is yet another (saith he) which is annexed to the fourth, which is the designe and intention of the whole Work. I will tell thee more plainly what it is: The Brasse is the first cause of the Statue; for it had neuer bene made, if that whereof it was founded and drawne had not bene. The second cause is the Workman: for this Brasse could not haue fashioned it selfe into the forme

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of a Statue, if some skilfull Artift had not bene employed therein. The third caufe is the forme; for neither fhould this Statue be called *Doriphorus* or *Diamenus*, except this forme had bene expreffed in the fame. The other fourth Caufe is, the purpofe and intention wherefore it was made; for without it, it had not bene made. And what is this intention? It is the lame that inuired the Work-mafter, that it is which he followed: it is then eyther Siluer, if he made it to fell; or glory, if he made it for reputation; or his Deuotion and Pietie, if he would giue it for a preſent to a Temple. Therefore this alfo is the caufe for which it is made. Thinkſt thou that amongſt the cauſes of a Work which hath bin made, that we ought not to count that without which it could not be made? To theſe doth *Plato* annex a fiſt, which he calleth *Idea*; for this is the example or pattern, on which the Workman caſting his eyes, doth that which hee had delineated and determined to doe; and it ſkillett not whether he haue his patterne abroad whereunto he referreth his eye; or within, in his fancie which hee hath conceived and placed in himſelfe. God hath the patternes and examples of all things in himſelfe. He hath conceived in his vnderſtanding the members and faſhions of all that which ſhould be made by him: he is full of all theſe formes and figures which *Plato* calleth *Ideas*, which are immortal, immutable, and indefatigable. So that although men dye, yet humanity vpon which man is made, remaineth; and although men become ſicke, and doe dye, yet that ſuffereth nothing. There are then five cauſes, according to *Plato*; That whereof, that by which, that whereby, that whereto, and that wherefore. In the laſt place, in the Work which is made of theſe things, as in a Statue (becauſe of it we haue begun to ſpeake) that whereof is the Braſſe, that by which is the Workman, that whereby is the forme that is giuen vnto it, that whereto is the patterne which the Workman imitaterh, that wherefore is the deſigne and intention of him that made it, and that which is compoſed of all theſe is the Statue. All theſe things the World hath alſo, as *Plato* ſaith. The Workman is God, that which is made is the matter, and the forme is the habite and the order which wee ſee in this World, the patterne and example is that whereon God hath formed the greatneſſe of this faire worke; the intention is the deſigne for which he made it. Aſkeſt thou me what Gods intention was? His goodneſſe. Truly *Plato* ſaith ſo. What cauſe had God to make the World? He is good, hee hath made good things. He that is good enuyeth not any thing which is good; and therefore he hath made the beſt that he could. Giue now thy iudgement hereupon, and pronounce who he is, that in thy opinion hath moſt neerly ayemed at the truth, not who hath ſaid the truth, for that is farre beyond our apprehenſion, as the truth it ſelfe. But this great multitude of Cauſes, ſet downe by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, eyther comprehend ouer-much, or too little. For if they thinke that the cauſe to make a thing, be all that without which nothing may be made, they haue ſet downe too few cauſes; they ſhould nominate time, for nothing can be done without time; they ſhould ſet downe place, for if there be not a place where a thing ſhould be done, it cannot be made. They ſhould put downe motion without which nothing is made, nothing perſiſteth; moreover, there is not any art or change without motion. But here ſeeke we the fiſt and generall caufe. This ſhould be wholly ſimple, becauſe the matter is ſimple. We aſke what this caufe is? It is the reaſon efficient, that is to ſay, God. And by this reaſon that I told you, there are not diuers and particular cauſes; but they depend wholly vpon one, that is on that which maketh. Thou ſayeſt that forme likewiſe is one of the cauſes, and that it is it which the Workman putteth vpon his Worke:

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it is a part, but not a cauſe. The patterne alſo or example is not a cauſe, it is a neceſſary inſtrument of the cauſe; ſo is the patterne neceſſary to the Workman, as the poliſhing Iron, or the Fyle, for without them Art can profit nothing; yet are they not parts, or cauſes of the Art. The intention of the Work-man (ſaith he) for which he vndertaketh to make any thing is a cauſe; yet though it were a cauſe it ſhould not be efficient but acceſſarie. Now theſe cauſes are innumerable, but wee diſpute of a generall cauſe: vndoubtedly they haue not ſpoken with their accuſtomed ſubtilty, when they haue ſaid that this whole World & this worke ſo well finiſhed, was the cauſe: for there is a great difference betwixt the worke and the cauſe of the worke. Pronounce then thy ſentence, or ſay (as it is more eaſie in matters that are doubtful) that this queſtion is not yet in ſtate to be iudged, & ſo diſmiſſe vs. Thou wilt ſay vnto me, what pleaſure doſt thou conceiue in loſing thy time after theſe things, which cannot diſburthen thee of any paſſion, nor alter any couetouſneſſe? For mine owne part, fiſt of all I diſcouſe of that which may ſettle my minde in repoſe, and I rather enquire after my ſelfe then this Vniuerſe. Doing this I loſe not my time as thou thinkeſt. For all theſe Diſcourſes, if they be not cut off, if they be not drawne to vnprofitable ſubtilties, doe animate and rayſe the minde, which feeling it ſelfe preſſed with a heauy burthen, deſireth nought elſe but to deliuer her ſelfe, and to returne to thoſe places where ſhee hath bene. For this bodie is but a burthen and puniſhment of the ſoule. Shee is wearied with the burthen, ſhee is in bondage, if Philoſophie come not to ſuccour her. But ſhee hath commanded her to breathe in the contemplation of Nature, and hath permitted her to forſake the Earth, and annex her ſelfe to diuine things. This is the liberty ſhee hath, this is her reſectorie; meane while ſhee ſueth out of Priſon where ſhee is detayned, and goes to recreate her ſelfe in Heauen. Euen as Worke-men, who haue long time held their eyes fixed vpon any lubrill Worke, and wearied them thereupon, eſpecially if they labour in ſome obſcure place, and with little light, goe out into the open Ayre, and ſeek out ſome publique place, where the people are accuſtomed to diſport themſelues, and recreate their ſight in the cleere light of the day: ſo the mind, imprifoned in this darke and obſcure receptacle, as often as it may, ſeekes libertie, and repoſeth it ſelfe in the contemplation of the Workes of Nature. A Wiſeman, and he that ſolloweth Wildome, is in ſome ſort tyed to his bodie, but is abſent from the ſame in his beſt part, and addreſſeth his beſt thoughts to high and ſublime matters, and as if he had taken the Oath of a Souldier, he maketh account, that the time that his life laſteth is his pay or wages: and in ſuch ſort is he reformed and reſolued, that he beareth neither loue nor hatred to his life, and patiently ſuffereth all tranſitory things, although hee know that a greater good remaineth hereafter. Wouldſt thou interdict me the contemplation of all things in Nature, and retyring me wholly, reſtrayne me to one onely thing? Shall I not ſearch what the beginnings of all things are? Who it is that formed them? Who it was that diſtinguiſhed all that which was conſuſe and mixed in a maſſe in a manner idle and immoueable? Shall I not ſeek who it was that made this World? By what Wiſdome this incredible greatneſſe of the Vniuerſe hath received his Lawes and his order? Who it is that hath gathered together ſo many things that were ſcattered? Who hath ſeparated thoſe that were conſuſed? Who hath diuided the beautie amongſt thoſe things which were hidden vnder an abiect deformity? Whence cometh this ſo great light? Is it fire, or any thing more reſplendent then fire? Should I not enquire after theſe things?

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Shall I not know whence I defended? or whether I shall see them but once or diuers times? Shall I not know whither I must returne, and what place attendeth my soule, after it shall be deliuered from this humane seruitude? Wilt thou hinder me from mounting to heauen, that is to say, Wilt thou command me to liue abiectly? I am more great, and borne for greater things, then to be a Slave to my bodie, ouer which I neuer fixe mine eyes, but as on the chaines that hold me Prisoner, and restrayne me from my libertie. It is my bodie which I expose to Fortune, to withstand her assaults: I permit not any wound to passe thereon, that may afflict my soule. All that which may subiect it selfe, or suffer iniurie in mee, is but this Prison of mine, abiect and slauiish; the soule that remaineth therein is free. Neuer can this flesh of mine make mee partake any feare, nor vse any cowardize, vnderualuing a good man, nor to lye to doe honour to this miserable bodie. When it pleaseth me, I will breake the company I haue with him. And now although we are vnited together, wee will not be companions vpon equall rearmes. The soule will say that all appertayneth to her. The contempt of her bodie is her true liberty. But to returne to my purpose. Truly the contemplation of that we spake of late, may serue very much to this libertie: That is to say, that all things are composed of matter, and of God. God governeth all these things, which being spread round about him, follow their Governour and their Chiefe. And God, who is hee that maketh, is more powerfull then the matter which suffereth the forme that God will giue vnto it. The same place that God obtayneth in the World, the same hath the soule in the bodie. That which the matter is to God, the same is the bodie to vs. The Inferiour therefore ought to enioy the Superiour. Let vs bee firme and constant against Fortune, and let vs not feare or tremble at iniuries, wounds, imprisonment or pouertie. What is Death? Either it is the end, or a passage: neither feare I to cease to bee, for it is the same, as if I had neuer bene; nor to passe, because in no place shall I bee lodged more straitly.

EPIST. LXVI.

That CLARANVS is olde, but liuely, and that in bodie hee was deformed, but in minde honest. Hee careth not for the House wherein hee dwelleth. The difference of goods among the Stoicks, and that all things are equall. What then? Are Ioy and Patience the same? They are so in regard of Vertue, not of matter. And that externall things also giue not any augmentation of good. These things handleth hee copiously, distinctly and excellently. O let vs read it, and apply the same.



HAUE scene *CLARANVS* my companion in studie, whome of long time before I had not scene. Thou expectest not, in my opinion, that I should tell thee he is old, but at least as yet hath hee his spirits liuely and vigorous, and such as strue with his little bodie. To speake the truth, Nature hath done amisse, to lodge so faire a minde in so foule an Hostrie. Or else, it may be, he had an intent to teach vs, that the strongest and blessed mind might hide it selfe vnder any skin, whatsoever. Yet hath he ouercome all impediments, and through the contempt of

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himselfe hath he attayned so farre, as to contemne all other things. In my opinion, he deceived himselfe, that said,

*Vertue is farre more gracious, getting place
Under the covert of a comely face.*

For thee hath no need of any forreine ornament, the derieth her dignitie from her felie, and maketh the bodie which she possesseth, holy and sacred. Truly I began to behold my friend *CLARANVS* very neerly, and in my iudgement hee seemeth very faire, and as straight in bodie, as confirmed in minde. A great man may issue from a sheepe-coate, and a vertuous and faire soule may be closed in a deformed and base Lodie. And Nature, in my opinion, exprelly causeth some to bee borne after this manner, to make vs see, that vertue may bee lodged in all places; if possibly she could haue brought forth naked Soules, these would haue done it. But now doth these faire more; for these producth some that are deformed in body, which notwithstanding cease not to expresse their value. *CLARANVS*, as I suppose, was made to serue for a patterne, and to let vs see, that the soule cannot be defiled by the deformity of the bodie, & that the body may receiue ornament by the beautie of the soule. But although wee haue remained very few dayes together, yet notwithstanding diuers Discourses passed betwene vs, which I will orderly digest, and afterwards send vnto thee. The first day the question was, how goods should be equall, since there was a threefold condition of them. Some of these goods, as our Philosophers say, are placed in the first ranke, namely, Ioy, Peace, and felicitie of the Countrey. The other are in the second, which neuer make themselves known, but in a miserable subiect, as patience in the middelt of torments, and temperance in a great sickness. We desire that the first should befall vs euery day, and the second when need requireth. There is also a third sort, as to walke modestly and gracely, to carry a modest countenance, and vse the gestures and behauiours of a wise man. How is it then, that these goods may be equall among themselves, since we are to desire the one, and depart from the other? If wee will distinguish, let vs returne to the first, and consider what it is. A soule that fixeth his eyes vpon the truth, that knoweth that which she ought to chew or desire, that prizeth all things, not by opinion, but by the Lawes of Nature, that intermixeth it selfe amidst this great vniuers, and fixeth her contemplation vpon the effects thereof, that is incessantly occupied in thinking and doing, that is as great as she is vehement, that suffereth not her selfe to be overcome neither by aduers or pleasing things; that submitteth not, neither to the one nor to the other fortune, that is eminent aboue all things that may happen or befall her, that is faire with a good grace, that hath her strength accompanied with health and sobriety, that is neuer affrighted nor astonished, whom no violence can shake, whom fortune cannot rayse or depreesse. Such is the vertue of the soule, such is her face, if she might expresse her selfe at once, and might wholly and at once discover herselfe to our sight: yet many differences hath she in her selfe, which discouer the felices in the diuersity of life, and her actions; and yet becometh these neither more great nor more small then she is. For the soveraigne good may not decrease, neither hath vertue power to go back-ward, yet changeth these in diuers qualities, and conformeth her selfe according to the habit of those things she will do. She changeth and transfigureth into her likeness all that which she toucheth; she maketh the actions, amities, and sometime whole houses where these entereth,

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and which shee hath vnder her gouernment, honourable: all that which shee manageth, shee maketh amiable, and resplendent; and therefore her force and greatnesse cannot bee rayled higher, because that which is greatest cannot receiue increase. Thou shalt finde nothing more iust, then that which is iust; nothing more true, then that which is true; nothing more temperate, then that which is temperate. Constancie findeth nothing that may aduance it, no more then Confidence, Veritie, or Faith. What thing is that, which may be added to a perfect thing? Nothing: or if any thing might be annexed, it is not perfect: therefore not to Vertue also, for if any thing might be annexed, it were deficient. Honestie also cannot receiue any augmentation. For honestie is in the same ranke with other things which I haue spoken of. But what shall we say of that which is decent, of that which is iust, and of that which is lawfull? Thinkest thou not that they are of the same forme, and comprehended vnder certain limits? To haue power to encrease, is a signe of an imperfect thing. All sorts of good are subiect to the same Lawes, the priuate and publike profit are ioyned together, and truly inseparable, in such sort, that one may not separate that which is prayse-worthy, from that which is to bee desired. Vertues therefore are equal and alike betwene themselves, as also their effects are, and all men to whom they befall. But the vertues of vegetables and liuing Creatures, because they are mortall, fraile, fluxible, and vncertaine, arise and fall, and therefore are they not esteemed in the same reckoning. But humane vertues haue but one onely measure. For there is but one right and simple reason. Nothing is more diuine then that which is diuine, nor more celestiall then that which is celestiall. As touching mortall things, wee see that they are sometimes high, sometimes low; that sometimes they are abased and increased, exhausted and replenished. And therefore in so vncertaine a condition they are vnequall; but things that are diuine, are of the same nature. But reason is no other thing then a part of the diuine Spirit, infused and plunged in our humane bodies: if therefore reason be diuine, and that there is not any good without reason, all goods of what kind soeuer are diuine; but there is no difference betwixt diuine things, therefore not betwene goods. Ioy therefore, and a stout and obstinate sufferance in torments are equal, for in both there is the same greatnesse of minde, but in the one more remisse and relenting, in the other more withstanding and intent. What, thinkest thou not his vertue as great, that stoutly entreth his enemies Citie, as his that patiently sustayneth the siege? *Scipios* courage is great, which holdeth *Numantia* so closely besieged and beleagred, who constraineth that invincible Nation, to make away themselves by their owne hands: and great is the minde of those besieged, that know that nothing is shut vp from him to whom death is open, and that expireth in the embracing of his libertie. The like equall are the rest also among themselves, Tranquillitie, Simplicite, Liberalitie, Constancie, Equanimitie, Sufferance: for in all these, there is but one vertue that maketh the minde vpriight and immutable. What then? is there no difference betwixt ioy and the inflexible patience of paines? None at all in regard of the vertues themselves; much in respect of those things, in which both the vertues are exemplified. For in the one there appeareth a recreation and repose of spirit, in the other a griefe contrarie to nature. These subiects then are the means, which receiue betwene them a great difference. But the vertue is equall both in the one, and in the other. The matter changeth not the vertue. That which is distastefull and difficult cannot make it worke, neyther that which is ioyfull and agreeable better. It followeth then, that both the one

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and the other of these goods are equal. For this man cannot beare himselfe more vertuously in his ioy, nor the other in his torments; and truly two things in which nothing may be bettered, are equal. For if those things which are placed out of vertue, either can diminish or encrease the same, that ceaseth to be one good which is honest. If thou grant this, all honestie perisheth. Why? I will tell thee: Because there is nothing honest, that is done either by an unwilling man, or by him that is enforced: all honestie is voluntarie; if thou mixe with it slothfulness, complaints, refusals, and feare, he hath lost all that is good in it selfe, to please himselfe. It cannot be honest, which is not free, for that which feareth is in bondage. But that which is honest is equally assured, and full of peace and repose. If he refuseth any thing, if he weepeth, if hee iudgeth that it is euill, he entreth into some perturbation, and feelleth a great discord in his soule. For on the one side, the appearance of good calleth him, and on the other, the feare of the euill retireth him. Thus he that will doe any thing with honor, ought to iudge, that nothing of that which opposeth it selfe against his will, is euill, although it be incommodious. All that which is honest, ought to be effected, without another mans command or restraint. It is pure and sincere, and no waies intermedled with any other euill. I know well what a man may answer me here. Thou endeuourest to perfwade vs this, and there is no difference whether any man be in ioy, or lie in torture, and wearie his executioner. I might answer that which *Epicurus* saith, That a wife-man would cry out with a loud voice, although he were roasted in *Phalaris* Bull: O how sweet is this torment, and how little appertaineth it to me? Why wonderest thou, if I say, that the good of him that is seated in the midst of a banquet, and of that other, which remaineth and standeth firme and constant amidst the torments, are equal; whereas (which is farre more incredible) *Epicurus* saith, That it is a sweet thing to be tortured? But I answer thereunto, that there is a great difference betwixt ioy and dolour. For if I should be put to my choyce, I would demand the one, and flie the other: the one is amicable to Nature, the other is contrarie. As long as they are esteemed after this rate, they are verie different betwene themselves: but when we come vnto vertue, both the one and the other are equal, as well as that which maketh his way by ioy, as the other that maketh it by sorrow. Vexation, griefe, and whatsoeuer other incommodie, are of no moment, for they are surmounted by Vertue. Euen as the clearenesse of the Sun extinguisheth the lesser lights: euen so paines, afflictions and injuries, are dissipated and abated by vertue; which, in what place soeuer the shine, extinguisheth all that which appeareth not to be enlightened by her. And those paines and incommodities that fall vpon vertue, haue no more power over her, then a little raine ouer the sea. But to the end thou mayest beleue that this is true, a good man will run without any cunctation to euerie faire thing, although the hang-man be there, the torture be prepared, the fire be enkindled, he perseuereth, he will not bethinke him of that he must suffer, but on that which he ought to doe. He will cast himselfe vpon an honest thing, as betwixt the armes of a good man, he will make account that it is profitable, assured, and full of good hap. An honest thing therefore shall haue the same place and credit with him, although it be heauie and troublesome, as a good man should haue, although he were poore, banished, and sicke. Well then, set mee on one side, a good man full of riches, and on the other side, one that hath nothing at all, and yet notwithstanding hath all things in himselfe; the one shall be as good a man as the other, although their fortunes be different. The same

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reckoning ought a man to make in all things, as he doth of men: Vertue is as laudable in a healthfull and free bodie, as in a sicke and imprisoned. Thy vertue then shall be no lesse praise-worthy, if Fortune hath conferred thy bodie in health and without harme, then if it were maimed in some member. Otherwise it were to praise the Maister by his mens lueries. For all these things on which Fortune exerciseth her power, are base and seruile; as are riches, the bodie and honours, they are weake, fraile, mortall, and possessed with vncertaintie. Contrariwise, the workes of vertue are free and inuincible, the which are not to be wished for more; when they are fauoured by any flattering fortune, nor lesse also when they are followed with some disalter. That which we call friendship towards men, is a desire and couetousnesse towards good things. I suppose thou wouldest not rather prize a good rich man for his wealth, then thou wouldest do a poore man; nor a strong and mightie man, then a feeble & weak man. By the same reason, thou wouldest not rather wish a faire and peaceable thing, then that thing which is painful and laborious. And if it be so of the two that should be equally good, thou hadst rather like of him that should be neat and perfumed, then him that should be slovenly and vncombed: In fine, thou wouldest come thus farre, that thou wouldest more loue a man that were complete in all his members, that had neuer bene hurt, then a weake and spur-blind fellow. Briefly, by little and little thy disdain would increase to farre, that of the two that should be equally sage and iust, thou hadst rather haue him that were faire locked and frilled, then him that is disguised and balde. When the vertue both of the one and the other is equall, the inequalitye of other things appeareth not. Because all these other things are no parts, they are but accessories. For who is he that would make so vnjust an esteeme amongst his children, that he would make better reckning of him that were whole, then of him that were sick: of him that were great & high of stature, more then of him that were low and little? Wild beasts distinguish not their yong ones, they couch themselves on the ground, to nourish them all together: Birds do equally distribute their meat to their yong. *Vlysses* maketh as great haile to see his rocks of *Ithaca*, as *Agamemnon* his noble wals of *Mecene*. For no man loueth his countrey because it is great, but because it is his owne. But whereto tend these things? To the end thou mayst know, that vertue carrieth an equall eye and regard on all her works, as on her proper children, that she loueth all of them alike, and those farre more that feele any paine, because the loue of fathers extendeth more towards those, on whom they haue most compassion. In like manner, vertue beareth not lesse affection to those her workes, which the seeth suffer more affliction and torment, but following the custome of good parents, she embraceth and cheriseth them more. But why is it that one good cannot be greater then another? Because there is nothing more apt then that which is apt, nor nothing more full then that which is full. Thou canst not say that this is more like vnto a thing then that: consequently there is nothing more honest, then that which is honest. So then, if the nature of vertue be all alike, all the three sorts of goods are equall. And therefore I say that it is all one to be moderate in ioy, and moderate in paine. Joy surmounteth not the constancie of the soule, that deuourth his complaints vnder the crueltie of a hang-man. The one of these goods are to be desired, the other to be admired; yet both of them are equall: for all that which is ill is couered vnder the cloake of a more great good. Hee that should be of an opinion that these two things were not equall, he should shew that he would neuer cast his eyes vpon vertue, and that he onely

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regarded exterior things. True goods haue the same weight and greatnesse, both the one and the other. But the false are vaine and deceivable. Therefore it is that those goods that seeme so faire and so great to the exterior eye, deceiue vs when they are brought to their touch and weight. This is true, my *Lucilius*, all that which reason and vertue praisth and priset, it is firme, it is eternall, it maketh the soule assured, and listeth it vp to heauen, to remaine there euerlastingly. But the goods which we commend without reason, and that haue their onely being in vulgar iudgement, doe but fill them with winde, that reuiue in them. Contrariwise, that which a man feareth as euill, doth but afright our minds, and terrifie the same no otherwise then apprehension of some danger troubleth beasts. All these things then doe recomfort the soule, or torment it without reason: for neither is the one worthie of any ioy, nor the other of any feare. There is nought but onely reason, which is immutable and constant in her iudgement; for she obeyeth not, but commandeth the senses. Reason is equall with reason, as right to that which is right. Vertue then is the like; for she is nought else but right reason. All vertues are rightfull reasons, if they be rightfull they are equall. Such as the reason is, such are the actions. Therefore all are equall: for since they are like vnto reason, they are also like betweene themselves. And those actions terme I equall betweene themselves, which are vpriight and honest. But yet they shall be much different, by reason of the varying of the matter, which is now more ample, now more sparing, now more worthie, now more ignoble; now pertaining to many, now vnto few. And notwithstanding in all those things, that which is the best is equal. Even as amongst good men, all are equall as they are good men, yet haue they some differences in age, the one is elder, the other younger; they haue difference in bodie, the one is faire, the other deformed; they differ in fortune, this is rich, that is poore: he is gracious, powerfull, known to Cities and Nations, this unknowne to many and obscure. But in that they are good, they are equall. The sense iudgeth not of good and euill: it knoweth what is profitable, and is ignorant of that which is vnprofitable: he cannot giue his aduice, but of that which is represented before his eyes: he cannot foresee those things that are to come to passe, neither haue remembrance of that which is forepassed; lesse knoweth he that which may ensue: notwithstanding, thereupon dependeth the order and successe of things, and all the constancie of life, which should be right and perfect. Reason then is it that iudgeth of good and euill, that maketh no account of forreine matters which come externally, and that thinketh that those things which are neither good nor euill, are but some small and light increasings, all good to her is in the mind. Moreover, there are certaine things which she placeth in the first ranke, to which she purposely commeth, as to a victorie, to wife children and well borne, and the health of the countrey. There are other goods of the second degree, which are not knowne but in aduersities, as to suffer a sicknesse or banishment patiently. And certaine other indifferent, which neuertheless are more friendly then contrarie to nature: as to walke modestly, and to keepe a graue countenance when a man sitteth. For it is a thing as natural to sit as to stand, or to walke. But the two first are much different the one from the other; for the first are according to nature, that is to say, to reioyce at the pietie of his children, and the felicitie of his Countrey. The second are against Nature, to sustaine torments with a great constancie, and endure thirst, when as the infirmities burneth the entrailes. What shall it then be? Is there any thing contrarie to Nature that may be called good? No truely. But this

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good is often found in a thing which is enimie to nature: for to be hurt, to be dried and consumed in the fire, to be afflicted with a sickness, is against nature; but to conferre a mans soule in such harmonie, that she is not wearied to suffer torments, that is friendly to nature. What is reason then? It is an imitation of Nature. What is mans chiefest good? It is to doe all things according to Natures will. It is vndoubted (saith he) that a peace which hath neuer bene interrupted, is better then that which hath bene gotten with effusion of blood. There is no doubt (saith hee) but that health which neuer hath bene shaken, is better and more happie, then that we haue recovered perforce, and by a long patience of a sickness that threatned vs with death: In like manner it is not to be doubted, but that ioy is a greater good, then a mind subiect to suffer torments, wounds, and fire: I deny it. For those things that happen casually, receiue a great difference, because they are esteemed by the profit of those that receiue them. The intention and end of good men is to consent vnto Nature. She is equall in all. When as the whole Senate followeth the opinion of one man, a man cannot say, This man is better aduised then the others; for all of them haue followed that opinion. I say the same by vertues; all of them consent vnto Nature: I say the same by good men; all of them consent vnto Nature. One is dead young, another old: some one moreouer is dead in Infancie, that hath enioyed no other good then to haue the onely sight of life: all these were equally subiect to dye, although death hath suffered some of them to liue more long, and that to others she hath cut off the threed of life, even in the flower of their age, and hath interrupted the beginnings and birth of some other. One dieth in the midst of his supper, to another his sleepe and death hath bene but one, and some also haue bene strangled amidst the embraces of their minions. Adde also to these, those that are dead by the sword, or haue bene slaughtered by the sting of Serpents, or that haue bene crushed to death vnder some ruine, or that are dead through a long conuulsion of their sinewes, that by little and little hath tortured them. A man may say that the end of some is better, and of others is worse. But the death of them all is equal. The meanes whereby they come thereunto, are diuers; but the poynt where they ended is but one. There is not any death more great, the one then the other: for she hath one and the same measure in all persons, that is, to put an end to life. I say the like of goods; one of these goods nourisheth it selfe, betwixt pleasures and delights, and the other feeleth nothing but aduersities and disasters. Some one hath gouerned at his pleasure the sweetnesse of a good fortune, and another hath euer borne the force of a tyrannie: yet both the one and the other goods are wholly equall, although the one hath not marched but by plaine and easie paths, and the other by places both tedious and dangerous. In briefe, the end of all is wholly alike. They are goods, they are praise-worthy, they follow vertue and reason: vertue maketh all things equall amongst them which she acknowledgeth. It behoueth thee not, amongst those opinions which I hold, to wonder thereat. In *Epicurus* opinion there are two sorts of goods, whereof this happie and soueraigne good is composed; which are, that the bodie be without paine, and the soule without passion and perturbation. These goods increase not when they are compleate: for which way may that increase which is full? The bodie is without griefe; what may be added to this indolencie? The soule is peaceable, and in assured repose; what may be added to this tranquillitie? Euen as the cleere skie and the beauen appearing in his brightnesse, cannot receiue any more accomplished beautie: so the estate of a

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man that hath care of his bodie and of his soule, and will compound his good by the meanes both of the one and the other, is wholly perfect; he hath attained the fulnesse of his desire, if he feeleth no tempest in his soule, nor trouble in his body. If any other forreine contentments befall vs, they augment not any waies this soueraigne good, but in a sort season the same, and make it pleasing. For this intirely perfect good of humane nature, contenteth it selfe with the placability of body & soule: I will alledge you from *Epicurus* himselfe, a diuision of goods wholly like vnto ours. For there are some with him that he had rather should happen vnto him, that is to say, the repose of the body free from all paine, and the contentment of the soule that may reioyce in the contemplation of other goods. There are others which he praifeth and approueth, although he could not with they should befall him; as that patience which I spake of late in a great sickness, and extreme dolours, which *Epicurus* supposed his last and fortunatest day of his life. For he said that he suffered torments in his bladder and in his vicerated belly, which could not receiue a more great increase of dolour. And yet he esteemed that day the most happie. But nothing can make a man happy, but him that enioyeth the soueraigne good. There is then amidst *Epicurus* goods, such as thou wouldest not feele: but since fortune willet that it must be so, we must embrace, prize, and praise the same as the greatest goods. A man cannot say that the good which hath giuen a period to a happy life, and for which *Epicurus* in his last words hath giuen thanks, is not euen and equall with the greatest goods. Permit mee yet further, my *Lucius*, to speake more boldly to thee: if any goods may be greater then others, I had rather follow those that were displeasing, then those that are gracious and delicate. For it is more honour to ouercome such things as are difficult, then to moderate those that are ioyfull. I know well by the same reason that it may be effected, that some one may entertaine his felicitie modestly, and his calamity constantly. As valiant ought he to be esteemed that hath all night stood Sentinell in the Trenches, although the enimie hath not fallied to force the Campe, as he that after his legges haue bene cut off, hath entertained the combate on his knees, and hath neuer forsaken his weapons. We say to those that ordinarily returne from the field, sprinkled with blood, God increase your vertue. Therefore it is, that I would alwaies praise those goods farre more continually, which are become constant by a continuall exercise, and that haue combated against fortune. Should I make doubt rather to praise that roasted and maymed hand of *Mutius*, then the most healthfomest hand of the most valiant man that is? he stood vp right, contemning his enemies and the flames, he beheld his hand that consumed and dropped thorow his enemies Torch, vntill at last *Porcena* enuid the glorie of him, at whose griefe in the beginning he took pleasure, and caused to his great disgust, the fire to be taken from him. Why should I not account this good amidst the first and principall? Why should I not esteeme it farre more then those, which some enioy in so much securitie, without feare of fortune, since it is a thing more rare to haue ouercome an enemy with a dried and wasted hand, then with a whole and wel armed? But why, wilt thou say, wouldest thou desire this good? Wherefore not? for there is not any one can do the like, but he that can with the same. Should I wish rather to yeeld my feet to be softly rubbed by one of mine old varlets, or by some woman, or by some one that from a man should become a Woman, to stretch the ioynts of my little toes? Why should I not thinke *Mutius* more happy for managing the fire, in such sort as if he had stretched out his hand to any man, to rubbe him softly? He

He salued all the offence he had done, he made an end of the warre disarmed and lame, and with that maimed hand he ouercame two Kings.

EPIST. LXVII.

After his small Preface, a question whether euerie good is to be wished for. He saith that it is, yea euen that whose master is in euils. As to be constantly burned, sicke, and whipped. Neither is the burning it selfe, a sicknesse, nor the whipping, but that, saith he, is to be wished for, to suffer the same stoutly and constantly. Again, that Vertues are vniited together, and as one, so all. These also are worthis and besitting a stout and reall Stoick.

TO the end, to begin with common things; The Spring began to open it selfe, but as if it approached already towards Summer, and at such time as it should be hot, it waxed warme. Neither as yet is it to be trusted, for oftentimes it returneth to Winter. Wilt thou know how vnassured it is? As yet I dare not adventure to bath my selfe in cold water, as yet doe I temper the cold thereof. This is, sayst thou, not to suffer either heat or cold. So it is, my *Lucilius*, mine age is contented enough with his coldnesse; that scarcely may be thawed in the midst of Summer. And therefore for the most part of the time, I lie couched on my matresse. I thank mine age that hath tied me to my couch. And why should I not giue it thanks for this? All that which I should not will, I cannot act. My greatest discourse is with my bookes: If at any time thy Epistles come betwene, me thinks I am with thee, and so am I affected in mind, as if I did not write backe vnto thee, but answered thee face to face. And therefore will I in treat of that which thou demandest of me, as if I spake with thee. Wee will both of vs examine what this question is. Thou wilt haue me tell thee whether euerie good be to be desired. If it be good, sayst thou, to endure torments courageously, and to suffer the fire with a great constancie, and to endure a sicknesse peaceably: it followeth that all that is to be desired, and yet see I nothing in it, that is worthis to be wished. Truly, as yet know I not any man, that hath payed any vow he hath made for being beaten with whips, or made lame by the gowt, or made longer by the racke. Thou must, my *Lucilius*, make a distinction of these things, and then shalt thou finde that there is some poynt which may be wished for. I could well, with that torments should be alwaies estranged from me: but when of force I must needs feele the same, then would I wish that I might endure them virtuously, courageously, and honourably. Why should I not rather wish, that the warre should neuer happen? But if it bee proclaimed and begun, then would I desire, that with a generous courage I might suffer wounds, famine, and all that which the necessity of warre bringeth with it. I am not so foolish, as that I would desire to be sicke, but if it must so fall out, I would desire also that I might not do any thing intemperately, or effeminately. So the euils and incommodities are not to be desired, but the vertue whereby incommodities are suffered. Some of our Stoicks thinke, that the constancie and patience in torments and euils, neither ought to be desired nor detested. For when a man wiltheth, he ought to desire a thing wholly peaceable, pure, and exempt from sorrowes. But I am not of their opinion. Wherefore? Because it cannot be that a thing should be good,

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and should not be desired. Furthermore, if vertue is to be desired, and if there be not any good without vertue, it followeth that all good is to be desired. Againe, if a constant patience in torments should not be desired. I aske thee againe, is not Fortitude to be wished for? But the contempt and prouoketh all perils. The sayrest and most admirable part that is in it, is not to flee from the fire; to present himselfe to wounds, and sometimes not to avoid them, but to open his breast to receiue them. If then fortitude is to be desired, patience likewise in suffering torments is to be wished for, (for this is a part of fortitude) but separate these things, as I said, there shall be nothing that shall deceiue thee. For to suffer torments, is not to be wished for, but to suffer them courageously. That courage with which, which is a vertue. Yet who euer wiltheth this to himselfe? Some vowes are open and professed, when they are particularly made: some are obscured, when as many things are comprehended in one vow. As when I desire an honest life, but an honest life consisteth of diuers actions. In this is *Regulus* tombe, *Cato's* wound rent open by his owne hands, *Rutilius* banishment, the inuenered cup that translated *Socrates* out of prison into heauen. So then when I wished my selfe an honest life, I wished these things also, without which sometimes it cannot be honest.

*O thrice and foure times happy men were they,
That vnder Troy-towne walls dismembred lay,
Before their parents eyes.*

What difference maketh thou, eyther that thou wiltheth it vnto any one, or that thou confessest that it is to be desired? *Decius* made a vow to die for the Common-weale, and seeking nought but death, galloped his horse into the swarms of his enemies. Another after him, that emulated his fathers vertue, after his solemn and expresse execrations against himselfe and against his enemies, thrust himselfe mainly into the thickest squadrons of them, having no other care, but to sacrifice himselfe for his Countrey, supposing that a good death was a thing to be desired. Doubtest thou then, that it is not a noble wish to die in the bed of honour, and in some vertuous action? When any one endureth torments constantly, it may be he employeth all his vertues, although he hath but one at hand which discovereth it selfe, that is to say, patience: For there is Fortitude, of which, patience, sufferance, and tolerance are the branches. There is Prudence, without which no counsel is conceived, which perswadeth to endure that valiantly, which thou canst not flee. There is Constancie, which cannot be delected from her place, and giueth not ouer her resolution by no feare of torture. There is that inseparable societie of all the vertues. All that which is done honorably, one onely vertue doth it, but it is by aduice of counsell. But that which is allowed by all vertues, although it seeme to be done by one, is to be desired. Why? Supposest thou that those things are only to be wished for, which come by pleasure and idleness, and are receiued from painted, tapised, and adorned gates? There are some sad pleasures, and some vowes that are celebrated, not with reioyce, but with adoration and veneration of the whole Assembly. Thinkest thou not that in this kinde *Regulus* wished to returne into the hands of the Carthaginians? Put vpon thee the mind of a generous and vertuous man, and separate thy selfe a little from the opinions of the common sort. Assume as faire & magnificent a forme of vertue as thou oughtest:

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which is to be honoured by vs, not with garls and garlands, but with sweat and blood. Behold *Marcus Cato*, thrusting his most pure hands into that his sacred breast, to enlarge his wound, which as yet was not sufficiently deepe: whether at length wouldst thou say vnto him, I would that which thou wouldst, and I am grieved at that which thou dost? Happy be it vnto thee which thou dost. In this place our friend *Demetrius* commeth to my mind, who termed a secure life, and such a one as was not subiect to Fortunes incursions, the dead sea. For to haue nothing to awaken thee, nothing to moue thee, nothing by whose aduertisement and assault, thou mayst make triall of the firmie of thy mind, but to liue alwaies in a repose which hath neuer beene troubled, this is not a tranquillitie, but a calme. *Attalus*, the Stoick, was wont to say, I had rather that Fortune should nourish me in the campe, then in her delights. I suffer torments, but it is with constancie: this is well. I am massacred, but endure it constantly; this doth well. Heare moreover, what *Epicurus* saith: And sweet it is: I will neuer giue a delicate name to a thing so honest and seuer; I am burned, yet remaine I invincible: why should it not be desired, not that the fire burne me, but that it overcome me not? There is nothing more worthie then Vertue. All that whatsoever, which is done by her direction and command, is good and desirable.

EPIST. LXVIII.

He perswadeth repose, but so as it is ioyned with Philosophie. That we are not to boast thereof. And in it we are to entreat of our selues, with our selues, that is, to enquire of our vices, and to amend them. To conclude, that this repose is above all other affaires, because it serveth the great Common-weale.

I Will be of thy minde: go to then, and retire and hide thy selfe in repose, or rather hide thou thy repose. If thou canst not learne this by the Stoicks precepts, at least thou shalt learne it by their example. But by their precepts also thou shalt learne it, which I will approue vnto thee when thou wilt. Wee intermeddle not with all affaires of Estate, neither alwaies, neither without any end. Moreover, when we haue giuen a wife-man a Common-weale worthy of himselfe, that is to say, the world; he is not out of his Common-weale, although he be retired. But it may be rather, that forsaking a little corner, he goeth into places more great and spacious, and lodging himselfe in heaven, he then vnderstandeth, that when he was mounted in his chaire, and in his throne, he was rather descended into a more base place. I will shut this secret in thy bosome: That a wife-man neuer profiteth so much, then when both humane and diuine things become the object of his eyes. I returne now vnto that which I began to perswade thee vnto, that is, that thy solitude may be truly solid: It behooueth thee not to renoume thy selfe for a Philosopher. It were better thou shouldst obscure thine intent vnder some other title. Thou must call it sicknesse, feeblesse, idlenesse. It is an idle ambition to glorie in doing nothing. There are certaine beasts, which because they will not be tractred, confound their steps euen about that place where they lurke in. The like must thou doe; otherwise thou shalt not want them that will follow the Quest of thee. There are many that passe before the gates of those that are opened, without

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entring into them, and peepe into the crannies of those that are closed. The cofter that is shut, whereth on the thiefe to breake it open; no man maketh reckoning of that which is vnlocked, and these lock-pickers assault not the doore that is open. These are the manners of the common people, and thus doe the most ignorant. They desire to enter forcibly into other mens secrets. It is therefore most expedient for a man not to boast of his retirement, and it is a kind of boasting, to lie hidden too much, and to sequester a mans selfe from the sight of the people. This man is locked vp in *Tarenium*, that man is retired in *Naples*, and that other man for many yeares hath not ouerslid his threshold. Vndoubtedly, he summoneth the world to come and see him, that will suffer a report to passe of him through the Citie, that he is retired. After thou hast retired thy selfe, thou must doe nothing that men may talke of thee; speake thou onely with thy selfe. But what shalt thou talke with thy selfe? That which some men doe willingly entertaine of others. Haue alwaies an ill opinion of thy selfe. Accustom thy selfe to speake the truth, and to heare it also. Above all things, speake thou often of those imperfections which thou seelest in thy selfe. There is no man but knoweth his owne infirmities. Therefore it is that some man disburdeneth his stomach by vomit, another stuffes it with continuall eating, another emptieth and weakeneth his bodie by the meanes of fast. Those that are often tortured with the paines of the gowt, abstaine either from bathing themselves, or drinking of wine. And without obseruance of any other manner of diet, they ordinarily overcome the sicknesse wherewith they are tormented. So likewise, there are certaine parts in our soule, which are the causes of our infirmities, which how we ought to recouer, we diligently must bethinke our selues. What doe I in that repose I take? I cure mine vicer. If I should shew thee my foote swolne, my hand wholly mortified, or the dried sinewes of my contracted leg, thou wouldst suffer me to betake my selfe to my bed, and seeke cure for my sicknesse. But that euill which I cannot discouer vnto thee, is farre greater. It is an inflammation and aposteme which I haue in my breast. I will not that thou praise me, neither will I that thou say, O great man! He hath despised all things, and after he hath condemned all the furies of humane life, he is fled. Alas I haue condemned nothing but mine owne proper actions. Thou must not desire to come vnto me, to the end to profit thy selfe. Thou art deceiued, if hence thou expectest any succours. Here dwels not the Physitian, but the Patient. I had rather when thou art gone, thou shouldst say: I thought this man to be a happy and learned man, I gaue eare vnto him, I am deceiued, I heard nothing, I saw nothing that I might desire, or that might allure me to returne againe vnto him. If this be thy opinion, if this be thy speech, I know thou hast profited somewhat; I had rather thou shouldst pardon my repose, then enuie it. What then, *Seneca*, commendest thou repose of spirit vnto me? Thou growest an Epicure in thy opinion at length. I recommend vnto thee repose, to the end, that by the means thereof, thou mightest do things more great and more excellent, then those which thou hast left behind thee. To knocke at great mens gates, to keepe reckoning of old men that haue no children; to haue great reputation in Court; is but a momentarie power, and full of enuie; and if thou wilt speake truth, an abiect. This man farre surpasseth me in reputation amongst the Lawyers. He in his allowances and pates for seruice, and his dignities gotten thereby, he in the multitude of his Clients; I cannot be so well followed as the one, nor recouer so great reputation as the other. But I ought not to make so great account to be overcome by men,

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providet alwaies, that I may overcome Fortune. Would to God that had been thy mind heretofore, to haue followed this purpose. Would to God we held not this discourte of happie life, vpon that instant, wherein death presenteth her selfe to our sight, yet let vs not delay for all this. For now beleue we many things by experience, which we should haue beleued by the discourte of reason, to be both superfluous and harmefull. Let vs doe like those that set forward on their journey late, and that by diligence would recouer the time which they haue lost, let vs pricke forward on the spur. This age is as yet verie proper to this studie: It is alreadye clenfed from his skumme: it hath alreadye left those vices which she could not conquer in the heat of her youth. There wanteth little, but that she hath wholly extinguished them. And when, saist thou, shall this profit thee, which thou learned euen in the period of thy yeares, or to what intent? To this, that I may die the better: yet oughtest thou not to thinke that there is any age more proper vnto widdome, then that which by long experience, and by a continuall and frequent sufferance of casualties hath mortified and overcome her selfe; and which after it hath triumphed ouer her affections, hath attained to the knowledge of that which profiteth and concerneth her selfe. This is the true time of that good which remaineth but a little while, what man fouer, and how old fouer he be that hath attained wifedome, it is by his yeares that he hath compassed it.

EPIST. LXXIX.

That places are not to be changed, but that we ought to be more reposed in bodie, to the end the minde may be more pacified. That wee are to fixe the same on a wholsome studie, and to auoid those things which distract vs.



Will not that thou change countries, or transport thy selfe from one place to another, first, because so often change is a token of an instable and vnsteied mind. Thou canst neuer make profit of thy retirement, vnlesse thou giue ouer trauell, and wandring from cuntry to cuntry. If thou wilt settle thy minde, limite thy bodie in some place; then will thy continued remedies profit thee much. Thou must not break the repose or forgetfulness of thy former life: suffer thine eyes to forget; suffer thine eares to accustom themselves to wholsome counsailes. As oft-times as thou shalt walke in the streets, thou shalt find in passing by, something that may renew thy affections. Euen as he that would despoyle himselfe of loue, ought to see the remembrance of that beautie, which he hath loved: so he also that wil discharge himselfe of the affection of all things, of that desire wherewith he burned in times past, he must retire both his eies and eares from that he hath forsaken. Affection reuolte suddenly: on which side fouer he turne her selfe, she shall find a readie recompence of her employment. There is no euill without reward. Auarice, promisseth vs money, lust many and diuers pleasures, ambition the purple and applause, and thereby power and authoritie, and whatsoever authoritie may doe. Vices sollicite thee with rewards, but here must thou liue without taking any thing. Scarce can it be effected in a whole age, that those vices which haue had their increase by so long liberty, should be subdued & brought in subiection, much lesse may it be done, if we diuide the time which is so short, into little parcels. Hardly can continuall watch

watch and labour bring one onely thing to perfection. Truly, if thou wilt listen to me, meditate hereupon, exercise thy selfe to receive death, and to seeke her out when any occasion shall counsaile thee thereunto. It skills not whether she come to vs, or we to her: perfwade thy selfe that the foolish mens prouerbe and vsual speech is false, *it is a faire thing to die a good death.* Thou maist beside this, thinke thus with thy selfe: No man dieth but on his prefixed time: thou lokest none of thy time; for that which thou leauest behinde thee, is another mans.

EPIST. LXX.

That by the sight of the POMPEIES, and the admonishment of time past, he thought vpon the swiftnesse and flight thereof. That death is at hand, which is the haue of troubles. That she is neither to be feared nor desired, or intertained but sometimes, and when? When reason, not violent passion, perfwadeth. Many and most excellent things to this purpose.



After a long space of time I haue seene thy Pompeies, and in seeing them methought that I had recovered againe my former youth: all whatsoever I had done there whilst I was a young man, mee thought I could as yet doe it, and that but a little while since I did it. We saile along our life, my Lucilius, and as if it were vpon the Sea, as our Virgil saith;

The Shores and Cities flie.

So likewise in this so swift course of time, we lose the sight, first of our childhood, and after of our youth, and then whatsoever intercurrereth betwix youth and old age, which is confined both to the one and to the other, anon after also the better yeares of our old age. In the last place, the common end of all humane race beginneth to discouer it selfe. Are we so foolish to thinke that it is a rock? It is the Port which we ought one day to desire, and neuer to refuse; into which, if any man hath bene cast and carried in his young yeares, he ought not to complain, no more then he would, that with a short cut hath ended his Navigation. For as thou knowest, there are some whom slacker winds mocke and detain, and wearie with gentle tediousnesse of a peaceable calme; some are swiftly borne away by a ludden gust. Thinke that the same befallerth vs. Life hath brought and rauished some very swiftly thither, whither, although they would haue delayed, they must needs come. Other some hath she pined and burned, which as thou knowest is not alwaies to be retained; for to liue is not our good, but to liue wel. And therefore a wise-man liueth as much as he ought, not as much as he can. He will alwaies see in what place he ought to liue, with what persons, in what manner, and what he ought to doe. If diuers troubles and sorrows suddenly surprise him, to the intent to intercept his peace, he openeth the prison himselfe; neither doth he this onely in a desperate extremitee, but as soone as he hath the least suspicion of fortune, he taketh a diligent heed whether that day should be his last or no. He makes no great reckoning, whether by his own hand, or another mans hatred he receive his death, or whether it be sooner or later. He feareth not as if he were endangered to lose much; no man can haue great losse of water by a dropping Ewer. It skills not whether

a man die sooner or later: to die either well or ill, that importeth much; and to die well is to flee the perill of an euill life. Therefore thinke I that that *Rhodians* speech was most effeminate, who by a Tyrant being cast into a caue, and nourished there after the manner of a wild beast, being perswaded by some to abstaīn from his meat, answered, *A man ought to hope for all things whilst he liueth.* But suppose this were true, yet ought we not buy life at euerie rate. There are certaine things, which although they are good, although they are certaine, yet would I not attaine them by a confession of feebleness and faintness of heart. Shall I beleue that fortune hath power in all things ouer him that liueth, rather then suppose, that fortune can do nothing ouer him that knoweth how to die? Yet sometimes, although assured death be dependent, and that a man know that a punishment is delineated for him, yet must he not set hand and further his punishment? It is a folly to die through the feare of death: Comes he that should kill thee? Expect him. Why putteth thou thy selfe forward? Why vnder-taketh thou the charge of another mans crueltie? Dost thou enuie thy hang-man the office to execute thee, or wilt thou spare his labour? *Socrates* could haue ended his daies by his abstinence, and might haue rather died for hunger then of venome; yet remained hee full thirtie daies in prison, attending his death, not with this mind, that all things might be pacified, or that so long a time might make him conceiue greater hopes, but to the end he might yeeld himselfe vnto the lawes, and suffer his friends to enioy *Socrates*, euen vntill his last. But what more great folly could haue beene scene, then to despise death, and to feare prison? *Scribonia*, a woman of great authoritie, was aunt on the fathers sides to *Drusus Libo*, a young man, who had as weake a braine, as his descent was noble, and that hoped for far more great fortunes, then any other might hope for in that time, or himselfe in any other time after; when as, being sicke, he was borne away from the Senate in his Litter, not with frequent obseruances (for all his neere friends had forsaken him shamefully, not as a guiltie, but a convicted person and to be executed) he began to aske counsaile whether he should hasten his death by his owne hands, or expect the same. To whom, *Scribonia*: What pleasure hast thou, said she, to finish that which another ought to execute? But she could no waies perswade him. He murdered himselfe with his owne hands, and not without cause: for being assured that within three or foure daies after, (if he had bin found aliue) he should die that death whatsoeuer was best liking to his enemy, he finished that which another man should haue executed. Thou canst not the make a general iudgement, when as the violence of a forein tyrant denounceth thee death; whether thou oughtest to further or expect the same. For there are diuers reasons, which draw vs both to the one and the other opinion. If the one death should be accompanied with torments, and the other should be simple and facile: why should I not allow of that? Euen as I would chuse a ship to saile in, and a house to dwell in; in like maner would I chuse the better death, to depart out of this life. Furthermore, euen as the longest life is not the best, so the longest death is the worst. There is nothing wherein we should more accommodate our selues to our thoughts, then in death. Let the soule depart by that issue her selfe inforceth, whether it be the desire the dagger or the halter, or a poysoned cup that may suddenly seize all the veins, let her proceed and breake the bonds of her seruitude. Euerie one ought to endeavour to approue his life vnto others, and his death vnto himselfe. That which pleaseth vs most is the best. These things are foolishly thought: some will say, that I did it not courageously enough, some

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that too much rashly, some that there was a kinde of death more generous. Thinkest thou that it lyeth in thy power to make choice of a counsaile, which shall not bee subiect to common report and censure? Thinke onely to dispatch thy selfe speedily out of the power and hands of fortune; otherwise there will not want some who will conceiue an euill opinion of thine action: Thou shalt find some, yea euen those who haue made profession of Philosophie, that will denie that any man ought to violate or shorten his life, and that maintayne it for a foule offence, for a man to murder himselfe, and that it were better to expect the end which Nature hath determined. But hee that speaketh thus, seeth not that he cutteth off the way of libertie. The eternall Law hath done nothing better, then to giue vs one onely entrance into life, and diuers issues. Shall I expulse the crueltie of a sicknes, or the tyrannie of a man, when as I may escape euen through the midst of torments, & driue all aduersities far from me? This is one thing, wherein we cannot cōplaine of life, hee retaineth no man. It is a great good for human affaires, that there is not one that is miserable, but by his own default. Takest thou pleasure in life? Liue. Art thou displeased therewith? Thou mayest return to the place from whence thou camest. To heale thy head-ache thou hast oft-times let blood, to extenuate thy body thou hast opened thy veine: Thou needest not to open thy breast with a deep and vast wound; a Lancet will giue way to that great liberty, and in a prick consisteth securitie. What is it then that maketh vs fearefull and slacke to dislodge? There is not one of vs that thinketh that hee must depart one day out of this house: so doth the custome and indulgence of the place detain the ancient Inhabitants, although to their owne vndoing. Wilt thou alwayes keepe this liberty against this body? Inhabit it as if thou shouldst leave it, and make account that one day thou must lose his company. Thou shalt afterwards be more constant and resolute, when any necessity shall constrain thee to depart. But how can they thinke vpon their ends, who couet all things without end? There is nothing in this World, the remembrance and meditation whereof is more necessarie. For haply it is in vaine, where a man thinketh on other things. Haue we prepared our minds against pouerty? The riches remayne with vs. Are wee already armed against contempt of paine? The felicitie of a whole and healthfull body hath had no neede, that wee should make proofe of our vertues. Haue wee gotten this authority ouer our selues, that wee can suffer death and the losse of our friends constantly? Yet fortune hath conferred and made all them suruiue vnto vs, whom we most loye. But the day that shall haue need of the vse and practice of this onely thing, ought vndoubtedly to come. Thou must not thinke that great Personages onely, haue had that courage and force to breake the bonds of their humane seruitude. Thou must not thinke that *Cato* onely could rent out his soule with his hand, which hee could not pricke out with his Poynard. Since some men of as bad condition as may bee, with great heate of courage haue attained that place of assurance, and being vnablen suddenly to finde wherewith to make themselves away to their liking, or chuse any instrument which was proper for them thereunto, haue layd hand on the first thing they could encounter, and haue made vse of these things for Weapons, which of their nature were no wayes hurtfull. Not long since an Alman, one of those that should combat with the beasts, in the sports and shoues in the morning, retired himselfe, saying that hee would withdraw himselfe to discharge his naturall necessities; for they were not suffered to goe into any other secret place without guard: there stopped hee the stick

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or itaffe (to which a Sponge was fastned, to cleanse and cleere the priuie parts) wholly into his throat, and forcibly closing vp the passage of his breath, stifled himselfe: this was to braue Death and contemne it: It was vndoubtedly, although scarce cleanly and honorably. What folly is there greater, then to dye effeminately, when we must die assuredly? O strong, O worthy man, deferring the election of that Death that best liked him! How courageously had he vsed his Sword, had he found it? with what resolution of minde had he cast himselfe into the depth of the Sea, or the cauitie of a clouen Rocke? Being dispoysed of all commodities, hee found the meanes how hee might bee beholding vnto himselfe onely, both for the meanes and weapons for his death. To the end that thou mayest know that there is nothing that hindereth vs from dying but want of will. Let each man iudge as he list of this violent mans actions, provided that it be resolu'd vpon as a thing assured, that we ought to prefer a base & villanous death, before the cleanliest feruitude in the World. But because I haue begunne to vse abiect examples, I will continue them: for every one will inforce himselfe to doe his best, if he shall perceiue that death is contemptible to persons that are most abiect and base. We thinke that these *Catoes* and *Scipioes*, & those other whose memories we entertaine with admiration, are inimitable. But I will proue you presently that this vertue is accompanied with as many examples, amiddest the men most miserable, destinated to the sports and spectacles of beasts, as amiddest the Chiefest of Ciuill Warres. When as not long since, with fure guard, the Souldiers carryed forth a Wretch, sent out for the morning Spectacles, stooping downe his head as if hee were pressed with sleepe, he suffered it to hang so lowe, that he put it betweene the Cart-wheeles, and held it so long in that place, that the Wheele in turning it selfe brake his necke. Hee auoyded the punishment in the same Chariot, on which hee was carryed forth to bee punished. There is nothing that may hinder a man that hath a will to dye, and to be deliuered. Nature keepeth vs in an open place. He to whom his last necessity is so fauourable, as to aduise on the issue and end which hee shall esteeme most conuenient: hee that hath diuers meanes in his power to set himselfe at liberty, may chuse; he shall doe well to thinke how he may most easily be deliuered. But he that hath so hard hap, as not to find any occasion, let him take hold on the first that shall present it selfe, as if it were the best, although it be strange and vheard of: he that wanteth no courage, wanteth no inuention how to dye. Thou seest how those Slaues which are most miserable, when as their miserie toucheth them to the quicke, awaken themselves, and how they deceiue their keepers, though neuer so diligent: hee is a man of the greatest courage that hath not onely commanded, but also found out the meanes of his death. I haue promised thee diuers examples of men of this condition I haue spoken of. In the second combate which was made vpon the water, one of the Barbarians thrust all that lauelin into his throat, which was giuen him to combat his Enemies. Why haue I not long since, said he, fled all these torments and all these shames? Why should I attend Death, hauing the Armes in my hands? This spectacle was so much the more magnificent, as much as it is more honest for men to learn to dye well, then to kill. What then? That which the most abiect and contemptible Spirites may haue; why should not they partake, whom long studie and reason (the Ladie Mistris of all things) hath instructed? It is the same reason that warneth vs, that there are diuers manners of death, but that there is but one and the same end; and that it auayleth nothing to know whence that beginneth, that must one day

come.

come. The same reason warneth thee, if it lye in thy power to dye without griefe: but if it cannot be, doe the best that thou canst, and lay hold on all that which presenteth it selfe to lay violence on thy life. It is an outrage to lye by Rapine; contrariwise to lay hold on Death, and to draw him forcibly vnto vs, is a thing most honorable.

EPIST. LXXI.

That the chiefest good should be continually in our eyes, and that to it all our counsels and actions should be referred. What therefore is that? Onely honest. They adulterate the same that mixe externall things, because it is encliyd in the minde. Again, that goods are equall, and that contempt differeth not from Honour, if both proceed from honestie. He gineth Cato for example, and delateth the same very worthily. Likewise that an honest Death differeth not from such a life. Against the Academicus, which make degrees of happinesse. That neither it, nor honestie are intended. And therefore the most blessed may bee in torment. Is it so? Will hee not wax pale, tremble, or grieve? Yes, (for these are naturall) but all these shall bee overcome by the strength of his minde, yet not presently all. There are differences betwene Wisemen and Stupidous. Reade diligently, marke and admire.

Hou askest my counsell in all thy affaires, from time to time, not remembering thy selfe that we are separated by a large Sea. But since the greater part of counsaile dependeth on the opportunitie of time, it must fall out of necessitie, that sometimes in certaine things my counsaile is then brought vnto thee, when as at that time the contrarie were more allowable. For counsailes are fitted to affaires, and our affaires passe away swiftly, or to speake truth, roule away impetuouly. Counsell therefore ought to bee giuen daily, yet is it sometime ouer old by a day; it must be bred swiftly, as they say, and vnder hand. But how it is found I will shew thee. As oft as thou wilt know what either is to bee fled, or what ought to be affected, haue regard vnto the chiefest good and scope of thy whole life. For thereto must all that consent whatsoeuer we doe. Who so hath not a summe of his life before his eyes, can neuer dispose the parts of the same. No man, although his colours bee ground to his hand, can represent the similitude of any thing, except already he be resolu'd, what hee intendeth to paint. Therefore erre we, because we all of vs deliberate on the parts of our life, and no man debateth of the whole. Hee must know whereat hee aymerh, that will shoot his Arrow; and then must hee aymerh and guide his Arrow by his hand. Our counsailes therefore erre, because they haue not whereunto they should be directed. Hee that knoweth not what harbour hee shall make for, hath no winde fitting for him. It must need fall out that casualtie must effect much in our life, because all of vs liue casually. And to some it happeneth, that they wot not that they know certayne things; euen as oftentimes we seeke for those, with whom we are conuersant and present: So for the most part we know not the end of the soueraigne good, though it bee before our eyes, neither by many words nor long circumstance, shalt thou gather what the chiefest good is. You must shew it, as the Prouerbe saith, by the finger, without extending it to so many things. For to what purpose is it to diuide

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the same into parts, when as thou mayest say, *That is the chiefest good which is honest*; and that which thou shouldest most wonder at, *There is but onely one good, which is honest*; the rest are false and adulterated goods. If thou persuade thy selfe this, and perfectly louest Vertue (for to loue it, is but a small matter) whatsoever (shee shall touch, that to thee (howlouer it seeme to others) shall be both happie and successefull, both to be tormented, if thou lye more secure then he that tortureth thee; and to be sicke, if so be thou curst not Fortune, and giue not way to thy sicknesse. To conclude; all those things which to other men seeme euill, both shall be sweet vnto thee, and returne thee profit, if so be thou canst overcome them. Resolue on this, that nothing is good, but that which is honest, and that all incommodities may iustly be called goods, which are once made honest by Vertue. To many wee seeme to promise greater things then humane nature is capable of, and not without reason. For they respect the bodie; let them returne to the minde, and then shall they measure man with God. Take courage my *Lucilius*, the best of men, and dismiss this studie of Letters, which the Philosophers affect, who reduce the most magnificent thing of the World to syllables, that teach but base and trifling matters, and diminish and waste the vnderstanding. Become thou their Disciple that haue inuented these things; not theirs that teach them, and endeavour thus much, that Philosophie might rather seeme difficult then great. Follow them, if I haue any authority ouer thee. *Socrates*, who reduced all Philosophie vnto manners, and sayd that the chiefest Wisedome was to distinguish good from euill: *To be end that thou mayest be happie* (sayth hee) *permit thy selfe sometimes to be esteemed a Fools*. Let whosoever will, out-rage thee in words, and offend thee in deeds, yet shalt thou suffer nothing, if so bee vertue be with thee. If thou wilt, saith hee, be blessed: if thou wilt be an entyre honest man, suffer thy selfe to be condemned. This will no man performe, but he that hath equalled and proportioned all goods, because that neyther good is without honestie, and honestie is equall in all. What then? Is there no difference betwixt *Catoes* Pretorship, and his repulse? It skilleth not whether *Cato* be overcome in the Phaulian field, or whether he overcome. This good of his, wherein he cannot be overcome, though his Confederate were conquered: was it equall with that good, wherewith he returned a Conquerour vnto his Countrey, and composed the peace? Why should it not be equall? For by the selfe-same vertue euill fortune is overcome, and the good is confirmed; yet vertue cannot be made greater or lesse. Shee is alwayes in the same measure. Yea, but *Cneius Pompey* shall lose his Armie: but this fayre lustre and pretext of the Common-weale, the principall Citizens, and the chiefest bands of *Pompeyes* Confederates, which being composed of the Senate that bare arms, shall be defaced in one onely Battell, and the wreckes and ruines of so great an Empire, shall be noyed and scattered through the whole World: one part thereof shall fall in Egypt, another in Africa, and some in Spaine. And that which is worse, this miserable Common-weale cannot haue this good to be ruined all at once. Let all happen whatsoever may. Although *Iuba* can be no further succoured in his owne Kingdome by the knowledge of the passages, and the constant vertues of his people. Although the fidelity of the Inhabitants of *Vtica* being broken with so many mishaps, be deficient, and the fortune of *Scipioes* name abandoned him in Africa it selfe. It hath long since bin proud, ed that *Cato* that neither feel losse nor detriment; yet was he conquered. Account thou this amongst *Catoes* repulses; hee will suffer with as equall constancie,

stancie, as well that which hath beene contrarie to his vertue, as to his estate of Pretor. The day that hee refused the same, hee sported; and that night hee would kill himselfe, hee read. Hee cared as little to lose his life as his Pretorship; he had perswaded himselfe, and resolved to endure all that might happen. But why should not he with a stout and confident minde, endure the changes of the Common-weale? For what may a man see that is exempt from change? The Earth, the Heauens, and the structure of all this great World, although it be governed by God, is subiect thereunto. It shall not alwayes retayne that fayre order it now obserueth. Some day shall come, that shall cast it out of this accustomed course. All things alter by certayne stations, they must bee borne, encrease, and be extinguished; whatsoever thou seest wheele and winde about vs, and all that whercon wee are sustayned and stayed, as a thing most firme and solide, shall come to nothing, and be defectiue. There is nothing but hath his age and declination. Nature causeth all those things to descend into one place, by spaces of vnequall time. All that which is, shall be no more, yet shall it not perish but be dissolued. To vs dissolution is to dye: for we respect nothing but that which is before our eyes. The dull minde, and such as hath addicted it selfe to the body, foreseeeth no further, for otherwise hee would more constantly and courageously suffer, both her owne and her friends dissolutions and deaths, if hee hoped that all those things should goe by turnes from death to life, and that those things which are compounded, shall bee dissolued, and such as are dissolued shall bee re-assembled, and that God, which gouerneth the whole World, employeth his eternall Art on this Worke. Therefore, when as *Cato* hath represented before his minde, all the eternitie of time, he will say: All Mankind whatsoever is or shall bee, is condemned to dye. All the Cities, in what place soeuer they be, that haue had dominion ouer their Neighbours; and haue beene greatned and honoured by forren Empires, the time shall come when it shall bee enquired where they were builded, and by sundry sorts of dissolution shall they bee extinguished. Warre shall destroy some: Idleness, and a long peace conuerted into slothfulness, and foolish expences, (a fatall adiunct of great riches) shall consume the others. A sudden inundation of the Sea shall hide all these fertile Fields, or an Earthquake shall swallow them vp in his bottomlesse bosome. What cause haue I therefore to grudge at, or grieve for, if in a small moment I out-strip publike fate? A constant soule must obey God, and whatsoever the Law of the great Vniuersel commandeth, let him suffer without cunstation or delay. For cyther shee shall bee translated into a better life, to remaine with more brightnesse and tranquillitie amongst diuine things, or certainly shee shall remixe her selfe with her nature, and returne into her whole, neuer more to suffer any incommodie or paine. The foueraigne good then of *Marcus Cato*, shall not consist now more in his honestie, then in his honest death; for vertue is not intended. *Socrates* said, that Verity and Vertue were the same. For as hee increaseth not, no more doth Vertue also, shee hath her perfection, she is full. Thou must not wonder then to heare that goods are equal, as well they which we are to take by a certaine resolution, as those which a sudden current of Fortune bringeth to vs. For if thou admittest any inequality, that thou wilt reckon it amongst the lesser goods to bee constant in torments, thou shalt reckon it also amongst the euils. Thou shalt terme *Socrates* vnhappy in his Prison, and *Cato* infortunate, renting open his wounds more courageously then he inflicted them. Thou shalt iudge *Regulus* the vnhappyest man in the World, for

for paying the penalty of his offered faith vnto his mortall enemies. And yet there is not one, how delicate soeuer, and effeminate he be, that hath dared to say thus, for they deny him to be blessed, and yet they deny him to be miserable. The ancient Academikes confesse, that amidst these torments and paines hee was vnhappy, but not perfectly and fully; which can in no manner be allowed of. For if he be happy, he hath attained the soueraigne good, and the soueraigne good cannot haue any degree about the same. He is happy that is virtuous, provided that aduersities ouercome him not, provided that hee remaine entyre and safe, although the bodie be crushed in sonder; but certaine it is that he remaineth entyre. For I speake of a vertue most excellent and courageous, which is animated and incited against all that which offendeth it: that minde which oftentimes young men of generous hope and dispositions put vpon them, whom the beautie of some honest thing hath prouoked, so that they condemne all casualties; vndoubtedly Wisdome will insufe and teach, and perswade vs that the only good is that which is honest. And that this can neither be remitted or intended, no more then a rule by which a man mesureth that which he would make straight, which if thou bow, what soeuer thou change from it, is the iniurie of the right. The same therefore will wee say by Vertue, that shee also is straight, and admitteth no crookednesse, it can bee no more intended. Shee it is that iudgeth of all things, and nothing iudgeth of her, if she cannot be made straighter, no more are those things which are done by her straighter, the one then the other, for they must needs bee answerable to the same; so are they equall. What then sayest thou? Are these things alike to sit at a Table banquetting, and to be tortured? Dost this seeme strange vnto thee? Thou hast more occasion to wonder at this. It is an euill thing to sit at a Banquet; it is a good thing to bee tortured: if that bee done lewdly, this honestly. The matter is not the cause that this is eyther good or euill; it is the vertue. This where soeuer it appeareth, all things are of the same measure and price. Hee that iudgeth another mans vnderstanding by his owne, presently listeth vp his nayles to scratch out mine eyes, when I say that his good that suffereth aduersities constantly, and his that maketh an honest iudgement of prosperitie, are equall: when I say that the good of him that triumpheth, and of him that with an inuincible courage is led before the triumphant Chariot, are alike. For they thinke that nothing is done which they cannot doe, and by their owne infirmities, they censure vertue. Why wonderest thou, that some reioyce when they see themselves burned, wounded, harmed, slaine and fettered? Sometimes they suffer it for their pleasure. Sobriety sufficeth for a penaltie, to a prodigall & dissolute man. Trauell is no lesse then torture to an idle man. The effeminate taketh pity of him that is industrious, and studie is a hell to him that is slothfull. In like sort, those things (for which our forces seeme ouer feeble) are in our opinion hard and intollerable, whereas in our forgetfulness, we finde many that thinke it a torment to want wine, and trouble to rise early. These by nature are not difficult, but wee are recreants, wee are effeminate. Wee ought to iudge of great things with a great courage; otherwise it will seeme to be their error, which is ours. So certaine things that are most straight, when as they are let downe into the water, seeme crooked and bowed to them that be hold them. It skilleth not what thou seest, but how. Our minde is dimmed in beholding those things, and examining them which are true. Giue me a young man well borne and of good Spirit: hee will say that he supposeth him more fortunate, that hath borne all the burthens of aduersity for-

Fortune, with a constant minde on his shoulders, then him that hath wholly trodden Fortune vnder foot. It is no wonder to bee temperate in tranquillitie, admire him that is high-minded, where all men are dejected, that standeth there where all men are suppressed. What euill is there in torments, or what in those things which we call aduersity? The euill is, as I thinke, when the soule is astonied, when it is weakened, when it is smothered vnder the burthen. But none of these may befall a Wiseman. He remaineth alwayes vpright, how ouer-charged soeuer he be. There is nothing that lessneth his courage, nothing that is tedious vnto him, which hee must suffer. For he neuer complaineth that such a Fortune hath befallne him, which in any sort may befall any man whatsoeuer; he knoweth his owne forces, and his abilitie in suffering so great a burthen. I will not put a Wiseman out of the ranke of men, I will not exempt him from dolours, no more then I would doe a rocke which hath no sence. I remember my selfe that he is compounded of two parts: The one is irrational, and that it is which may feele bytings, burnings, and paines. The other is reasonable, that is it which is neuer shaken in opinion, that is exempt from all feare, and that is inuincible. In this part it is that a mans chiefe good lodgeth; before the accomplishment whereof, the minde wandreth as vncertaine and doubtfull, but after shee hath attained to her perfection, it is in assurance and in immutable firmities. So he that hath begun, and that neuertheless will ascend vnto the highest, and follow vertue, although hee approacheth the good which is wholly perfect, yet vnable as yet to accomplish the same: hee will sometime stay himselfe in the way, and temperate, in some sort, the vehemency and strength of his mind; for as yet hath he not ouer-passed those things which are incertaine, but remaineth as yet in danger of disaster. But he that is blessed and in whom vertues are accomplished, then loueth himselfe most, when hee hath made proofe of his constancie, and if there be anything which other men feare, provided that he may receiue some honest reward of his deuoyre and seruice, he endureth not onely, but hee embraceth the same; and had rather heare it spoken, he is more honest, then to heare it said, he is more happy. I haue now retyred my selfe thither, whither thy expectation draweth me: lest thou shouldest suppose, that the vertue whereof I speake, should seeme to extend it selfe aboue all naturall things. A Wiseman shall tremble, he shall feele paines, hee shall be pale, for all these senses appertayne vnto the bodie. Where is then the originall of his calamities? Where then appeareth his euill most approued? Then it is when his passions astonish his soule. Then it is, when they make her confesse that shee is a Slave, and that they engender some Repentance in her. The Wiseman vndoubtedly surmounteth Fortune by his vertue. But there are diuers men who haue made profession of wisdom, and notwithstanding haue bene terrified by very light threatnings. In this place it is our error, who exact that from a Proficient, which is spoken of a Wiseman. I strue as much as in me lyeth, to beleue all this which I praye yet perswade I not them as yet, and although I had perswaded my selfe, I should not haue them so ready at hand, or so exercised, that they should bee addressed against all casualty. Euen as Wooll taketh some stayne of Colours at the first, and drinketh not vp other some, without often maceration and boiling: so some wits, when as they haue conceited certayne Disciplines, forthwith make vse of them. But this Science, except it bee deeply imprinted in the soule, and hath taken deepe roote and long residence therein, hath not deeply dyed, but superficially coloured the same, and performeth nothing of that shee hath promised.

This may bee quickly learned, and in few words; namely, That there is but one onely good, which is Vertue, and that vndoubtedly there is not any without Vertue. And that Vertue is lodged in our better part, which is that, which is reasonable. What shall this Vertue bee? A true and immouable iudgement, from whence shall proceed the heate of the soule, whereby the appearance of things which may moue this heate, shall become cleare and certayne. It behooueth that this iudgement esteeme all those things good and equall in themselves, which shall be achieved by the counsaile of Vertue. In regard of corporall goods, they are goods for the bodie, yet are they not entirely perfect goods. Well may they be esteemed at some rate, but it shall be without any supereminencie. There is a great difference betwixt them: the one shall be greater, the other lesser. In like sort ought men to confesse that there is a great difference betwixt those that follow Philosophie. Some one hath so farre profited therein, that he dare lift vp his eyes against Fortune: yet not perseuerantly; for they are oftentimes obscured by the beames of her too cleere light. Some other haue profited so much, that hee dare encounter her face to face, if he haue attained to perfection, and be full of assurance. But it must needs so fall out that things which are imperfect grow to ruine, and now frustrate themselves, and anon alter come to decay or dissolution; and they come vnto decay if they perseuer not to grow forward, and inforce themselves: and if they remit any thing of their studie, and faithfull intention, they shall grow backward. No man findeth aduancement and profit there where he left it: let vs therefore be diligent and perseuer; there remaineth yet more then wee haue overcome: but the greatest part of profit, is to desire profit. Herein my conscience shall beare mee witness: I will, and with my whole minde I will: I see well also that thou hast this inspiration, and that thou prosecutest with great seruencie those things that are more faire. Let vs then make haste, and so doing, our life shall be the cause of our great good; otherwise it is but a delay, and truly a very lothsome one, if wee conuerse in base matters: let vs endeavour so, that all the time may be ours, but it will not be, except we beginne to be our owne. When shall it come to passe that wee will contemne both fortunes? When shall it come to passe, that suppressing all our affections, and bringing them vnder our obedience, we may say thus: I haue overcome? Askest thou me whom I haue overcome? Not the *Persians*, nor the farre distant *Aedes*, or that warlike Nation of the *Dace*; but *Aurice*, but Ambition, but feare of death, which haue vanquished the Conquerours and Vanquishers of the whole World.

EPIST.

EPIST. LXXII.

He delayeth to answer LUCILIUS Petition, and that upon instant occasion. He sheweth that the studie of Goodnesse is deferred by vs, but badly. That wee ought to intend to this onely, pretermittting all other things. That nothing happeneth that may hinder him, specially that is wise, and proficent in some sort. The difference betwixt them both. That externall things neither adde nor detract from a Wiseman, that is alwayes contented with himselfe.

I Would answer thy Question which thou hast propofed to mee, if I could remember the same, but it is long time since I made tryall of my memory. And therefore it is that it followeth mee not so easily. I know well, and feele it in my selfe, that the like hath befallen me which happeneth in Bookes that are mouldie, and whose leaues cleaue together. I must dilate my mind, and whatsoeuer things haue beene hoorded therein, they ought to be remoued and brought in vlie, that they may alwayes be in a readinesse as often as I haue need to vlie them. But let vs deferre this for the present; for it requireth much labour and much diligence. As soone as I may make more longer residence in a place, I will take this taske in hand; for there are some things which thou mayest compose in thy Coach, and some other that deserue the Bed, the repose, and solitarie places. Yet those very dayes wherein a man is occupied, we must doe somewhat, yea, all the whole dayes: for new occasions and occupations will be neuer scantie; wee see this our selues, and from one springs many; and that which is worst, wee giue our selues delays. But as soone as I haue made an end of this, I will wholly intend that, and if I can end this troublesome matter, I will addict my selfe vnto studie. Thou must not expect till thou haue leasure to follow Philosophie. Thou must contemne all other things, to be alwayes with her. A man cannot finde time that may be sufficiently long for her, although it continue with vs from the yeares of our infancy, vntill the longest life of man. It skilleth not much whether thou omittest Philosophie, or intermittest it. For the remaineth not there where she is interrupted; but euen as those things that are bent, as soone as they are let slip doe forcibly retyre themselves, so reduceth she to her beginnings all that which was forgotten since that time that a man had exercised and continued himselfe in her studie. We must reiect all affaires and occupations, we must not studie how to dispose them, wee must not studie how to dispose them, wee must wholly dispossesse and driue them from vs. There is no time vnfitting for a wholesome studie. But there are many that addict not themselves to the studie of those things, for the loue whereof they ought to studie. Shall there be any occasion that may let them? Truly not him whose minde in all affaires is watchfull and ioyfull. To these persons onely true ioy is interrupted, which haue not as yet attained perfection. But in regard of the wise, their ioy is continuall, it keepeth the same tract, there is not any fortune or occasion that can countermand the same. It is alwayes peaceable and repofed; for it hath no dependance of another: it expecteth no fauour at Fortunes hands, nor mens applause: the felicitie it hath is domesticall, it would depart out of the mind if it should enter: it is bred there. Sometimes it commeth externally, to the end a man should remember that hee is mortall; but this comming is very slight, and surpasseth not the vpper skin. He

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feeleth, I say some incommodie; but that good which is the greatest he hath, is neuer shaken: well wot I that outwardly there are some incommodies, euen as vpon a strong and able body there appeareth some itch, and pimples, and vlcers, but inwardly there is no euill. The difference, I say, that is between a man that hath already acquired a perfect wildome, and him that is as yet to attayne the same, is such as there is betwixt a man that is healthfull, and him that beginneth to recouer himselfe from a long and tedious sicknesse, who thinketh himselfe to be then in good health, when the fit of his Feuer is the shortest. This man, except he be very carefull of his health, he feeleth by times certayne shakings, & easily falleth by relapse into his former infirmities. But a Wiseman cannot fall againe, nay more, he neuer more can be attained therewith: for as touching the body, it hath health but for a time, and that Physician that hath recured him, cannot promise him perpetuities: hee is oftentimes recalled by him, whom almost before time he had resuscitated. But the soul is healed for euer at one time. I will teach thee how to know when a man is in health; if he be content with himselfe, if he may trust himselfe, if he knoweth that all mortall mens Vowes, that all the benefites which are giuen and demanded haue no moment in a blessed life. For that thing whereunto a man may annex somewhat, is not perfect. But that from whence nothing may bee taken continueth eternally. He whose ioy is perpetuall may reioyce of that which is his owne. But all these goods whereunto the common sort aspire, incessantly flowe hither and thither: Fortune giueth nothing with warrantize; and yet the benefites of Fortune are pleasing vnto vs when they are tempered by reason, and the directeth them. She it is that maketh vs allow of exterior things. The vse whereof displeaseth if they be desired ouer-ardently. *Attalus* was wont to vse this comparison: Hast thou seene a Dogge snatching at a peece of bread with open throat, or a morrell of flesh which his Master casteth him? He deuoureth incontinently all that which is giuen him, and still openeth his mouth, in hope that some one will cast him more. So falleth it out with vs, whatsoever Fortune casteth vpon vs during our expectation, that swallow we without any pleasure, still expecting and affecting some second prey. So faileth not a Wiseman; he is full, and if any thing befall him, he securely receiue it and layeth it vp; his ioy is great, continuall, and his owne. Is there any one that hath a good will, and that profiteth somewhat, but hath not as yet attained to perfection? Such a one shall be sometimes dejected, sometimes encouraged, sometime is he raised as high as heauen, otherwise drawne downe as low as Earth. The ignorant, and such as haue little experience, neuer make an end of their precipitation, but fall into confusion, and into *Epicurus* his *Chaos*, voyde and infinite. There is another third kind of those that wanton it about Wildome, which as yet they cannot attaine, yet are they in sight thereof; and if I might say so, they may clap ber on the hand. These are neither shaken, neither doe they fall, they are not as yet on the continent, but they are already in the harbor. Since then there is so great a distance betwixt those that are on high, and those that are most low, since that they which are in the middell, feele as yet some storme, and that they are followed with more danger to returne vnto a more wicked life, wee must not addit our selues to any occupations, we must reiect them. If they were once entred, they would set some other in their places. Let vs hinder their beginnings, and the lesse labour will there be to keepe them from beginning, then to see them take end.

EPIST.

EPIST. LXXIII.

That Philosophers are not disobedient but more obedient, and faithfull to Princes, then those that are ambitious and Palatines: for these affect Enuie, and are alwayes vnquiet, often displeased; but the other loue them, because they liue quietly vnder them, and are such that are full of good Merchandize. They impute this benefite also, although it happen vnto many. As length hee counsellet him to aspire vnto vertue, that is, to God; for that (such is the Stoicks pride) they make a Wiseman equall with him.

They deceiue themselves, in my iudgement, that suppose that they who haue wholly addicted themselves to Philosophie, are disobedient and rebellious to their Magistrates and Kings, or that they contemne those by whose authoritie publike affaires are admistrred: for contrariwise there is not any one that reuerenceth and respecteth them more then they. And not without cause; for that Kings cannot doe greater good vnto any man in this World, then to those that may enioy a peaceable repose. It must then necessarily fall out, that they to whom publike assurance openeth the way to the intention they haue to liue well, should reuerence the Authour of the same good as their Lord and Father. And truly farre more then those light-witted and irresolute men, who being infinitely bound vnto their Princes, will notwithstanding haue men thinke that they owe them more; on whom a man cannot employ any liberality, how great soeuer it be, that may satisfie their ambitious desires, which increase alwayes the more, the more they are glutted. But hee that thinketh to receiue new benefites, hath already forgotten the old, and Couetousnesse hath not any vice more great then Ingratitude. Adde hereunto now, that there are none of those that are employed, and conuersant in publike affaires, that respecteth those at any time, whome hee hath ouer-stripped, but looks into those that out-strip him; and it is not so pleasant a matter vnto them, to see many men come after them, as it is grievous vnto them, that any one should ouerpasse them in dignitie. All sort of ambition hath this vice, that it neuer respecteth that which is past. And ambition is not onely inconstant and wandring, but all couetousnesse likewise; because it beginneth alwayes from the end. But that sincere and poore man, who hath forsaken the Court and the Palace, and all prehemency in Common-weale to retire himselfe for more noble intents and ends, loueth those by whose authority it is lawfull for him to doe these things with security; he alone payeth them with gratuitall testimony of acknowledgement, and confesseth himselfe to bee indebted vnto them for a great good, although they know not his good will. Euen as he honoureth and reuerenceth his Masters, by whose instructions hee is despoyled of those vices, in like sort respecteth hee those, vnder whose protection and government hee may exercise honest disciplines. But the King protecteth others also by his power. Who denyeth it? But euen as amongst others that haue travelled by Sea, and haue bene partakers of one and the same calime, he thinketh himselfe more bound vnto *Neptune*, that hath brought home more great quantitie of precious Merchandize; and as the Merchant payeth his vow with greater courage then a Passenger doth: And as hee also amongst the Merchants that bringeth Perfumes, Purples, and other precious things which are solde for

Dd 3

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their weight in gold, reknowledgeth this fauour more liberally, then doth he that hath but layd downe poore Merchandize, and other things which should serue but to ballast and loade the Ship: So the benefit of this peace, appertayning to all, doth more deeply content them that vse the same well: For there are many of these Magistrates and mighty men, to whom peace is more troublesome then Warre. Art thou of that opinion, that they which make no other vse of peace, but to employ it in Drunkenesse, in Ryot, and other sorts of vices; for the extermination of which, it were necessary to enterprise a War, shall be so much obliged for the same? Except haply thou wert of that opinion, that a Wiseman were so inuist, that hee thought that hee were no wayes obliged to his Gouvernour for publike and common benefits. I owe much vnto the Sunne and Moone, and yet they shine not for me alone. I am particularly bound vnto the yeare, and to God that tempereth and gouerneth the same, although they haue not bene ordayned for my particular honour. It is the foolish avarice of mortall men, that maketh a diuision of these goods, and assigneth the propertie vnto them, and that beleueeth nothing to be his that is for publike profit. But this Wiseman iudgeth nothing to be more aptly his, then that which is common betweene him and all other men. For goods cannot be common, if the portions of them appertayned not to particulars. A man is made partaker how little part foer he enioy in a common thing. Adde herunto also this other reason, that the greatest and trust goods are not so diuided, that a little should light vpon euery priuate man. They come wholly into euery mans possession. Of those presents which Princes make vnto the people, the particulars take as much by powle, as hath bene promised to euery one. At a common Banquet, and at the common dole of flesh, and in all that which is receiued by hand, the Almes is distributed in prizes. But these indiuisible goods, such as peace and libertie are, these also are intyre to all, as they are particular vnto euery one: and therefore a Wiseman considereth what he is, by whose meanes the publike necessity contrayneth him no more to beare Armes, nor to intend the Watch, nor to stand Sentinell on the walles, and not to pay an infinitie of taxes any more which Warre bringeth with it, and giueth thanks vnto his Prince. This doth Philosophie teach vs, especially to be dutifully thankfull for benefits, and faithfully to requite them; and the onely acknowledgement sometimes serueth for payment. Hee will therefore confesse that he is very much bound vnto him, by whose wise Government and prouidence this great and happie repose is befall him, to be able to passe the terme of his life in such tranquillitie and quiet, which is not interrupted by any publike occupations.

*'Tis God, O MELIBE, that gaue this peace,
Him as my God I'll honour without cease.*

If then these calmes and contentments are so principally to be ascribed to him that hath procured them for vs, the greatest good whereof is,

*He (as thou seest) my yoked Teame permits
To plough the Earth, by him in pleasant fits,
Mine Oaten Pipe I tune as best befits.*

How much ought we to esteeme that repose which wee partake with the gods,
that

that maketh vs become gods? Thus say I, *Lucilius*, thus call I thee to heauen by a short way. *Sextius* was wont to say, *That IVPITER could not doe more then a good man.* IVPITER hath more meanes to be liberrall towards men. But among two good men, he is not the better that is the richer, no more then betweene two that haue equall knowledge in gouerning a Ship, thou wilt not call him better that gouerneth a Carricke or great vessell, and full of rich lading. What aduantage hath *Iupiter* ouer a good man? It is but onely this, that he is more long time good. A wise-man reckoneth himselfe nothing the lesse, because his vertues are determined in a shorter time. Euen as of two wise men, he which is dead in fulnesse of his age, is not more happie then he, whose vertue hath taken end in lesser yeares. So God likewise surmounteth not a wise-man in felicitie, although he exceed him in age. That vertue is not greater which is longer. *Iupiter* hath all these things, but he hath giuen the vse and possession thereof vnto others: This onely vse appertaineth vnto him, that he is the cause that others may vse the same. The wise-man likewise is glad to see the possession of all goods in an other mans hands, and maketh as small account also of that as *Iupiter* doth, and further supposeth himselfe to haue this aduantage about him, that *Iupiter* cannot haue vse of them, and a wise-man will not. Let vs therefore beleuee *Sextius*, who sheweth vs a faire way, and crieth out, This is the way to heauen, by sobriety, by temperance, and by patience in aduersitie. The Gods disdaine no man; euen no man, they entertain and stretch forth their hand to those that ascend. Wondereest thou to heare that men goe vnto the Gods? God commeth vnto men, nay (which is more neere) he commeth into men. There is not any soule that is good without God. There are certaine diuine seeds dispersed in the bodies of men, which grow answerable to their originall, and grow alike vnto that graine from whence they took their beginning, if they be entertained in the bosome of a good husband-man. But if he be euill, he choaketh them as a barren and faggie ground; and finally, in stead of corne, beareth chaffe and straw.

EPIST. LXXIII.

O faire! O honest Epistle! and of honestie it selfe! and that indeed it is the onely good! the rest but in opinion. He that will safely and securely liue, let him so thinke. What likenesse? Let him haue a ready buckler against all casualties, which is to follow God. At length he answereth certaine objections. Lastly, he sheweth that a blessed life is as a circle, perfect both in small and great. That nothing is added, nothing taken there from by externall things. It must be reiterated. O faire! O honest! enioy thou this, who hast such a minde.

Thy Letter delighted mee, and awakened mee when I was wearied, and quickened my memorie also, which is now slow and heauie. Why shouldest thou not, my *Lucilius*, thinke this persuasion to be the greatest instrument of blessed life, that there is onely one good, that is to say, that which is honest? Hee that hath circumscribed all sorts of good vnder honestie, is happie in himselfe. For he that iudgeth that other things are goods, subiecteth himself to the power of Fortune, and dependeth on another mans will. This man is sorrowfull for the losse of his children, another carefull of them that are sicke, and that other, if they

they be dishonest and noted of infamie. Thou shalt see one man tormented with the loue of another mans wife, and another transported with the loue he beareth his owne. I here shalt not want some one likewise, that is distracted with repulse, and some shall there be that are disgusted euen in their highest honour. But the greatest number of all those men which are thus miserable, is of them whom the assault and touch of impendient death, (which they feare on euerie side) presseth and tormenteth incessantly; for there is no one thing from whence the may not come. Euen, therefore, as if they liued in an enemies countrey, they ought to looke about them on euerie side, and on euerie wayce they heare, to turne their neckes thitherward: for except this feare be driuen out of their breasts, they liue in continuall heart-broke and suspition. Some will be found out that haue bene sent into exile, and deprived of their goods, and some also will occur (which kind of pouertie is the most irksome) poore in their riches. Thou shalt meet with some that are shipwracked, or such as haue suffered some such like thing vnto shipwracke, whom either the wrath or enuy of the common sort (which is a dangerous weapon to wound the better sort) hath ouerthrowne vnawares, and when they were most secure: after the manner of a gulf, which is wont to breake forth in the most seeming securitie of a calme; or of a sudden lightning, at whose cracke the neighbouring countries haue trembled. For euen as there he that is neere to this fire, remaineth as much amazed, as if he had bene stricken: in like sort, in these accidents that come by violence, the calamitie oppresseth one, but feareth the rest, and maketh the abilitie to suffer equall with the heauinesse of those that doe suffer. Other mens misfortunes, which surprise them at vnawares, astonish the minds of all those that see them. And euen as the ouely noyse of a sling, although it be not charged, frighteth the birds: in like manner, we not onely tremble at the stroake, but at the least cracke we heare. No man therefore can be blessed, that hath credited himselfe to this opinion. For nothing is blessed, but that which is without feare: The life is miserable that is incombred with suspition. Whosoever hath addicted himselfe verie much vnto casualties, hath made himselfe a great and inexplicable matter of perturbation. There is but one way for him to tract, that will search out a life full of assurance, which is to contemne the goods of Fortune, and to content himselfe with that which is honest. For if any man thinketh that there is any other thing better then vertue, or that there is any other good besides the same: he openeth his bosome to that which Fortune spreadeth, and with extreme care expecteth those goods whereof the maketh larges. Suppose and imagine in thy mind, that Fortune maketh publike plaies, and that she scattereth amidst this great assembly of mortall men, honors, riches, and fauours: whereof the one part is broken and torne in peeces, betweene the hands of those that rauish them; another part is vnequally diuided by a disloyall societie; and another is ingrossed, to their great detriment who light vpon the same: and finally also, some others haue fallen into the hands of those that thought not any wife of them; and others haue bene lost there, because they were ouer greedily affected, and whilst they are couetously catcht at, they are stricken out of their hands. To conclude, there is not any, how happye fouer his rauishment be, whose ioy, in respect of that he hath rauished, can endure long time. For which cause, the wiser sort, as soone as they see the presents brought in, flye out of the Theatre, as knowing well, that a little thing would cost them deare. No man fighteth with him that retirith, no man striketh him that flieth, it is vpon the prey the contention

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groweth. The same successe is there in those things that Fortune casteth down from on high. We burne in miserable desire after these goods, we are in great trauell, we desire to haue many hands, now regard we this man, presently that man; we thinke that they are too slowly sent vnto vs which stir vp our desires, and that it can fall but into few mens hands, although it be expected and desired by all men. We desire to meet with those that fall; we laugh if we may surprise anything, and some other enuie vs, whom vaine hope hath deceived. We redeeme a lamentable damage with a little prey, or thereby we are deceived. Let vs therefore depart from these playes, and let vs giue place to these raiuers. Let these men fixe their intention as much as they will on those goods which hang in the aire, and let themselves likewise be more in suspence. Whosoever is resolu'd to be blessed, let him resolute there is but one good, which is honestie. For if he suppose that there is any other good; first of all he hath an euill opinion of the diuine providence, because many mishaps befall good men: and because also that all that which their providence hath giuen vs, is but of a verie small continuance, if wee compare it with the age of the whole world. From this complaint it groweth, that we are vngratefull interpreters of diuine things. We complaine, because goods befall vs not euery day, that they are little, that they are incertaine, and that they must suddenly depart from vs. Hence cometh it to passe, that we will not liue, neither haue desire to die; we hate life, and we feare death. All our countailes are vncertaine, and there is no felicitie that can satisie vs. The cause hereof is nothing else, but that we haue not yet attained that foueraign good, which cannot be surmounted by any other thing, and on which we ought to stay our desires; for about the place that is most highest, there is no other place. Askest thou me why vertue hath need of nothing? Because she is pleased with things present, and desireth not the absent. There is nothing but seemeth great vnto her, because that euery thing sufficeth her. And if thou shouldst separate thy selfe from this opinion, neither pietie nor faith should haue any place. He that would follow both the one and the other, shall be constrained to suffer verie much of that which wee call euill, and to spend much of that which wee esteeme and reckon of for good. Fortitude, that must make triall of him selfe, is lost; Magnanimitie is lost also, because she cannot approue her selfe, except she contemne all things as ouer base, which the common sort desireth as the most greatest. In briebe, the grace and requitall of all good turnes is lost, it is but paine and trauell, if we thinke that there is any other thing more precious then faith, and if we fixe not our eyes on that which is the best. But to let these things passe, either those that are called good, are none at all; or a man is happier then God. For God maketh no vfe of those goods which are prepared for vs; disordinate pleasures, foolish expences in banquets, riches, nor any of that which may allure a man, or draw him to loathsome pleasures, appertaine not to him. We must then say (that which is vncredible) either that God hath want of these goods; or we must conclude vpon this argument, that whatsoeuer God wanteth, is not good. Furthermore, there are many things that would be thought to be goods, which are more aptly employed on beasts then on men. They eat with more greater appetite, they are not so soone wearied in the act of generation, their forces are more great and lasting, whereby it followeth, that they are more happy then man: for they liue without wickednesse or deceit, they enioy their pleasures which they enioy, more fully, and more easily, without any feare of shame or repentance. Consider thou there-

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fore, whether that is to be called good, wherein God is overcome by man. Let vs lodge the fouraine good in our minds. He loseth all his grace and dignitie, if from the better part, which is in vs, it should be translated to the worlde, and should bee transferred to the senses, which are more active in brute beasts. Our chiefest felicitie is not to be planted in the flesh. Those are true goods which reason giueth, they are solide and euertlasting; which cannot fall, neither be decreased nor diminished. The rest are goods in opinion, they haue onely a common name with the true, but they haue no proprietie or effects of vertue in them. Let them then be called commodities, or according to our phrase, profits and reuenues. But let vs know that they are but as our slaves, and not any part of vs; let them be in such sort with vs, that we remember our selues that they are without vs; and if they be with vs, we must put them in the number of those things which are most base and abiect, and for which no man ought to wax proud. For what is more foolish then for a man to please himselfe in that, which himselfe hath not done? Let all these things approach vs, but not cleaue vnto vs, and if they must be drawne from vs, let them be so leuured, that we be not distracted and torne thereby. Let vs vfe them, and not glory in them, and let vs vfe them sparingly, as such things as are lent vs, and are not to remaine with vs. Whosoeuer vseth them contrary to reason, he hath not long time enjoyed them. For felicitie it selfe hurteth vs, except it be well tempered and gouerned; is ouer pressed: if the trust her selfe to transitorie goods, she seeth her selfe suddenly naked and despoyled, and if this come not to passe, such goods procure her many cuils. There are few men who haue had the fortune to lay by their felicity contentedly. The rest of men, which those goods that made them esteemed aboue others, are dejected, and that which for a time exalted them, finally humbleth them. Much wisdom therefore must be made vfe of, which may dispose them with measure and parsimonie. For a disordinate libertie ouer-beareth and destroyeth his proper riches in such sort, that immeasurable expence hath neuer continued long. If reason by her moderation had not restrained the same. The miserable end of diuers cities wil make thee know this, whose luxurious empires in their first flower and pride haue decayed, and whosoeuer hath bene gotten by vertue, is ruinated by superfluitie. Against these casualties are we to arme our selues. There is not any wall that can resist the batteries of fortune: and it is within vs, that wee ought to arme our selues. If that noble Fortresse be assured, a man may be assailed, but he cannot be surprisid. Wilt thou know what fortification it is? That thee trouble not himselfe with any thing that may happen, that bee beleue that whosoeuer, yea euen that which seemeth to offend him, dependeth on the conseruation of the whole World, and that it is a part of that which finisheth the course and ioyce of the same. A man ought to take pleasure in all that which God taketh pleasure in, he ought to admire himselfe, and all that which is in him, for this onely consideration, that he cannot be vanquished, that he holdeth his euill vnder his feet, and that with reason, (then which nothing is more powerfull) he surmounteth Fortune, grieve and iniurie. Lowe reason then, for the loue thereof will arme thee against all the greatest misfortunes that may be. The loue of their young ones, causeth wilde Beastes to fall into Snares, who otherwise by their fierceness and violence were vntameable. Sometimes the desire of glorie hath drawne some young and generous mindes into contempt, both of word and fire: the opinion and shadow of vertue hath egged some on to seeke out a voluntarie death. But the stronger and constan-

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ter reason is against all this, the more vehement and violent becommeth the against all feare and danger. You doe nothing, will some man say, because you deny that there is any other good but honestie, I his defence of yours shall not make you strong and impregnable against Fortune. For you say that amongst these goods, a man ought to include obedient children, cities well gouerned, and parents that are honest. And yet if these be in any danger, you cannot see it without astonishment. For a siege of thy citie, the death of thy children, and the bondage of thy parents will trouble thee. But I will set thee downe what it is, that is accustomably answered for vs in this case, and then againe will I adde what besides that may be answered in my iudgement. There is another condition in those things which being taken from vs, substitute some other incommoditie in their place, as health being impaired changeth it selfe into sicknesse; the sight of the eye extinguished, affecteth vs with blindness; and when the hammes are cut, not onely sinewes perill, but debilitie followeth in stead thereof. And yet the danger is not in those things, which we haue spoken of a little before: Why? Because that if I haue lost a good friend, I must not therefore be perfidious for him, neither if I haue buried good children; there is no reason that impietie should supply their place, to endanger and hurt me. Moreover, by this death, friends and children are not lost, it is but the bodie. But good cannot be lost, but by one onely meane, that is, if it should change it selfe into euill, which Nature permiteth not; for all vertues and all their actions remaine incorruptible. Again, although that friends, although that well approved children, who haue in nothing contradicted their fathers commands, be dead, yet notwithstanding, there is something that may supply their place. Askest thou me what it may be? It is that vertue that hath made them good men. She suffereth not at any time, that there should be any place void. She intirely taketh seisure of our soules, she exterminateth the sorrow of all things, and contenteth her selfe to be alone. For the power and originall of all goods is in her. What skilleth it if the water that floweth be stolne, or flect away, if the fountaine from whence it issueth be liuing and replenished? Thou wilt not say, that a man is more iust, because his children are yet alive, or for that they are dead, nor more moderate, more honest, more wise, more better; consequently a great number of friends make not a man more wise, neither the diminution, or want of them, maketh him not more foolish, and consequently also, neither more happie, nor more miserable. As long as thy vertue shall remaine entire, thou shalt neuer feele any losse that thou hast made. What then? Is not he who is enuironed with a goodly troupe of friends and children more happie? Why should he not be? Because the fouraine good cannot be diminished or augmented. He alwaies remaineth after the same fashion. Howsoeuer, Fortune carrieth her selfe, although the yeares be old, or that he die before he be aged, it is one and the same measure of the fouraine good, although it be different in age. Whether thou make a circle greater or lesser, it is but in respect of the space, but not of the figure: and although the one hath remained a long time painted, and that thou hast incontinently defaced the other, and covered it with dust in the place where thou hast cast it; yet both the one and the other were the same figure. That which is right and iust is not effected by the greatness, nor by the number, nor by the time; it can neither be lengthened nor strengthened. Abridge as much as thou wilt an honest life that endured an hundred yeares, and reduce and determine it in one onely day, the one is as honest as the other. Vertue extendeth it selfe more at large: the gouerneth King-
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domes, Cities, and whole Provinces; she maketh lawes, she prisseth and honoureth friendships, she dittributeth offices and duties betwene the neediest parents and their children; and presently shee circumscribeth her selfe in a straiter scope of poverie, banishment, and losse of children. Yet is shee not lessened, although that from a great and high estate she is fallen into a private and particular, and from a royall throne, to an abiect and base place. And if from a publike and ample power, she restraineth her selfe in an homely cottage or in some corner, she is alwaies as great, if after shee hath bene driven from all places, she solely retire her selfe into her selfe. For this notwithstanding, she hath a courage great and invincible, a prudence that is perfect, a iustice immutable, and consequently, shee is alwaies happy. For this blessednesse, and this good, is lodged in one onely place, that is to say, in the minde. It is everlasting, and full of tranquility, which cannot be without the knowledge of diuine and humane things. It followeth now, that which I said I would answer. A wise man tormenteth not himselfe for the losse of his children, nor his friends, for he endureth their death with as equal constancie and courage, as he expecteth his owne. He feareth the one as little as he grieveth for the other, because vertue consisteth in conueniencie, all her works are agreeable with her selfe, and answer one another. This concord would be lost, if the mind which should be assured & constant, should suffer it selfe to be overcome with sorrow and sadnesse. All sorts of astonishment, all feare, all idlenesse and slacknesse in any act whatsoever, is dishonest. For all that which is honest is full of assurance, and diligence; it is neuer astonished, but alwaies prepared. What then? Shall he not feele some passion like vato trouble? Shall he not change his colour? Shall not his countenance discover some perturbation? Shall not his members wax chill? and all other things which a man doth not by the command of the mind, but by a sudden and inconsiderate heate of nature? I confesse he shall. But he shall alwaies be thus perswaded, that none of all this is euill, nor worthy that a good vnderstanding should be astonished at. All that which he ought to doe, he will doe boldly and readily: for who is he that will not say that it is the proper nature of folly, to performe that cowardly and against his heart which he doth; and to drine the bodie into one place, and the mind into another; and to suffer himselfe to be drawne by so many contrary motions? Moreover, euery thing for which he esteemeth her selfe so much, and for which the entrench into admiration of her selfe, maketh her contemptible; and besides, that which is worse, she performeth not that with a good will, from whence she taketh her glorie. But if she feareth that any euill should befall her, she perplexeth her selfe in expectation thereof: the tormenteth her selfe as if the euill had already attained her; and all that which she feareth she may suffer hereafter, she presently suffereth by the means of her feare. Euen as there are certaine signes that appeare in the bodie before the feuer commeth (for a man feeleth a dulnesse in the sinewes, a lassitude, a gaping or yawning, and a horrore which passeth thorow all the members.) In like sort a sicke mind feeleth some shakings and assaults, which enfeeble him before the euill touch him: he enters into sorrows, and loseth his heart before the time. But what more greater folly may a man see, then for a man to dismay his mind for such things as are yet to come; and not to be able to refuse himselfe to suffer the torment when it shall come, but to summon miseries from a farre off, and to approach them, before they presse him, which he were better to delay, if he might not auoid? Wilt thou know that no man ought to be tormented for that which is to come?

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Whosoever shall heare it said, that some fiftie yeares hence he must be led to execution, he will not torment himselfe, because he hath past the halfe of this time, & that he is not plunged in this disquiet of mind, which should not come but in an age after. The like befallerh those spirits that are voluntarily sicke, and do nothing but seeke occasion of sorrow, who are sad for things long since forepassed & forgotten. All that which is past, and which is to come, is absent. We neither feele the one nor the other. But there is no griefe but of the present, that which thou feelest.

EPIST. LXXV.

That Philosophie affecteth not words, and yet neither renounceth wit nor good discourse. The chiefest matter is, that the life be correspondent to the words. Furthermore, let vs endeavour to proceed, because we are to ascend by degrees, and they are three. The degrees of those that are proficient.

THOU complaineest that the Letters which I send thee, are not written euery curiously; but who is he that writeth in so an affected style, but he that would write to insinuate? Such as my speech should be if we were sitting together, or if men walked out together, easie and without Art: such will I that my Epistles be, that they neither be extraungant nor affected. If it were possible that a man might vnderstand that which I thinke, I had rather expresse it by signes, then by words. And if I should dispute likewise, I would not stampe vpon the ground, nor cast my hands abroad, nor lift vp my voice: I would leaue that to Orators, and content my selfe to haue made thee vnderstand my conceit, without enriching my speech, nor neglecting it also. I would plainly perswade thee this one point, that I firmly beleue that which I say, and that I not onely beleue the same, but loue it also. Men kisse their Mistresse in one sort, and their children in another; and notwithstanding in this embracement so holy and so chaste, the affection sufficiently discovereth it selfe. Truly, I would not that my discourses which men hold of so great matters, should be dull and drie: for Philosophie renounceth not a happie and gentle spirit, yet will she not likewise that we employ ouer-much affectation in our discourse. In brife, see here what we speake; let our speech be answerable to our life: he hath fulfilled his promise who is the same when thou seest him, and when thou hearest him: we shall see what he is, and how great he is; but he must alwaies be one. It is not necessary that our words be pleasing, but that they profit. But if eloquence may befall any man, without much labour and affectation, if it be alreadye acquired, or hath cost him little, let him boldly make vse thereof, and employ it in wortheie subiects. Let it be such, that it rather expresse the matter, then it selfe. All other Arts appertaine onely to the wit, but nothing is intreated of here, but the affaires of the mind. The sicke man seeketh not out an eloquent Physitian, but such a one as knoweth how to cure well: yet if so be it so fall out, that he who knoweth how to heale well, discoureth eloquently of that which he ought to performe, he ought not to be displeased thereat. Neither also ought he to reioyce, because he is false into the hands of a Physitian that can speake well: for it is as much as if a skilful master of a ship were a goodly man

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also. Why searchest thou mine cares? Why delightest thou me? There is another thing now in hand, thou must minister me an actual cauterie, I must be lanced, I must haue a Dyer prescribed me: for this cause art thou called. Thy ductie is to heale an olde sicknesse that is dangerous and publike. Thou halt as much to doe as the Physitian in the plague time. Wilt thou spend the time about words? If thou finishe the cure, then mayest thou reioyce. When wilt thou learne many things? When shalt it be that thou wilt lodge that which thou hast learned so inwardly in thy selfe, that it may neuer more depart from thee? When wilt thou make triall thereof? for it sufficeth not to commit them to memorie, as thou doest other sciences: Thou must assay to put them in execution. He that knoweth all this is not happie, but he that doth it. What then, are there no degrees vnder him? May a man vpon the sudden attaine vnto wisedome? I cannot beleue it: for he that profreth is counted amongst the number of fooles, yet is he estranged from them by a great distance, & amongst those that are proficient also there are great differences: they are diuided, as some say into three ranks; The first are they that haue not yet attained wisedome, but are alreadie settled neere vnto it, although that which is neere is as yet without. Thou wilt aske me who these are? They are those who haue alreadie laid aside all their afflictions and vices, & that haue learned that which they ought to imbrace, but their assurance is not as yet experimented. They haue not as yet the vse of their good; yet can they not fall againe any more on that which they haue alreadie fled. They are so farre forward that they cannot retire backe, but they know it not as yet. And as I remember I haue written in a certaine Epistle, they know not that they doe know it. They can alreadie make vse of their good, but their confidence is yet vnassured. Some there are that speake thus of this sort of men; Proficient men (of whom I spake heretofore,) and say, that they haue alreadie escaped the sicknesses of the mind, but not the passions; and that they are as yet afraid to fall, because no man is out of the danger of vice, but he that hath wholly driuen it from him; but no one driueth it away but he that hath assumed wisedome in his place. I haue oftentimes told what differences there are betwixt the sicknesses of the soule, and the passions of the mind. Yet will I refresh the memorie thereof vnto thee. The sicknesses thereof are inueterate and obdurate vices, such as are avarice, and our great ambition, at such time as they haue intangled the mind, and haue begun to be a perpetuall sicknesse. And to be short, the sickness is an obliuious iudgement in wicked things, as if a man should greatly desire that which he ought not to desire but slightly; or if thou like it better, we may define it thus: To desire that ouer-vehemently which we ought to wish for slightly, or which a man should not any waies wish or desire; or else to prize that ouer-much which a man should prize verie little or nothing at all. Affections are improbable, sudden and violent motions of the mind, which being frequent and neglected, haue caused a sicknesse, as a descent and distillation of rheume doth which being as yet vnformed, engendreth a cough: but if it continue and waxeth old, it becommeth a Ptilicke. Euen so, they who haue already profited much, are out of sicknesse, yet feelee they as yet some passions, yet are they neere vnto perfection. The second sort is of those who haue escaped the greatest passions and sicknesses of the soule, but it is in such a sort that they are not certain in the possession of their securitie; for they may fall againe into their infortunities. This other third sort is exempt from a number of the greater vices, but not out of all. Such an one hath fled from avarice, but is as

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yet sensible of wrath: he is no more subiect to pleasures and voluptuousnesse, but he is full of ambition: he is not couctous, but he is as yet fearefull and timorous; but in this feare he is sufficiently assured in some things, and sheweth himselfe remisse in some other things: he contemneth death, but hee feareth doour. Let vs thinke a little vpon this place: it will be well with vs, if wee bee admitted vnto this third number. It is with a great felicity of nature, and with a study accompanied with a great and industrious diligence, that a man entrench into the second ranke; yet we must not despise those of the third order. I thinke with thy selfe how many euils thou seest about thee; behold how there is not any offence how detestable soeuer it be, of which we cannot shew some examples. See how wickednesse increaseth daily, and see what faults are committed both in publike and priuate; and thou shalt vnderstand that wee haue profited enough, if we be not ranked amongst the worst. But I hope, sayest thou, that I may be made one of the honourable order. I should rather wish vs this good fortune, then promise it. We are alreadie seized and arrested: wee runne after Vertue, but we are entangled and snared in vices. I am ashamed to speake it; we follow not honest things, but then when we can doe nothing else. But how great a reward attendeth vs, if wee would wholly breake off our occupations, and shake off those euils which hold vs captiue? Neyther desire, neither feare should compell vs, but being freed from all terrors, intyre and incorrupted against all pleasures, we should no more be afraid of death or of the Gods: We should vnderstand that neither death is euill, and that the Gods are good. As infirme and feeble is that which hurte, as that which is hurt. There are excellent and perdurable goods prepared for every one of vs, if once wee raise our selfe from the dirt of this World about the Heauens; there is the tranquillity of the soule, and a perfect liberty disclodged of all errors. Askest thou what it is? Not to feare men or Gods, neither to will that which is dishonest, nor desire ouer-much, and to haue the greatest power over himselfe. It is an inestimable good for a man to become his owne.

EPIST. LXXVI.

That he heareth Philosophie, and goeth to the Schooles. Hee complaineth of the negligence and sloth of men, which learne other things, & neglect Philosophy. Doe not thou so, my LVCILIVS, make haste and learne goodnesse. What good? That onely which is honest. And againe be approoued by Arguments that it is so, and that other things are not. A laudable and wise Epistle.

THOU threatnest me that thou wilt bee mine enemy, if so be I conceale ought from thee of those things which I daily doe. Behold how freely and simply I liue with thee: for this also will I impart vnto thee. I heare a Philosopher, and for these five daies past alreadie haue I haunted the Schoole, and haue heard him dispute from eight of the clocke. I am olde enough, wilt thou say, to goe thither: and why should not this age be good? What greater folly may there bee, then because of long time thou hast not learned, not to learne at all? What then, shall I doe nothing else but that which those Horseriders and young men doe? I should thinke my selfe happy, if there were nothing ill befoming mine age but that. This Schoole admitteth men of all ages. Let vs waxe old in this Schoole, wee

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must follow it, as if as yet we were young. Shall I goe vnto the Theater as old as I am? Shall I cause my selfe to be carryed to the sports and publique spectacles? Shall not one couple of Combatants be linged out to fight, except I be a looker on? and shall I bee ashamed to goe and see a Philosopher? So long art thou to learne as long as thou art ignorant; and if wee giue credit to the Proverbe, so long as thou liuest: neither can this more fitly be applied to any thing then to this, so long art thou to learne in what manner thou shouldest liue, as long as thou liuest. Yet teach I also something in this Schoole. Askest thou me what I teach? Forsooth this, that how old so euer a man bee, hee ought alwayes to learne. Vndoubtedly I am ashamed to see how men liue. As often as I enter into the Schoole, I must of necessitie, as thou well knowest, passe by the Neapolitane Theater: it is their way that goe to *Meironalles* house. This Theater before I come is replenished with people, although the greatest study that they vse, is but to iudge who it is that playeth best vpon the Flute. A great number of men flocke thither to heare the Fifes and the Grecians Trumpets sound; but in that place where a man learneth to be a good man, few men stay there. And these also in diuers mens iudgement seeme to haue no good businesse in hand, they call them men of little spirit and Loyterers. I should beglad to see my selfe mocked in this kind. A man ought to endure patiently the iniuries of the ignorant. It becommeth him that followeth honest things to contemne this contempt. Courage, my *Lucilius*, goe forward, and make haste, lest that befall thee which is false vpon me, that is, to learne in thine olde age: but haste thy selfe, since for the present thou hast vnderaken that which thou canst hardly compleately learne, although thou shouldest attaine the fullness of thine Age. How much, sayest thou, shall I profit? As much as thou wouldest assay. What expectest thou then? No man hath ever bene wise by casualtie. Riches will come of it selfe, Honour shall be offered, Grace and Dignity haply shall bee thrust vpon thee: but Vertue will not befall thee, when thou little thinkest of it, neither also with slight travell, and little paine. He must not be weary of the travell which he taketh, who shoul at one time gaine all the goods of this World. For there is but one only good, that is to say, that which is honest. In those things that are plausible to fame, thou shalt find nothing true, nothing certaine. I will tell thee why that is only good which is honest, because thou supposest, that in my former Epistle I haue not sufficiently expressed vnto thee the reason, and for that thou thinkest then, I haue better prayed, then proued this proposition; and I will succinctly, and in few words, signifie and abridge all that which I haue spoken. All things haue their proper good. The Vine is commended for his fruitfulness, the Wine for his taste, and the Hart for his swift footing. Thou askest me, wherefore Horses haue strong backs? Because their onely vse is this, to beare burthens. The first thing that is commendable in a Dogge is his quick sent when he is to wind his Game, his swiftnesse if hee bee to chase; his courage, if hee bee to byte and invade. In all things, that whereunto a man is borne, and for which hee is prized and esteemed, is alwayes the best. What is the best thing in a man? It is his reason. By it he surpasseth beasts, and followeth the Gods very neere. So then perfect reason is a mans proper good, all other things are such, as brute beasts partake them in common as well as he. If he be mighty, so are Lions; if he be faire, so is the Peacock; if he be swift, so is the Horse: I will not say that he is ouercome and surpassed in all these things. I dispute not what that is, which is most excellent in him, but what it is that is most proper vnto him. He hath a body

bodie, so haue the trees; he hath vehemencie and voluntarie motion, both beasts and wormes haue no lesse. He hath a voice; but how farre more clearer haue dogges? more shriller haue Eagles, more strong haue Bulls, more sweeter and delicate haue Nightingales? What then is it that is proper and best in a man? Reason. This it is, that being compleat & perfect, accomplisheth a mans felicitie. If therefore euerie thing that hath perfected his owne good is praiseworthy, and hath attained the end of his nature; and mans particular good is reason; if he hath perfected the same, he is worthy of praise, and hath attained the end whereunto his nature directed him. This perfect reason is called Vertue, and is no other thing then that which is honest. That therefore is the onely good in a man, which is the onely marke of a man. For now we enquire not what God is, but what mans good is; but man hath no other good but reason: this therefore is his onely good, which is the most precious and prifeable of all others. If any man be a wicked man, he in my opinion will be misliked of. If a good man, he will as I suppose, be allowed of. That therefore is proper and particularly a mans, whereby he is praised or improued. Thou doubtst not whether this be good, but whether it be his onely good. If any man should enioy all other things; health, riches, many images of his predecessors, adorning his fore-court, a multitude of attendants at his Palace doore, and yet in all the worlds iudgement he were wicked, thou wouldest disallow him. I likewise there were a man that hath none of all these things which I haue related, neither money, nor attendants of courtiers, neither nobilitie, nor any images of his grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers are arranged by order: but that were an honest man, in all mens opinion, thou wouldest praise him. There is then one only good in a man, whereof if any man findeth himselfe possessed, although he be destitute of all others, yet is he to be praised; & if he hath it not, although he haue all other things in abundance, yet is he despised & reiected. Such as the condition of all things is, such is the condition of men. That ship is called good, not that which is painted with precious colors, or that hath a siluer or golden beake, nor whose tutelare signe is enriched with Iuorie, or that is laden with goods and royall riches: but that which is strong and firme, that is so well timbered and calked on euerie side, that it admitteth no leake, that can sustaine the breaking of the sea, that is light of steerage, and is good of saile, how soeuer the winde drive it. Thou wilt say, a sword is good, not for that it hath a golden belt, or a sheath couered with precious stones, but that which hath an excellent edge, and a strong point, able to pierce an armour of Steele. Wee enquire not how faire the rule be, but how straight. Euerie thing ought to be praised, when it is sorted and purveyed of that which is proper vnto it. Therefore in a man also it is nothing to the purpose, how many acres of land he plow vp, how much money he lend to vse, by how many he be saluted; how rich and precious the bed be whereon he relecth, how goodly a cup he drinke in, but how good a man he is; and a good man is he, if his reason be perfect and vpright, and accommodated to the will of Nature. This is called Vertue, this is honest, and the onely good of a man. For since that only reason maketh a man perfect, onely perfect reason maketh him likewise happy. But that only good of a man, is that which may only make him happy. We say likewise, that those things which proceed and are engendered by vertue, that is to say, all her actions are goods; but vertue is the sole and onely good, because there is not any good without her. If all good remaine in the soule, all that which maketh the same firme and constant, all that which raiseth and ennoblieth it is good. But it is vertue

truer that maketh the soule more strong, more excellent, and more courageous: for all other passions that animate and incite our pleasures, doe delect and rinate the soule likewise, and when they seeme to raise the same, they doe but puffe her vp with pride, and deceiue her with their vanities. There is then but one only good, whereby the minde is bettered. All the actions of the whole life are measured, either in that they are honest, or in that they are villanous. Thereby it is that reason is gouerned, either to doe, or not to doe any thing: I will tell thee what this meaneth. A good man will doe that which in his thought may be honestly done, although it be accompanied with much trouble, and attended with losse and danger. Contrariwise he will do nothing that is dishonest, although thereby he reaped riches, pleasures, and authorities. Nothing shall withdraw him from doing a good thing, nothing shall inuite him to doe that which is villanous. Vndoubtedly then, if he must follow that which is vertuous, he will likewise flee all that which is villanous; and in all the actions of his life he will regard these two things, that there is no other good but that which is honest, nor any other euill but that which is vicious. Now if there be but one only vertue that remaineth vncorrupted, if the onely remaine alwaies in her entire, she is the onely good, to which nothing may happen that may hinder her from being good. For wisdom is out of the danger of all change, wisdom cannot be rauished, she cannot fall into folly. I haue told thee, if haply thou remember the fame, that diuers throw an inconsiderate heat, haue contemned and troden vnder feet that which the common sort either deli- ed or feared. Some haue there beene, that haue thrust their hands into the flame, whose smiles the Tormentour could not interrupt; that in the buriall of their children haue not shed one teare, and that haue presented themselves to death without feare. Loue, wrath, couctousnesse, hath oftentimes made them seeke out perils. If therefore a short resolution of the soule pricked forward by some pregnant occasion, may doe this, with what more greater resolution shall vertue doe it, that gathereth her forces, not from rashnesse or any sudden motion, but a constancie and perpetuall power? It followeth then, that those things which are often contemned by the inconsiderate, and by wise men alwaies, that they are neither good nor euill. Vertue then is the onely good, that marcheth proudly betweene both the one and the other fortune, and despiseth them both. And if thou enter into this opinion, that there is any other good, but that which is honest, all vertues shall be in trouble. For no man might attaine any of them, if the desired any thing that were out of her selfe; and if this were, it should be contrarie to reason, from whence vertues proceed; and to truth, which is alwaies accompanied with reason. But all opinion which is contrarie to truth, is false. Thou must needs confesse, that a good man carrieth great pietie and reuerence towards the gods, and for this cause he will patiently endure all that which may befall him. For he well knoweth that all this is befall him by the will of the gods, by whom all things are conducted. And if it be thus, he will thinke that to be the onely good, which is honest. For in honestie consisteth the obedience to the gods, the patient sufferance of those accidents which may follow, the constant entertainment of fortunes, and the willing acceptance of that the gods will, and the performance of their commandements. If there were any other good, but that which is honest, wee should be attended with an insatiable desire of life, and an affection to all that which entertaineth life: a thing intollerable, infinite, and that which extendeth it selfe ouer farre. The onely good then is that which is honest, that hath

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a certayne measure. We haue said that the life of man should be more happy then that of the gods, if that whereof the gods make no vse were goods, of which kinde are riches and estates. Furthermore, if the soules suruiue the bodies after they are departed from them, a more happy estate attendeth them, then that which they then possessed, when they were imprisoned in the body. And yet if those things which wee vse by the means of the body were goods, they should be more vnfortunate after they were departed from the same; but no man can any wayes beleue, that being inclosed and imprisoned, they should be more happy, then when they are released and set at libertie through the whole World. I haue moreouer said this, that if it bee a good that equally befall both man and brute beasts, that beasts likewise should enioy a happy life, which cannot be true in any manner. We must suffer all things for honestie sake, which we should not doe, if there were any other good but that which is honest. All this, although I haue more amply debated vpon in my former Epistle, I haue thought good to abbreviate in these few words. Yet neuer will this opinion seeme true vnto thee, except thou rowle thy minde, and question with thy selfe, whether, if need required, thou wouldest dye for thy Country, and to saue the life of all other thy fellow Citizens, thou wouldest lose thine owne, and yeeld thy necke, not onely with patience, but with a free will? If thou canst doe this, there is no other good. Thou leauest all things, that thou mayest haue this. See how great the force of honestie is. And although thou shouldst not doe it presently, yet should it be at least, as soone as thou oughtest to doe it. Sometimes in a very short space of time a man receiueh a great ioy of a very faire thing. And although some fruit of a Worke already performed, can doe little profit to the dead, when he shall bee out of this World, yet the only thought of that which he would doe, reioyeth and comforteth him; and a iust and constant man, when hee setteth before his eyes the price of his death, which is the liberty of his Country, and the life of all those for whom he employeth his life, hee feeleth a great pleasure, and already partaketh the fruit of his perill. But he also who is deprived of this pleasure, which the execution of this Worke would yeeld him, as the greatest and last pleasure of his life, without any more delay will encounter his death, and content himselfe that he hath done iustly and piously. Contrariwise, set thou now before his eyes diuers reasons that may dissuade him. Tell him, that this worthy act which thou hast done, shall be suddenly forgotten, the Citizens will not bee so thankfull as thou deseruest; he will answer thee: All this is out of the action I haue done, I contemplate and consider it in it selfe, I know it is honest. Therefore it is, that into what place soeuer I am led, into what place soeuer I am called, I am there. It is then the only good which a perfect soule, not only feeleth, but a generous man, and such a one as is of a good nature. All other things are of little esteeme, and subiect to change. And therefore it is that a man cannot possesse them without much care and trouble of minde, although the fauour of Fortune had assembled them all together into one mans possession, yet are they for no other vse, but a burthen to their Master; they presse him alwayes, and sometimes ouerwhelme him. There is not any one of those, whom thou hast clothed in Purple, that is happy, no more then are they that beare a Royall Scepter in their hands, and a Mantle on their backs vpon a Stage in acting a Play. For after they haue marched in their proud array and Buskins before the people, as soone as they depart from them they are disapparelled, and returne to their former estate. There is not one of those, whome riches

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and honours haue rayled to the highest places, that is great. Why then seemeth hee to bee great? Thou measurest him by his shew. A Dwarfie will bee alwayes litle, although hee bee set vpon a Mountayne; an huge Statue will retayne his greatnesse, though it stand in a Ditch. Wee are blinded with this error, and thus are we deceiued, because we esteeme no man by that which is in him, but we adde vnto him his ornaments. But when thou wilt haue a true estimate of a man, and know what a one he is, behold him naked: let him lay aside his Patrimonic, his honours, and those other flattering and false goods of Fortune. Let him disposse himselfe of his bodie, behold his mind, what and how great it is, whether of his owne good, or by anothers: if he dare looke on a drawne Sword with a manly eye, if he know that there is no great matter whether his soule depart, by his mouth, or by his throat; call him happy. That at such time when he shall heare that hee must endure bodily torments, or such euils as happen by casualtie, or by the plot of great men, that if hee must suffer bonds and exile, and the vaine feares of humane minds, securely heareth them and faith:

*Not any new suspicion of mishap,
O Virgin, shall my settled mind intrap:
All these haue I fore-thought long time agoe,
My dangers are fore-cast in weale and woe.*

Thou tellest mee all this to day, I haue alwayes denounced it to my selfe. I haue disposed man vnto all humane things. The stroke of mischiefe which a man foreseeth, is lesse troublesome and more light. But to fooles, and such as credit Fortune, the face and appearance of things seemeth new and vnexpected, and noueltie for the most part is the greatest cause of euill to the ignorant. That thou mayest know this, they suffer patiently those things that they thought difficult, when they are accustomed thereunto. Therefore it is, that a Wiseman inureth himselfe to euils that may befall him, and that which others by a long patience make light and easie, the wiseman doth it after he hath long time thought. We heare oftentimes the Discourses of these ignorants, which say, I had not thought that this would as yet befall me; but the Wiseman knoweth that all things are incident to him, and confesseth, that he knoweth very well all that which may happen.

EPIST. LXXVII.

And this also, is to bee numbred amongst those that are good and profitable. He intreateth by the way of the Alexandrian Fleet, how whilst other ranne out to see them, he neglected them. For what auails these? or how long? I am old, I am going hence, and as length I must willingly depart as MARCELLINVS did. Then against the feare of death, & that the reasons thereof are to be contemned.

THis day vpon the sudden the *Alexandrian* Ships appeared vnto vs, which are usually sent before the Fleet, to giue tydings of the fortunate approach of the Nauy, which men call *Friggats* or *Ships of Message*. The view of these was gratefull and welcome to all *Campania*. All the people of *Pozzolo* climbed vp vpon the Piles to behold them, and by the manner of their Sayles knew them from the

the rest, notwithstanding that they were intermingled with a great bulke of other shipping: for they onely haue libertie to spread their top-sayle, which the others hoyle not, but when they are at Sea. For there is nothing that helpeth them so much as that vpper part of the Saile: for by it the ships course is most of all furthered; and therefore as often as the winde encreaseth, and is more violent then it ought to be, the top-yard is striken by that meanes; for, the winde hath lesse force ouer the bodie of the ship. But when they haue entered *Capreae* and the Promontory, from whence,

PALLAS from height of stormie Mountaine spies:

All other ships are commanded to content themselves with their maine saile; the top-saile is the marke to know the *Alexandrians*. Amidst the course of all these people that ran thus hastily to the Sea-shore, I felt a very great pleasure in my sloth, because that thinking to receiue Letters from mine Agents, I made no haste to know in what estate my affaires stood, or what they had brought me. For long agoe nothing hath beene gotten or lost by me. This opinion should I maintaine, although I were not olde: but now the rather, because how little soeuer I haue, I haue more to make vse of then I haue time to liue, especially since we are entred into that way, which we need not to accomplish. The iourney will bee imperfect, if thou stay either in the mid-way, or stand on this side the prefixed place: the life is not imperfect, if it bee honest. Wherefoeuer thou endest, if the end bee good it is entyre: wee ought likewise often and courageously to end, and not for great causes, for these are not the mightiest that hold vs. *Tullius Marcellinus* (whom thou knowest very familiarly) who was temperate in his youth, and quickly an old man, being surprized by a sicknes which was not incurable, yet long & tedious, & such as commanded him to suffer much, beganne to deliberate and conclude vpon his death. To this intent he called together diuers of his friends. Euery one of these being naturally timorous, gaue him that counsell they would haue entertained themselves, or if there were a flatterer, or any one that studied to please him, hee gaue him that aduice, that he thought would be best pleasing to him that demanded the question. Our friend and a Stoick, a worthy man, and (that I may dignifie him with those titles, wherein he worthily deserueth praise,) a man couragious & valiant, counselled him in my opinion very nobly: for he began thus; *Torment not thy self, friend MARCELLINVS, as if thou deliberatedst on any importantt affair. It is no great matter to liue as all thy slaues liue, and all other beasts also. It is a great matter to dye honestly, prudently, and valiantly. Besinke thy selfe for how long time together thou hast done the same thing. Meate, sleepe, lust, by this circlee all the World commeth. Not only a valiant man, a strong man, a miserable man can haue a will to dye, but he also that disdaineth life. He needed no man to counsell him hereunto, but some assistants; for his slaues would not obey him. First of all he tooke from them all feare, and taught them that slaues were in great danger, when as it was incertaine whether the death of the Lord were voluntary or no. For otherwise it should be as dangerous an example to hinder a Master to dye, as to kill him. Afterwards hee admonished *Marcellinus* himselfe, that euen as when Supper is ended, the remainder is deuided on those that attend; so when life is ended, somewhat is bequeathed to those who had been attendants during the whole life time. *Marcellinus* was a man of a gentle and facile disposition, and liberall euen in those things which were his proper goods: he there-*

therefore distributed some small summes amongst his weeping Seruants, and comforted them himselfe. He needed not eyther sword or shedding of bloud, for three dayes he abstayned, and in his very Chamber he caused his Paulion to bee rayled; afterwards his Bath was brought thither, in which hee lay long time, and caused water to bee oftentimes cast vpon him; so by little and little fainted and fayled he, not without a certaine pleasure, as he said (which a slight fainting is wont to bring) not vnapproued vnto vs, who are sometimes subiect to swoondings. I haue made relation of this Storie vnto thee, which I know will not be distastefull to thee, because thereby thou shalt vnderstand the manner of thy friends death, which was neither difficult nor miserable: for although he procured his owne death, yet departed he and escaped most sweetly out of life. Neyther will this Storie be vnprofitable to thee; for necessitie oftentimes exacteth such examples. We oft-times must dye, yet we will not. There is no man so ignorant, but that he knoweth that one day hee must dye, but when the time approacheth neere, hee playeth the coward, hee trembleth and weepeth. Wouldst thou not esteeme him the foolishhest of all men, that should weepe because he liued not a thousand yeares agoe? As foolish is hee that weepeth because he shall not liue a thousand yeares after. These are equal; thou shalt not bee, neither wert thou: both these two times are not our owne. Thou art cast vpon this point, which although thou mightest prolong, how long wouldst thou prolong it? Why weepest thou? What wilt thou? Thou loest thy labour;

*Cease thou to hope that Prayers so powerfull bee,
That they can change the Destinies Decree.*

They are firme and fixed, they are led by an eternall and powerfull necessitie. Thou shalt goe thither whither all things goe. Why thinkest thou this a new matter? Thou art borne vnder this condition, thy Father hath had the like hap, this hath thy Mother met withall, this haue thy Predecessors known, this shall befall all men after thee. It is an inuincible successe and order that no force can change, and that tyeth and trayneth all things with it. O how great number of people shall follow thee when thou art dead? How many are they that shall accompany thee? Thou wouldst in my opinion bee more constant, if diuers thousands of men should dye with thee. And yet many thousands of men and beaſts shall lose their liues by diuers sorts of death, at that very instant when thou makest it a difficultie to dye. But diddest thou not thinke that one day thou shouldst attayne thither whither thy journey was alwayes intended? There is no journey without end. Thinkest thou that I will recount vnto thee at this present examples of diuers great Personages? No, I will but tell thee some of young Lads: The memorie of that yong *Lacedemonian* will neuer bee lost, who hauing scarcely a haire vpon his chin, and being taken Prisoner, cryed out in that his Dorique tongue, I will not serue, and confirmed his wordes by effect; for as soone as hee was commanded to doe some seruile and base office (for some commanded him to empty the close stooke) hee did beate out his braines against the wall. Our liberty being so neere, is there any man will serue? Hadst thou not rather thy sonne should dyethus, then waxe olde in idleness? What is there therefore why thou shouldst be perplexed, if to dye courageously be but a Childes play? Thinkest thou that thou wilt not follow? thou shalt bee enforced. Make that to bee in thy power which is in another mans.

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Wilt thou not take vpon thee this yong mans courage, and say, I will not serue? O miserable wretch! thou art a Slaue to thy life: for life if it want the courage to dye, is a true seruitude. Hast thou any thing for which thou shouldst expect? Thou hast spent those pleasures that attended and retayned thee. There is not any that is new vnto thee, not any but is now odious vnto thee, because thou hast surfeited therewith. Thou knowest what the taste of Wine is, and what is the taste of Metheglin: it skils not whether a hundredth or a thousand Vessels of Wine passe by thy Bladder: thou art a Sacke: thou hast often learned what the Oyſter is, what the Mullet fauoureth, thou knowest well; thy foolish expence hath reserved nothing for time to come, which thou hast not already deuoured. Now these are they from which thou art drawn so vnwillingly. What other thing besides this is there which should yeeld thee discontent, if it were taken from thee? Are they thy friends and thy Countrey? Hast thou so much euer honored the Sunne, that for him thou wouldst haue deferred thy Supper? Thou wouldst sooner choke vp the brightness of the Sunne if thou couldst. For what hath beene euer done by thee that is worthy the light? Confesse, I pray thee, that there is not any amitie that thou bearest to the Senate or Palace, or to the nature of things which withdraweth thee from dying. It is in spite of thy teeth that thou leauest the Shambles, in which thou hast left nothing. Thou fearest death: but how wouldst thou contemne it in the midst of thy pleasures? Thou desirest but to liue; for thou knowest well what it is, and hast feare of death: but what is this life, is it not death? *Caligula* passing thorow the Latin way, when as one of those that were led Prisoners, that had a long Beard and hoary haire, besought him to giue him leaue to die: What said he, liuest thou yet? The same answer must be made vnto those to whom death might bring any comfort. Hast thou feare to dye, and why liuest thou yet? But I, saith he, will liue; for I employ my selfe in many honest affaires. I leaue those offices and functions of life vnwillingly, which I discharge both faithfully and industriously. What, knowest thou not that it is one of the Offices of life to dye? Thou leauest no office, for the number of the duties which thou art to accomplish being vncertaine, are determined. There is no life that is not long enough: For if thou hast respect to the nature of things, both *Nestors*, and *Stasilas* life is short, which ordained that this should bee ingrauen on her Tombe, that shee had liued ninetie nine yeares. Seest thou how this poore woman vaunteth her selfe of her long life? but who could haue supported her glorie, if it had beene her fortune to haue liued out full one hundred yeares? It saith with our life as with a Stage-play, it skilleth not how long, but how well it hath beene acted. It importeth nothing in what place thou makest an end of life: dye where thou wilt, thinke onely to make a good conclusion.

Epist.

EPIST. LXXVIII.

Of his sicknesses, yea, even in his young yeares, and what reliefe he found for them. Honest studies (saith he) and friends also, but the remedy of remedies contempts of death. Thither callen he LVCILIVS, and disputeth many things deep, manly, and true against griefe.



He more impatiently suffered I to see thee vexed often with Rheumes & Feuers, which follow long defluxions, and such as are already brought into custome, because I my selfe haue had experience of this sicknesse, whereof at the beginning I made little reckoning. My youth could as yet support this violence, and defend it selfe confidently against infirmities, but at length I sunke under the burthen, and was brought to that estate, that I my selfe fel into a mortall distillation. Afterwards I became by little and little to extenuate and leane, that a sudden desire surprized me to procure mine owne death, yet my fathers old yeares which I dearly tendered, restrayned me therein. For I imagined not how constantly I might dye, but how patiently he might endure my losse, for which cause I commanded my selfe to live as yet: for sometimes to live is a manly designe. I will tell thee what recomforted me most at that time, but so as thou be before hand aduerized, that those things wherein I tooke most repose, saured me for a Medicine. Honest pleasures are to vs in stead of remedies, and all that which may reioyce the spirit, profiteth the body in like sort. My studies gaue mee my health. I must confesse that I am indebted to Philosophie for my recoverie and health, to her I owe my life, and lesse then that I cannot owe her. I haue bene furthered in recoverie of my health by the meanes of my friends, by their exhortations and watchings, and by those Discourses they entertayned me with, I was very much comforted. There is nothing (my *Lucilius*, the best of men) that more recreateth and comforteth a sicke man, then the affection of his friends. There is nothing that so much sleaeth away the thought and feare of death: I thought not on death when I saw them suruiue mee: mee thought, I say, that I should live yet, not with them, but by their meanes: me seemed that I lost not my spirit, but that I rendred it into their hands. All these encouraged me to assill my selfe, and to suffer all sorts of torments: otherwise it is a miserable matter, when as thou hast lost thy desire to dye, not to haue an affeccion to live. Retyre thy selfe therefore vnto these remedies. The Physician will shew thee how long thou shouldest walke, and how much thou shouldest exercise: he will teach thee not to follow a repose whereunto an idle sicknesse is addicted; to reade aloud; to exercise and strengthen thy breath, when the receptacles of the same, and the passages of the Lungs are stopped; to sayle, and make thy stomake to digest by gentle motion and exercise; what meats thou shouldest vse when thou shalt call for Wine to strengthen and comfort thee, & when thou shouldest intermit the same, lest it should prouoke and exasperate thy cough. But I teach thee that which is not only a remedie for this infirmity, but of the whole life: Contemne death. There is nothing distastefull when we flye the feares herof. These three things in euery sickness are very tedious; the feare of death, the paine of the bodie, and the intermission of pleasures. Of death there is enough spoken, I will only say this, that this feare proceedeth not from infirmities, but from nature. Sicknesse haue delayed the death of many

many men, and to them it hath proued securitie to seeme to perish. Thou shalt die, not because thou art sicke, but because thou liuest. This death will attend thee when thou art recovered: when thou art freed from sickness thou shalt escape, not thy death, but thy infirmity. Let vs now returne to that incommodie that is proper to sickness: It is accompanied with great and intolerable torments, but the intermissions make them tolerable; for when the griefe is most intended, it suddenly groweth to an end. No man can suffer an excessive paine a long time; for Nature that loveth vs as much as is possible, hath so prouidently provided, that she maketh our paines either tolerable or verie short. The greatest paines are felt most in those parts that are most leane; the nerues the ioynts, and all other parts that are thinnest, are cruelly tormented, when as corrupted humors are enclosed in these narrow passages; but these parts are quickly nummed, and lose the sense of paine, by reason of the paine it selfe: either because the spirits being hindred, to performe their naturall course, and changed to the worst, lose the force which maketh them vigorous, and inciteth vs; or because the corrupt humour, when it wanteth force to flow thither, whither it should passe, choaketh them, and depriveth those parts of sense which are ouermuch choaked. So the gowt in fete and hands, and the paines that are felt in our ioynts and nerues, are appeased when they haue stopped and stupified the parts they haue tormented. It is the first assault, sharpest & pricking that tormenteth, but this violence is extinguished in time, and the end of the paine is to be wholly stupified. The payne of the teeth, eyes, and eares, is the most violent, because it is bred in the narrowest and straightest parts of the bodie, and no lesse, vndoubtedly, is that of the head. But the more violent that is, the sooner it is changed into madnesse or stupiditye. This therefore is the comfort in intended griefe, that thou must of necessity cease to feele the same, if thou feele it ouer much. But that which most of all afflicteth ignorant men, during the torment which they feele in their bodies, proceedeth hence, because they are not accustomed to content themselves with the goods of the minde, and for that they entertaine too much friendship with their bodies. And therefore a great and prudent man retireth his minde from his bodie, and is for the most part conuersant with the better and diuiner part, and but onely for necessitie sake with the other, which is fraille and still plainings. But thou wilt say, it is a tedious thing for a man to want his accustomed pleasures, to abstayne from meates, to suffer thirst and hunger. I confesse that vpon the first abstinence it is a tedious thing, but by little and little this desire is diminished, when as the things which we desire are gouerned, and restrain themselves of themselves. Thence cometh it to passe, that the stomack is more tempered, and they that fed with most rauous appetite, grow in hatred thereof. Desires and appetites die of themselves. It is no grievous thing to want that, that thou hast desired to long after. Moreover, there is not any griefe, but hath some intermission and remission. Furthermore, a man can warrantize himselfe from euills that are to come, and prevent those by remedies, which threaten and menace him. For there is not any sickness, but hath some precedent signe, yea even that which returneth by custome. Thou mayest beare an infirmity patiently, if thou contemnest the extremitie where with it threatneth thee. Make not thine euills greater then they be, and charge not thy selfe with complaints, the paine is light, if opinion aggrauateth it not; contrariwise, if thou begin to exhort thy selfe, and to say, *It is nothing, or in effect verie little, let vs endure the same, and it will suddenly haue an end.*

Thou shalt make it light whilst thou thinkest it so. All things depend vpon opinion; not only Ambition, but expence and Auarice are measured by it; our paines but opinion. A man is no more miserable, then he supposeth himselfe to be. I thinke that the complaints of fore-past paines ought to bee forgotten, and such words as these: *There was neuer any man more miserable. What torments, what euils haue I suffered? No man thought that I should euer rise againe. How often haue my friends bewayled me? How often haue I bene giuen ouer by my Physicians? Such as haue bene tortured on the Racke, are not so much stretched.* Although all this bee true, yet it is already passed. What pleasure takest thou in the remembrance of fore-past paines, and to refresh thy miserie that is already past: considering likewise, that there is not any one that will adde to his euill, and that lyeth not to himselfe? Again, it is a thing very agreeable to recount the euill that is past. It is also a thing naturall to reioyce vpon the end of his miserie. We must therefore driue out of vs two things, the one is the feare of future euill, and the other the remembrance of that which is past: this for the present appertayneth not vnto mee, that not as yet; when he shall find himselfe in these difficulties, he may say,

*And these perhaps hereafter call'd to mind
Will moue vs to reioyce.*

Let him fight against the same with all his forces, if he yeeld, he shall be overcome, if hee enforce himselfe against his griefe, hee shall overcome. There are many in these dayes that doe this, they draw vpon themselves the ruine which they should resist. If thou retrayst thy selfe from vnder that which presseth and oppresseth thee, that hangeth ouer thy head and menaceth thee, it followeth thee, and falleth vpon thee with a great weight; but if thou makest head against it, if thou wilt resist it, thou shalt repulse it. How many strokes and wounds doe the Wrestlers receiue vpon their faces, & their whole bodies? yet suffer they all these torments for the ambition of glorie; & endure the same, not only because they fight, but to the end they may know how to fight well; the exercise it selfe is a very torment. Let vs then likewise endeavour to surmount all travels, the price and reward whereof, is not a simple Crowne, a Palme, or a Trumpet, which commandeth silence, to the end that the prayse of our name might be published, but the vertue and constancie of the mind, and a tranquillity of the spirit which we obayne for euer, if in any Combate wee could surmount Fortune. I feele a cruell paine, but how shouldest thou otherwise doe but feele it, if thou endure it in no other sort, then women doe. Euen as the enemie chargeth those most strongly, who flye most speedily: in like sort, all the euils that Fortune sendeth vs, charge him most violently that loseth his courage and playeth the Coward. But this griefe is euer violent. And why? Are we not constant but to suffer light things? Whether haddest thou rather, eyther that thy sicknesse should be long, or that it should be violent and thort? If it be long, it hath intermissions, and giueth place to refection, it giueth much time, it must in the end forsake thee and depart. A short and violent sicknesse will eyther doe the one or the other, it will eyther suddenly end, or suddenly mend thee. But what skilleth it, whether it be not, or I be not. Since both in the one and the other, the paine hath an end? It may also profit thee much, to diuert thy thoughts to some other thing, and not to dreame at all of thy paine. Set before thine eyes that which thou hast sometimes vertuously

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and honorably done: discourse with thy selfe on the noblest Stratagem: cast thy remembrance vpon that which thou hast greatly admired, and at that time let the most constant, and they that haue overcome griefe, present themselves vnto thy thought; bethinke thy selfe of him that stretcheth out his legges to suffer his *Varices* to be cut, and perseuered in reading his Booke. Remember him likewise that neuer ceased to laugh, whilst his wrathfull Torturers wondering thereat, wrought vpon him with all the tooles and instruments of crueltye. Shall not that paine be overcome by reason, which hath bene overcome by laughter? Tell me now whatsoeuer thou wilt, both of the descent of Rheumes, and of the violence of a continuall Cough, that maketh a man yeeld vp a part of his Bowels, and of a Fever that scorbereth the Intrailes, and of thirst, and of the ioynts of feet and hands, which grieue and paine hath contracted, and dislocated. The flame, the racke, the burning and glowing plates, and that which is layd vpon the swollen wounds, to reneweth paine, and to make it pierce more deepe, is yet more cruell. And yet there haue bene some, that haue suffered all this without complayning. It is a small matter. And hath not once besought them to giue ouer. It is a toy. And that hath neuer answered. It is a trifle. That hath laughed out-right with all his heart. After all this, wilt thou not laugh at paine? But sicknesse, thou wilt say, suffereth mee to doe nothing. It hinders me in all my functions. Sicknesse attaineth the bodie, but not the mind. Therefore it is that she slayeth the feet of him that runneth, and tieth the Shoemakers hands, & bindereth the Smiths Hammer. But if thou hast well learned to make vse of thy soule, thou shalt admonish, thou shalt teach, thou shalt heare, thou shalt learne, thou shalt demand, thou shalt remember thy selfe. What then? beleuest thou that thou doest nothing, if thou bee temperate in thy sicknesse? Thou shalt shew that the sicknesse may be overcome, at leastwise that it may bee endured. Trust mee, Vertue findeth place euen in the Bed it selfe. Armes, and following the Warre, doe not onely rectifie a valiant heart, and such a one as may not be daunted with feare, but a man may approue his valour and courage euen in his Couerlets and sleeping clothes. Thou hast enough to employ thy selfe in. Fight valiantly against thy sicknesse, if it constraineth thee to doe nothing, if it get no mastery ouer thee, thou shalt serue for a worthy example. O how great were the matter of our glory, if a man should come and see vs when we were sicke? But cast thou thine eyes vpon thy selfe, and prayse thy selfe. Beside, there are two sorts of pleasures, sicknesse hindreth the corporall, yet taketh them not away wholly; but rather if thou wilt iudge according to the truth, it inciterh them. There is more pleasure in drinking when a man hath thirst, and the meate is most tastfull to him that is most hungered. All that which a man findeth after a long abstinence, he eateth with a greater appetite. But as touching those other pleasures of the minde, which are both greater and more assured: there is not any Physician forbiddeth them his patients; those who feuer followeth and vnderstandeth them well, contemneth all the blandishments of the senses. O vnfortunate sick man! And why? Because he mixeth not his Wine with Snow, because hee reneweth not the cold that he drinketh mixed in a great cup, by these morsels of Ice which hee breaketh thereinto, because those Oysters which are fished in the Lake Lucerne, are not opened for him at his table, because he heareth not round about his hal the rumour of his Cookes, that bring and serue in his meat, together with the fire to keepe them warme. For prodigality and foolish expence hath already found out this inuention, to the intent that no meate should bee cooled, and left

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the pallet of the mouth, already hardened, should find nothing that were not very hot; the Cooke attendeth the Supper. O vnhappy sicke man? hee shall eat but what he can digest: he shall not haue a whole Bore melted into his seruice, to be sent away as course Commons. Hee shall not bee ferued with the Pulpes of Fowles (for men now adayes disdayne to see them entyre) assembled in Dishes apart. What wrong haist thou receiued hereby? Thou shalt sup like a sick man; yea, hereafter like a whole man. But all those things shall wee easily suffer, both Broths, warme water, and other things whatsoeuer seemeth intollerable to delicate and voluptuous men, and such as are more sick in mind then in body. Let vs onely forget the horroure and feare of death. But that shall we not forget, if we cannot distinguish the ends of euill and good. And by this meanes finally we shall not feele any disgust of our life, nor any feare of death: for a man can neuer be weary, or disliking of life, when it is occupied after things so diuers, so high, and so diuine. There is nothing but idle and lazie repose that causeth vs to hate the same. Truth will neuer be tedious vnto him that traueleth in the secret of Nature; there is nothing but fallshood that glutteth vs. Again, if death come and call vs, although it be before our time, although it abridge vs of the moytie of our liues, yet long before that time the fruit hath bene gathered. All Nature for the most part is knowne vnto him, bee knoweth that honest things encrease not by their durance or continuance. They of necessity must suppose their liues short, who measure the same by vaine, and therefore infinite pleasures. Recreate thy selfe with these thoughts, and in the interim calling thine eyes vpon our Epistles, a time will come that shall re-vnite vs, and re-assemble vs; how little soeuer it bee, the knowledge how to vse it well, will make it long enough. For, as *Possidanius* saith, *One day amongst learned men dureth longer, then the longest age of an ignorant & vnlearned man.* In the meane time hold this opinion constantly, that thou must not suffer thy selfe to be overcome by aduersities; nor trust too much in prosperitie, to haue the power of Fortune alwayes before our eyes, as if she should doe all whatsoeuer shee can doe. Whatsoeuer is long looked for, is lesse tedious when it happeneth.

EPIST. LXXIX.

Somewhat of Charybdis, Scylla, and Aetna. Then, that Wisemen are equall amongst themselves: and he exhorteth vnto Wisdome, although glory accompany it not. But it will accompany the same, though after death. Good.

Expect thy Letters, by which thou shouldest certifie me what noueltie hath encountered the in all that Voyage thou hast made about Sicily, and what thou hast learned of certaintie, as touching *Charybdis*. For I know that *Scylla* is a rock which is not dreadful to those that sayle by it. But I haue a great desire to vnderstand, if all those Fables which haue bin reported by *Charybdis* be true, and if haply thou hast obserued any thing (for it is a thing worthy to bee marked. Resolue me whether it bee one wind that causeth so many Whirl-poles, or whether euery tempest alike doth exasperate that Sea; and whether it bee true likewise, that all that which is deuoured in this tempest and forme of Sea, by the waues, is carried away secretly vnder them for many miles, and afterwards

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appeareth neere the shore in the banks of the gulf of *Taurumitan*. When thou hast wholly satisfied me herein, then dare I command thee also to do me that honour, to ascend the Mount *Aetna*, (which some men suppose and conclude to be consumed and decayed by little and little, because in times past men were wont to hew it more farther off to Passengers.) This may happen, not for that the height of the Mountayne is diminished, but because the fire is weakened, and blazeth out with lesse vehemencie and abundantly; and by the same reason that the smoke by day time is more little. But neyther the one or the other is incredible: eyther that the Mountaine which the fire deuoureth continually, is diminished; either that the fire continueth alwayes in one and the same greatnesse. For it is not of it selfe, but ingendred in some Gulfe vnder Earth: it is stirred, and is kindled and nourished by a forreine meanes, having but one only passage and issue by this Mountayne, and not his nourishment thereby. There is in *Licia* a Territorie of Land, very well knowne vnto all men, the Inhabitants thereabouts call it *Ephestion*, or the Land which is pierced in diuers places. This Countrey is enuironed with a fire, that no wayes hurterh whatsoeuer Plant it is that groweth thereupon: the Region therefore is fruitful and full of grasse, which the flames doe neuer burne, but make shine with a faint and forcelesse brightnesse. But let vs referre these to question vpon them, when thou hast written mee how farre distant the Snowes are from the mouth of the Mountayne, which the Summer thaweth not, so secure are they from the fire. Thou must not say that I am the cause to make thee undertake this labour, for thou wouldest satisfie this Poeticall infirmities of thine, though no man vrged thee therunto, vntill thou hadst described *Aetna* in thy Verse, and discovered this place, so renowned by all the Poets: for although *Virgil* already excellently described it, yet was not *Ouid* deterred from handling the same subject, and that which these two had plentifully written did not restrain *Cornelius Senerus*. Besides, this place most happily offered it selfe for a subject to all. & they which wrote before, seeme not in my iudgment to haue preuented those things which might be spoken, but to haue explained them. But there is a great difference, whether thou addest thy selfe to a matter thoroughly wrought vpon, or such an one as is well prepared. This groweth daily, and those things that are already found and inuented, cannot hurt those that should inuent hereafter. Moreouer, the condition of the last commer is the best: he findeth words already prepared, which addressed after another manner, haue a new appearance; neither layeth he hold on them, as if appertaining to others, for they are publike. The Lawyers say that there is no prescription against the publike: eyther I know thee not, or thy teeth water at *Aetna*. Thou now desirest to write some great thing that in perfection might equall the writings of the Ancients; for more thy modestie permitteth thee not to hope, which is so great in thee, that I suppose thou wouldest restraine the forces of thy spirit, if there were any likelihood thou shouldest conquer: so greatly reuerencest thou antiquitie. Amongst the rest Wisdome hath this goodnesse in it, no man can bee overcome by another: but in mounting when they shall come to the height, all is equall. The place giueth not increase, the estate is all one. Doth the Sunne adde any thing to his greatnesse, doth the Moone become more great then shee was wont? The Seas increase not, the World obserueth one and the same habit and manner. Those things which haue attained to their iust greatnesse, cannot augment themselves more: All wisemen shall be euen and equall. Each of them shall be endowed with his proper Vertue, the one shall bee more milde and affable,

F f 3

fable, the other more readie; the one more prompt in declaying, the other more eloquent; but as touching that which is in question, which maketh a man blessed, it shall bee equall to all. I know not whether thine *Aetna* may sinke and be ruinated in it selfe, whether the continuall force of fire impayre and consume this high and conspicuous topped hill, which is seene so farre at Sea. But neither fire nor rains can bring Vertue vnder. This Maiesty sole cannot be depressed, she cannot be extended further, nor withdrawne backward, her greatness is settled as that of the celestiall bodies. Let vs endenour to present our selues vnto her, already haue we performed much, and yet not very much if I should speake the truth: for it is not goodnesse to bee better then the baddest. Who would glory in his eyes for beholding the day? for only seeing the Sunne throw a Cloud; although in the interim hee be contented to haue shed the darkenes, yet as yet he enioyeth not the good of the light. Then shall our mind haue wherewithall to gratulate himselfe, when as discharged of this darkenesse in which hee is plunged, the true light shall appeare vnto him to the end hee may behold the same with full and open eyes; hee shall haue no more night but a continuall day shall shine vpon him, and returning to his owne Heauen hee shall be restored to the place which he first left when he came into the World. His first originall summoneth him vpward. And in that place shall he be, (yea, euen before hee bee deliuered out of this Prison,) when hauing despoyled himselfe and shaken off his eyes hee shall purely and readily employ and enrich himselfe with diuine thoughts. This must wee doe, my deare *Lucilius*, hither must wee bend all our forces, although few men know it, although no man see it. Glory is the shadow of Vertue, and will accompany vs against our wills; but euen as the shadow sometime goes before, and sometimes followeth; so Glory is sometimes before vs, and offereth her selfe to be seene, sometimes shee is behind vs, and becometh more great, because shee cometh somewhat later, when as Enuie is wholly retired. How long time seemed *Democritus* to bee mad? *Socrates* had scarcely any reputation? How long was it ere *Rome* knew what *Cato* was? How long contemned shee him, and neuer thorowly knew him, till shee had wholly lost him? *Rutilius* innocency and Vertue had lyen hid, except hee had receiued iniurie: whilst he is wronged his worthinesse appeared. Did hee not thanke his fortune, and embrace his exile? I speak of those whom fortune made glorious, when shee grieued them; how many mens deserts and worth grew to light after them? How many hath Fame neglected in life, and eternized in the Graue? Thou seest how much *Epicurus* is not only admired amongst the learned, but also amongst the ignorant; and this man was vknowne to the *Athenians* themselves, where hee liued alwayes obscured. Out liuing therefore *Metrodorus* by many yeares, when in a certaine Epistle of his with gratefull commemoration hee had notified the friendship betwixt *Metrodorus* and him, in the conclusion hee added this; *That amidst so many goods which METRODORUS had had partaken in their life, it little harmed them, that so renowned Greece was not only ignorant of them, but scarcely had heard of them.* Was hee not therefore found when as hee ceased to be? Did not his opinion grow famous? The like also doth *Metrodorus* confesse in a certayne Epistle, *That hee and EPICURUS were not in sufficient reputation, but that afterwards both he and EPICURUS should haue a great and adressed fame at their hands; who would follow the way that they had held.* No Vertue is obscured, neither is it any indignity or damage to it, to haue bin hidden: the day will come which will bring it to light, though hidden and reftayned through the Worlds wickednesse. Hee is borne for

for the profit of few men, that thinketh onely on the people of his age. Many thousands of yeares & Nations shall succeed vs; look thou on them, although Enuie hath enioyned silence to all those that liue with thee, there shall others succeed, who shall iudge without hatred or fauour: and if Vertue ought to receiue any recompence by glorie, shee shall not lose it. Wee shall not vnderstand what words Posterity speaketh of vs; yet shall they honour vs, and frequent vs, though wee perceiue it not. There is not any whom Vertue hath not dignified both in life and after death: if so bee hee hath followed her wholly, and with a good faith, if he haue not decked and disguised himselfe, if he continued one, whether it seemed vpon warning, or vnprepared and suddenly. Dissembling profiteth nothing; a fayned countenance, and slightly forged externally, deceiveth but very few. Vertue which way fouer you turne he is all one. Things deceiueable are of no stability. A Lye is thin, thou shalt easily see throw it, if thou diligently looke vpon it.

EPIST. LXXX.

That the common sort went to the Shewes and Games, hee to his studie and contemplation. That the minde is to be beautified and not the bodie, and how easie a thing it is if you desire good things. That we are to search out libertie, which is performed by despising and spurning at desires. That true felicitie is therein, and not in externall splendor. Good.

This day I am wholly mine owne, not onely by mine owne means, but for that the Foot-ball play hath withdrawne all those that were troublesome vnto mee, and came to importune mee. There is not one that thrusteth in vpon mee, no man distracteth my thoughts, my doore creaked not so often as it was accustomed, my hanging was not lifted vp, I haue freedom to be solitary, which is most necessary for him that walketh alone, and followeth his owne way. Doe I not therefore follow the Ancients? I doe. Yet suffer I my selfe to inuent somewhat, and to leaue. I scrupulously tye me not to their opinions, but assent vnto them; yet haue I spoken a great word, who promised my selfe silence and secrecie if I were not interrupted. Behold a huge cry is rayled in the Theater, where men exercise their running, which cannot draw my selfe from my selfe, but rather transporteth me to contemplate on the Combats that are in hand. I thinke with my selfe, how many exercise their bodies, how few their minds; how many men throng to a vaine and trifling spectacle, and what desolation there is about good arts, how weakly minded they are, whose armes and shoulders wee wonder at? But aboue all I meditate vpon this: If a man may by exercise bring his bodie to this patience whereby he may sustayne not only the strokes and spurnes of many men, whereby soyled with his owne blood, hee may endure the scorching Sunne, and hottest sand all the day long: how much more easily may the mind be strengthened, inuincibly to entertayne the shooke of Fortune, to the end that being cast to ground, and trod vnder foot, hee may yet rayle himselfe? for the bodie hath need of many things to strengthen the same, but the minde increaseth by it selfe, is nourished by it selfe, exerciseth it selfe. The bodie hath need of much meat, of much drinke, and much Oyle, and much exercise; but Vertue will come vnto thee without any furnishing, without any expence. Whatsoeuer may make thee good is with thee; what needest thou to make thee good? Thy will. But what better mayest thou will, then to deliuer thy selfe out of

of this seruitude, which tyrannizeth ouer the World, and from which the Slaues themselves of how seruile condition whatsoeuer, and borne euen in the ordures thereof, strue by all means to cast off? That stocke of Cattell they haue bought by pinching their owne bellies, they pay for their liberty; wilt not thou endeavour at what charge soeuer, to obtayne this libertie, who thinkest thy selfe a free borne man? Why callest thou thine eye vpon thy Coffers? It cannot bee bought. It is a vaine thing therefore to call the name of libertie into the Tables of Manumission, which neither they that bought, nor those that sell the same may haue. It is thou that must giue thy selfe this good, thou must demand it of thy selfe: first of all discharge thy selfe of the feare of death; for that is it which first of all bringeth vs in subiection; and afterwards from the feare of pouertie. If thou wilt know how little euill there is therein, make a comparison betwixt the lookes of such as are poore, and those that are rich: the poore man laugheth more often, and more heartily: no peniuense deeply groundeth it selfe in his breast, although some trifling affliction besall him, it passeth away like a light Cloude. The ioy of those who are called rich is fayned, or their sorrow is ripe and grievous, and rotten; and so much the more grievous, because they dare not discouer their miseries, but amidst the sorrowes that gnaw their very hearts, they are enforced to set a face of felicity vpon their discontent. I must oftentimes make vse of this example, for by no other may this Mimick of mans life (which assigneth vs those parts which wee act very aukwardly) bee expressed. Hee that in the Scene shauketh proudly vp and downe, and looking vpward, vttereth these words;

*Behold I governe Greece, PEROLS my Sire
Hath lest me Kingdomes, and the Lands which lye
From Hellefont vnto the Seas that tyre
Th' Ionian shores——*

Is but a Slaue, hee gaineth fine bushels of Corne and fine Pence. That proud fellow, who full of ostentation and puffed vp with confidence of his owne strength, saith,

*Except proud MENELAVS, thou be still,
And shun debate, this right hand shall thee kill.*

Hath but his dayes allowances, and sleepest in a poore ordinary Chamber. Thou mayest lay as much of all these wanton Minions, who are hanged in the Ayre, in a Litter carryed more high then the heads of men, & aboue the troop of common people. The felicitie of all these is but masked. Thou wilt contemne them if thou despoyle them. When thou wouldest buy a Horse, thou causest his Saddle to bee taken off of his backe. Thou causest the Slaue thou wouldest buy, to be turned naked, for feare lest any infirmities of his bodie should be hidden. Wilt thou estimate a man when hee is wrapped vp? These Regrators shadow and couer by some slight that which might hinder the Merchandize of their ware. And therefore it is that a faire garment and ornament maketh them oftentimes suspicious that intend to buy. If thou shouldest see an arme or knee bound vp, thou wouldest command to haue it vnswathed and laid open, and all the bodie to be discouered. Seest thou that King of Scythia or Sarmatia adorned with a rich attyre vpon his head? if thou wilt estimate him, and know him wholly what he is, take from him his royall ornament;

ment; much mischief lyes hidden thereunder. Why speake I of others? If thou wilt estimate thy selfe, lay apart thy money, thy house, and thy dignitie, and consider well with thy selfe what thou art inwardly. For now thou trustest other men to shew thee what thou art.

EPIST. LXXXI.

The beginning concerneth an vngratefull man: and then followeth a question, Whether we ought to be thankfull vnto him who formerly helped vs, and afterwards hurt vs. He disputeth this matter, both subtilly, and diffusely, and distinguisheth diuersly.

THOU complaineest that thou art fallen into an vngratefull mans hands: if this be the first time, cyther thanke thy fortune, or thy diligence. Although diligence in this place can make thee nothing, except it make thee wicked. For if thou wouldest auoyd this perill, thou shalt neuer doe any man a courtesie: thus lest thy benefits should perill in another mans hands, they shall perill in thine owne. It were better they were neuer recompenced, then neuer giuen: yea, euen after a bad haruest we returne to tillage. Oftentimes whatsoeuer hath bin lost by the vsuall sterilitie of a barren ground, hath been redeemed by the plenty of one good year. So great a matter it is to find out one gratefull man, that it importeth thee greatly to make tryall of many vngratefull. No man hath fo certaine a hand in giuing benefits, but that he is oftentimes deceiued; let them sayle sometimes once to be assured. The Seas are failed on when the shipwrack is past. The Vlsurer forbearth not to lend because he hath met with a Banckrupt. Our minde will quickly bee benumbed with fruitlesse idlenesse, if it should incontinently forsake whatsoeuer is d'statefull vnto it. But let this very thing make thee more bountifull. For if thou wilt that a thing (whose euent is vncertaine) should haue a happy issue, it becometh thee to assay it oftentimes. But hereof haue we sufficiently spoken in our Bookes which wee haue written of Benefits. Better it were to dispute of another point, (which in my judgement, is not sufficiently expressed and decided) whether hee that befriendeth vs, and afterwards hurterth vs, hath equalled his benefit, and whether wee are acquit from him. Adde if thou wilt hereunto this also, that afterwards he had hurt vs more, then before time he profited vs. If thou expect a seuerer sentence of a Iudge, that would follow the rigour of Law, hee will release them respectively, and will say, Although the iniury bee more great, yet let that which remaineth of the iniury be giuen to the benefits. He hath hurt more. But first of all he hath profited, and therefore wee must haue some regard of time. Now those things are more manifest then that they need an admonition, that it is necessary to know how willingly he hath profited, how vnwillingly harmed: Because both benefits and iniuries are measured by the minde. I would not giue a benefit, but I was overcome with shame, or by the pertinacie of his instant suite, or by hope. Whatsoeuer is owing, is examined by the same mind where-with it is giuen, neither is it weighed by the greatness thereof, but by the will from whence it proceedeth. Let all coniecture be now taken away. Both that was a benefit, and this that exceedde the measure of the former benefit, is an iniurie. A good man will in such sort make his account, that hee himselfe will de-

deceive himselfe. He will adde vnto the benefit, and take from the iniury. But another that would iudge more graciously, as I would doe, will forget the offence, & remember the fauour. Assuredly it is the act of Iustice (saith he) to giue each man that which appertayneth thereunto, to the benefit acknowledgement, to the iniurie reuenge, or at least, with an euill acceptance. This shall be true, when as one doth an iniury, another giueth a benefit. For if it be the same, the force of the iniury is extinguished by the benefit. For to him whom we ought to pardon, although no defects of his were precedent, to him is more then pardon due, if he hurt vs after hee hath done vs kindnesse; yet take I not them both alike, more prize I the benefit then the iniury. Euerie one knoweth not how to owe a benefit gratefully. An imprudent, rude, and base conditioned fellow may restore a benefit, and recompence the same anon after hee hath receiued it, but he knoweth not how much he is obliged. The Wise-man onely knoweth at what rate each thing is to be taxed. For that foole, of whom I spake of late, although he haue a good will, either restoreth lesse then hee oweth, or doth it not in time and convenient place, and lauisheth and casteth that away, which he should recompence and satisfie. There is a wonderfull proprietie of words in some things, and the custome of ancient Language designeth some things vnto vs in effectuall meanes, and dutie teaching Lessons. Thus truly are we wont to say. This man hath referred or required that mans fauour: to requite, is willingly to returne that which thou owest. Wee say not, hee hath returned thanks; for both they who are demanded, and are vnwilling, and that in euery place, and those that returne by another mans hand, giue satisfaction. We say not, he hath remitted the benefit, or hee hath paid it, for those wordes which are proper to acquit a man of money lent, are no wayes pleasing to me in this subiect. Referre, is as much to say, as to goe and acknowledge, that is, beare backe, vnto him that which thou hast receiued. This word signifieth voluntarie relation. Hee that hath referred, that is to say, reknowned, hath appealed and summoned himselfe. The Wiseman will examine all things with himselfe, how much hee hath receiued, from whom, when, where, and how. Therefore is it, that wee deny that any man knoweth how to reknowle a benefit, but a Wiseman; and auerre that no man knoweth how to giue a benefit, except hee be a Wiseman, and such an one, who is more glad to giue, then another to receiue. This some man numbred amongst those things which wee seeme to name extravagant and strange vnto all men, the Greekes call them Paradoxes, and saith: Is there no man therefore that knoweth how to requite a good turne but a Wiseman? Therefore no other man but hee knoweth how to pay his Creditour that which hee oweth him, nor when hee buyeth any thing, to pay the price thereof to him that selleth the same? But lest this blame should fall vpon me, know this that *Epicurus* saith as much. *Metradorus* assuredly saith, *That the Wiseman onely knoweth how to reknowledge a fauour*. Againe, the same man admireth, when we say, *The Wiseman onely knoweth how to loue, the Wiseman onely is a friend*; but to requite a fauour, is both the part of Loue and Friendship; nay rather this is more vulgar & more casuall amongst many then true Friendship. Againe, the same man wondereth, because we say, that there is no faith but in a Wiseman, as if he himselfe had not said the same. Supposest thou this, that hee hath any faith, that knoweth not how to acknowledge a benefit? Let them therefore cease to defame vs, as if wee preferred or maintayned vncredible things, and let them know that true honesty is lodged only in a Wisemans brest, and the only Images and appearance of honest things

with

with the common sort. No man knoweth how to requite a courtesie, but a Wiseman. Let a Poole also according to his apprehension, and as much as in him lieth restore a benefit, and let his knowledge rather faile him then his will. To will is not learned. A Wiseman will compare all things to their worth: his worke although it be the same, is made eyther greater or lesser, by time, place, and cause. Oft-times riches powred into an house, could not doe that that a thousand pence could, being giuen in season. For there is a great difference whether thou gauest, or succourest. Whether thy liberalitie hath saued him, or engreated him. Oft-times that which is giuen is small, that which followeth thereby is great: but what difference is there, whether any man hath taken backe againe that which hee had giuen, or receiued a benefit, to the end hee might giue? But lest wee should returne into the examination of those things which he hath sufficiently debated of, in this comparision of benefit and iniury, a good man will iudge that which is most rightfull, yet will he fauour the benefit, and be most addicted to that side. But the consideration of the person is of the greatest moment in these affaires. Thou hast giuen me a benefit in the person of my Slaue, but thou hast done me iniurie in the person my father. Thou hast saued me my sonne, but taken my father from me; consequently hee will pursue & examine all the circumstances by which all comparision hath his proceeding: & if it be but a smal matter that causeth the difference, he will dissemble that. But if it be great, and that he hath the power to pardon it, without iniurying Pietie or Faith, he will remit it, especially, if the whole iniurie appertayne vnto himselfe. The summe of the matter is this, hee shall bee facile and gracious in this compensation, hee shall suffer himselfe to bee more charged in the account, and will neuer pay a benefit with an iniurie, except it be by great constraint, hee will incline alwayes to this side, hee will maintayne this part in desiring to acknowledge a benefit, and affecting to requite it. For he is deceived whatsoeuer hee be, that more willingly receiue a benefit then he restoreth it. But euen as he is more ioyfull that payeth a Debt then he that borroweth, by so much ought hee to bee more content that discharge himselfe of a great Debt by restoring the benefit which he hath receiued, then the other which obligeth himselfe by receiuing. For in this also vngratefull men are deceived, in that they pretend to satisfie their Creditour with an ouer-plus besides the principall, and suppose that the vse of benefits is gratuitall: but these increase by delay, and so much more is to bee satisfied, by how much it is slackly satisfied. Ingratefull is he that restoreth a benefit without Vsury; and therefore we ought to haue a respect to this point, when we compare the receipts and layings out. We must labour as much as in vs lieth, to be most gratefull; for this good is truly ours, not as Iustice is, which according to the common opinion appertayneth also vnto others, the better part of a benefit returneth to him that is the benefactor. There is no man that hath profited another, that hath not profited himselfe. I speake it not with the intent wherewith he that hath bin succoured, would succour, and he that hath bin defended would defend, because a good example returneth to him that giueth it, as also euill examples do finally fall vpon their Author; neither find they any pittie who suffer iniuries, and by acting the same haue taught others that they may bee done, but because the reward of all Vertue lieth in them: for they are not put in execution, vnder hope of reward. The reward of a good action is to haue acted the same. I am gratefull, not that another should more willingly lend mee, being egged thereunto by the former example, but that I might performe a thing both most pleas-

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sing and agreeable. I am gratefull, not because that shall yeeld me profit, but because it contenteth my mind. And to the end thou mayest know that which I speake is so truly: if I haue not the meanes to expresse my gratuite, except in shewing my selfe to be vngratefull, if I cannot yeeld satisfaction, except it be vnder a pretext of doing iniurie, I ought most willingly to follow this counsaile, although I be in danger to be noted of Infamy. There is no man in my iudgement that estimates Vertue more, no man is more deuoted thereunto then hee that lost the reputation of a good man, because hee would not make shipwrack of his conscience. Therefore, as I said, thou art gratefull more for thine owne good then another mans: for to him there happeneth but an ordinary and common thing to recouer that which he had giuen, but to thee a great contentment, and such as proceedeth from the estate of an happy soule, to haue acknowledged a benefit. For if wickednesse maketh men miserable, and Vertue maketh them blessed, and to be gratefull is a Vertue, thou hast restored but an vsuall thing, but attained an inestimable matter, that is to say, the conscience to haue bene gratefull, which seizeth not on a minde but such as is diuine and fortunate. But the contrary of this affection is vrged with great infelicite. There is no man that is not miserable if he be ingratefull. I dally not with him, he is presently miserable. Let vs therefore flye Ingratitude; if for no other cause, yet for our owne. The least part of wickednesse, and that which is least to be feared, redoundeth vnto others, but that which is the worst, and (if I may so speake it) that which is the thickest remaineth with him, and tormenteth his possessor. As our *Attilus* was accustomed to say, *Malice and Mischiefe drinketh the greatest part of his owne Poyson*. That venome which the Serpents cast out of them to destroy others, and keepe within themselves without their owne preiudice, is not like vnto this. For this Poyson is pernicious to those that nourish the same. The vngratefull man tormenteth himselfe, he becometh leane, he hateth that which hath bene giuen him, because he must restore the same, and extenuateth it: contrariwise he dilateth the iniuries and augmenteth them. But what man is there that is more miserable, then he that forgetteth the benefits he hath receiued, and remembreth him of iniuries? Contrariwise, Wisdome speaketh honourably of all sorts of benefits, and commendeth them to her selfe, and delighteth her selfe with the continuall remembrance thereof. The euill sort haue but one pleasure, and that very short, and that is whilst they receiue benefits, wherof the Wiseman feelth a long and perdurable ioy: for hee delighteth not in receiuing, but in this, that he hath receiued, wherof hee feelth a continuall and immortal pleasure. He contemneth things whereby hee is harmed, neyther forgetteth hee negligently but willingly. He turneth not all things to the worst, neyther seeketh he to whom he may impute the fault, and rather layeth the blame of mens errors on fortune then on themselves. He taketh exceptions neyther to mens words or looks; whatsoeuer falleth out, he excuseth it with a gracious interpretation, and remembreth not an iniurie rather then a benefit: He seleth his remembrance on that which was both the first, and the best: he changeth not his mind towards those that haue wel deserved, except their iniuries surpasse very much, and the difference be manifest, euen though hee should shut his eyes; and then also in this only, that he continueth the same man after the greatest iniurie, as he was before the benefit. For whereas the benefit is equall with the iniurie, there remaineth some sparke of beneuolence in the mind. Euen as a guiltie man is acquit when the opinions of the Iudges are equally diuided, and alwayes in what-

whatsoeuer thing is doubtfull, humanitie inclineth to the better: so a Wisemans minde, whereas the merits equall the misdeeds, will forbear to owe, but will not desist to be willing to be beholding, and doth this which they are wont to doe, who after a generall acquittance of all debts, will notwithstanding satisfie. But no man can be gratefull, except hee contemne those things, that mad and before the common sort. If thou wilt be thankfull for a benefit, thou must make account to suffer banishment, to shed thy blood, to fall into pouerty, and to see thine owne innocence oft-times slayned, and subiect to base and scandalous rumours. It costeth a man no small matter to approoue himselfe gratefull. Wee esteeme nothing more deare then a benefite as long as wee aske it, and nothing more basely when wee haue receiued it. Askest thou mee what that is which maketh vs forget the courtesies receiued? It is the desire and couetousnesse of those things we would receiue hereafter. We thinke not of that which we haue alreadye obtayned, but on that only which we would obtayne hereafter. Riches, Honour, Power, and all such other things which in our opinion were of great esteeme (but such as are base and abiekt in their owne value) retyre vs from Vertue. We know not how to estimate things, wherof we ought to make our election, not according to the common report, but by the counsell of Nature, the Mother of all things. These haue no magnificence in them, whereby they should draw our mindes vnto them, except this, that we are accustomed to admire them. For therefore are they prayed, not because they are to be coueted, but therefore are they to be coueted, because they are prayed; and when as euery particular mans error hath made them publike, the publike shall make them to be the error of euery one. But euen as wee haue beleueed those things, let vs also beleue the common sort in this, that there is nothing more honest then a gratefull minde. All Cities, all Nations, yea, those of the barbarous and sauage Regions will subscribe hereunto, the good and euill will agree in this point. There will be some that will prayse pleasures, there will be some that had rather labor. There will be some that will say that paine is the greatest euill that may be, some that will scarcely call it euill: Some one shall repute riches for the chiefest good, another shall say that they were found out for the ruine and mishap of humane life, and that there is no one man more rich, then he to whom fortune hath not found out any thing to giue him. In this so great diuersitie of opinions, all the World will maintayne (as it is said) with one voyce, that we ought to be thankful vnto those who haue deserued well at our hands. All Nations, though different in many other things, consent and agree herein, and yet notwithstanding, in the interim we repay benefits with iniuries: and the chiefest cause that euery one hath to become vngratefull, is this, because he could not be sufficiently gratefull. The furie is growne to that head, that it is a very dangerous thing to giue great benefits to any one: for in that he thinketh it a dishonest part not to requite, he desireth he should not lye, to whom hee should make restitution. Remember that to thy selfe which thou hast receiued; I redemand, I exact it not, it contenteth me that I haue pleased thee. There is no hatred more pernicious then his, who is ashamed because he hath violated a benefit.

EPIST. LXXXII.

Against delicacie and effeminate life, and fluggish idleness also, by that we ought to dedicate the same to studie, and in speciall to Philosophie, which should defend vs against feare and all externall euils, yea against death it selfe. That we are armed all in vaine, with subtilities and sophismes against the same, and by the way, against such as use it; that death in it selfe is indifferent, but such or such honest or dishonest. Again, against Cautillers.

NOW haue I giuen over the care I haue had of thee. What one (saist thou) of the gods, hast thou accepted for my suretie? truly euen him that deceiue th no man, a mind that is a louer of right & honesty. The better part of thee is in safetie. Fortune may do thee an iniurie, but that which is most pertinent to the matter, I feare not that thou shouldst iniurie thy selfe. Keepe on the course thou hast begun, and compose thy selfe in this habit of life temperately not effeminately. I had rather thou shouldst liue ill, then effeminatly. Now so interpret thou ill as it is usually spoken amongst the common sort, hardly, sharply, and laboriously. So are we wont to heare the liues of diuers men prayd, who are enuied: *He liueth effeminately*. This they say, he is euill. For by little and little the minde is made effeminate, and groweth remisse and negligent, and vnder taketh the similitude of that idleness and sloth wherein he is buried. What then? is it not more befitting a man to bee more sterne and rigid? Again, such as are delicate feare death, whereunto they haue made their life alike. There is a great difference betwixt idleness and the graue. What therefore sayest thou, were it not better for a man to repose himselfe thus, then to rolle and tumble himselfe in these gulfes of affaires? Both these two things are mortall, the convulsion of the nerues and debilitation of the minde. I thinke him as much dead that lyeth buried in his Perfumes, as him that is drawne with the hooke. Retirement without studie is a death, and the Sepulcher of a liuing man. Finally, what profiteth it vs to be retired, as if the causes of cares and troubles followed vs not beyond the Seas? What hidden place is there, whereinto the feare of death entereth not? What so defended and high rayed repose of life, which sorrow terrifieth not? Wherefoeuer thou shalt hide thy selfe, humane miseries will make a noyse about thee. There are diuers externall things, which wheele about vs, wherby they eithr may deceiue or vrge vs. Many things internall which incense and enflame vs also, euen in the midst of solitude. Wee must arme our selues with Philosophie, which will serue vs as an impregnable wall, which Fortune with all her Engins cannot pierce. The mind that hath disclaymed externall things, is resident in an impregnable place, and defendeth himselfe in his Fortresse, each weapon aymed at him, falleth vnder him. Fortune hath not long hands, as we imagine, she is Mistris ouer none, but such a one as cleaueth vnto her. Let vs therefore, as much as in vs lyeth, retyre our selues from her, which the onely knowledge of our selues and of Nature will effect. Let man know whither he is to goe, whence he came, what is his good, what is his euill, what he should desire, and what he should eschew; what that reason is, which discerneth what things are to be desired and esteemed, whereby the furie of desires is meekned, and the cruelties of feares abated. Some there are that thinke that they haue overcome all this without the assistance of

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Philosophie, but when as any misfortune lighteth vpon any of these, that precd security; too late are they enforced to confesse the truth. These great words are forgotten, when the Hangman commandeth them to giue him their hand, when death approcheth more nigh them. Thou mayest iustly say vnto him: Thou prouokest absent euils: now see heere griefe, which thou saidst was easie to support: see here death, against which thou spakest so much, and so audaciously: the Whips yerke, the Sword thineth;

*Now hast thou need, ENNEAS, of a mind
Arm'd with constancie.*

But that will continuall meditation make strong in thee, if thou exercise not thy words, but thy minde: if thou preparest thy selfe against death, against which hee cannot exhort thee, nor encourage thee, who shall attempt by some cauls to perswade thee that death is not euill. In this place my *Lucilius*, the best of men, it liketh mee to ielt at the follies of the *Grecians*, which as yet although thou wonderest thereat, I haue not as yet shaken off. Our *Zeno* vseth this collection. There is nothing euill which is glorious, but death is glorious, *Ergo*, death is no euill. Thou hast profited me much, O *Zeno*, thou hast put me out of feare, hereafter I will not doubt to stretch out and offer my head to the blocke. Wilt thou not speake more feuerly, wilt thou make him laugh that is ready to die? Vndoubtedly, I can hardly tell thee whether he were more foolish, who supposed by this question to extinguish the feare of death, or hee that endeoured to answer the same, as if it were a thing pertinent to the matter. For hee himselfe opposed a contrary argument, taken from that, because we place death amongst things indifferent, which the *Gracians* call *Adiaphora*. Nothing, saith hee, that is indifferent, is glorious; but death is glorious; death therefore is not indifferent. Thou seest plainly whereto this Argument tendeth. Death is not glorious; but to dye constantly is glorious. And when, hee saith, nothing indifferent is glorious, I grant it thee; yet say I this, that there is nothing glorious, but in things indifferent. These things terme I indifferent, which are neither good nor euill, as sicknesse, paine, pouertie, exile, death; none of these in it selfe is glorious, yet nothing without these. For pouertie is not prayd, but he that is neyther humbled, nor dejected by her. Banishment is not prayd, but hee that sorrowed not for it: griefe is not prayd, but hee whom griefe hath enforced nothing. No man prayseth death, but him whom death sooner separated from life, then astonished. All these things are not honest nor glorious in themselves, but if Vertue intermixeth her selfe amongst them, if these manage them, shee maketh them honourable and full of glorie. For of themselves they are placed betweene both, and are indifferent; it only concerneth vs to know whether Malice or Vertue hath past the same thorow their hands. For that death which is glorious in *Cato*, is presently base and shamefull in *Brutus*, and to be blushed at. For this is that *Brutus*, who when hee should bee slayne, sought to delay death, who went aside to doe his easement, and being called vpon to dye, and commanded to lay downe his neck; I will lay it downe, saith he, so that I may liue. What madnesse is it to flie away, sith that thou art vnable to goe backe? I will lay it downe, so that I may liue: almost hee added thereunto, euen vnder *Antonius*. O worthy man, to bee restored vnto life! But as I began to say, Thou seest that death it selfe is neither a bad, nor a good thing; *Cato* most honestly vset it; *Brutus* most dishonestly.

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Euery

Every thing that hath not honour, when as Vertue being added thereunto, is ennobled. We say that a Chamber is full of light; yet this same is most darke by night. The day infuseth light into it, the night taketh it away. So to these things which be by vs called indifferent and middle things, such as are riches, strength, beautie, honours, rule, and contrarily death, banishment, bad health, sorrowes, and what other things we haue feared, eyther lesse or more; eyther Malice or Vertue giueth them the name of good or bad. A masse of Iron of it selfe is neyther hot nor cold, but being put into the Furnace it waxeth hote; againe, it being put into the water waxeth cold. Death is honest, through that which is an honest thing: which is Vertue and a mind contemning all externall things. There is also, O *Lucilius*, a great difference of these that we call honest things. For death is not fo indifferent, as that whether thou doe weare thine haire euen or not. Death is amongst those things that bee not bad indeed, but such as haue a shew of that which is bad. There is in euery man a certaine loue of himselfe, and an engrafted will of abiding and of preferring himselfe, and a shunning of dissolution, because it seemeth to take away many good things, and to leade vs out of the abundance of this, whereunto wee haue accustomed our selues. That thing also alienateth vs from death, because we haue already knowne these things: those things whereunto we are about to goe; wee know not of what fort they may bee, and we feare things that be vnknowne. Furthermore, there is a naturall feare of darknesse, into which it is supposed that death will conduct vs. Therefore, although death be an indifferent thing, yet for all that it is not amongst those things, which easily may be neglected. With great exercise the minde is to be hardened, that it may endure the sight and the coming thereof. Death ought to be contemned, more then it is accustomed to be; for we beleue many things concerning it. It hath bene the strife of many wits to encrease the infamy of it. An infernall Prison is described, and a Region oppressed with continual night, wherein is the greater Porter of Hell,

*Lying vpon bare bones halfe eaten vp,
In bloody Den, where he doth dine and sup,
Eternally with barking doth affright
Each pale and bloudlesse ghost and shade-like spright.*

But also when thou shalt perswade thy selfe that these things be Fables, neither that any other thing remaineth to the dead which any one ought to feare, another feare cometh in the place of it. For as much feare they that dye not to be, as to be in Hell. As long as these thoughts doe assayle vs, which long perswasion hath infused vnto vs, the valiant enduring of death, what else may it be but a glorious thing, and amongst the greatest workes of a manly minde? Our soule will neuer rise vp vnto Vertue, if it beleue death to be an euill thing; it will rise vp vnto it, if it suppose it to be a thing indifferent. The nature of things is vn- capable of this, that one may come vnto that which he supposeth to be an indifferent thing, slowly and lingringly will he come. But it is not a glorious thing which is done by an vnwilling and backward man. Vertue doth nothing vpon necessitie. Adde now thereunto that nothing is honestly done, except the whole minde hath endeauoured and hath bene present thereat, and with no part of it selfe hath resisted it. But when approach is made vnto that which is badde, it eyther cometh to passe by feare of worse things; or by hope of those things that be good, to come vnto the which it is of so great worth, that

that the enduring of one euill is swallowed vp. The iudgements of the doers doe disagee. Hence it is, that hee commandeth to accomplish things purposed: thence that he draweth backe and flyeth from a suspected and perilous thing. Therefore is he distracted into diuers parts. If this bee; glory periseth. For Vertue accomplisheth Decrees with an agreeing minde: it feareth not that which it doth.

*See this, that thou to euils giue no place,
But goe against them with a bolder face
Then thy fortune will permit thee.*

Thou shalt not the more boldly goe, if thou shalt suppose that they bee euill things. This is to be taken out of the brest: otherwise suspition will trauerle and stay thy course. It shall be thrust vpon that, which it was to set vpon. The Stoicks would haue the interrogation of our *Zeno* to be supposed to bee true, but that other to be deceitfull and false, which is opposed vnto it. I reduce not these things to a Logicall Law, and to those knots of most sluggish workmanship: I iudge that all that kind is to bee thrust away, whereby hee who is asked, supposeth himselfe to be circumvented, and whereby he being brought to confesse, answereth one thing, but thinketh another. Wee must deale more plainly for the truth, and more strongly against feare. These things which are tossed vp and down by them, I had rather to loose, and to ponder vpon, to the end that I may perswade, and not deceiue. He that will leade an Armie into the field readie to dye for their Wiues and Children, how will he exhort? I shew to thee the *Fabij*, translating the whole Warre of the Common-wealth into one house. I shew thee the *Lacedemonians* placed in the very Straits of *Thermopylae*, hoping neyther for Victory, nor for returne. That place was to bee graue vnto them. How wilt thou perswade them to recure the ruine of a whole Nation with offering their bodies vnto it? and rather to depart from their life, then from their place? Thou wilt say, that which is euill, is not glorious: death is glorious, therefore death is no euill thing. O effectuall speech! who after this doubteth to offer himselfe to the deadly weapons points, and to dye constantly? But that *Leonidas* how valiantly did hee speake vnto them? So dine O fellow Souldiers, saith he, as if ye should sup amongst the dead. The meate encreased not in their mouthes, it did not sticke in their chaps, it did not fall out of their hands. They went cheerfully to Dinner and to Supper both. What that Roman Capitaine, who spake thus vnto Souldiers, which were sent to take a place, and were to goe through a great Armie of the enemies: it is needfull, O fellow-souldiers, to get thither from whence it is not needfull to returne backe. Thou seest how plaine, and how imperious Vertue is. What man can our beguilings make more valiant? Whom can they make more courageous? They breake the minde, which is neuer lesse to be contracted, and to be compelled with petty and thorny things, then when some great matter is framed. The feare of death ought not to be taken from three hundred alone, but from all mortall men. How wilt thou teach them, that it is not an euill thing? How wilt thou overcome the opinions of all Ages, wherewith presently Infancy is seasoned? What helpe wilt thou find? What wilt thou say to the weaknesse of man? What wilt thou say wherewith they being inflamed, may rush into the midst of danger? With what speech wilt thou turne away this consent of feating; with what speech wilt thou avert the obnoxious per-

swaſion of mankind, which is againſt thee? Thou compoſeſt captious words, and knittelt pettie queſtions for me. Great Monſters are ſtricken with great weapons. In vaine with Arrows and Slings did they ſhoot at that great cruell Serpent in *Africa*, and more terrible to the Legions of *Rome* then Warre it ſelfe. Not *Pythos* indeed was to bee wounded, liſh huge greaſneſſe according to the ſolide vaſtneſſe of his body, caſt backe againe Weapons, and whatſoeuer the hands of men had darted againſt him; at length was hee broken with Miſſiles. And againſt death doſt thou dart ſo petty things? With a Bodkin encountreſt thou a Lyon? Theſe things are ſharpe which thou ſpeakeſt of. Nothing is more ſharpe then the Beard of the Eare of Corne. Smalneſſe it ſelfe maketh ſomethings vnprofitable and without effect.

EPIST. LXXXIII.

We muſt liue as before God our beholder and Iudge. Then adioyneth hee ſomewhat concerning his owne life, temperance and watchfulneſſe. Again (as in the former Epiſtle) againſt baſe talkers; who abuſe Wiſdome with their meane ſpeech and caſils. He teacheth according to Zeno's rule, and diſcourſeth againſt Drunkenneſſe. But we muſt doe more valiantly and ſamouſly: and giuing an example thereof, hee condemneſh that vice. Good.

THou deſireſt that I ſhould diſcouer vnto thee the courſe of my life, and what I doe every day. Well iudgeſt thou of mee, if thou ſuppoſelt nothing to be therein which I ſhould hide. So truly ought wee to liue as if all men lookt vpon vs, and ſo to thinke, as if one were able, and could looke into our innermoſt breſt. For what profiteth it, that any thing ſhould bee ſecret from man? Nothing is cloſed from God. He is within our ſoules, and hee commeth into the middeſt of our thoughts. So I ſay, hee commeth amongſt them, what as if ſometime he ſhould depart from vs? Therefore I will doe that which thou commandeſt; and what I doe, and in what order, I will willingly write vnto thee. I will forthwith obſerue my ſelfe: and (that which is a moſt profitable thing) I will examine every day. This maketh vs to bee very bad, becauſe no man looketh backe vpon his life. What things we are about to doe, we thinke vpon, and but ſeldome that: what we haue done, we doe not thinke vpon. But from that which is paſt, commeth counſell for that which is to come. This day is ſolide. No man hath taken any oſt from me: it is all of it diuided betwixt the Booke and the Bed. The leaſt part is giuen vnto exerciſe of the bodie; and for this cauſe I giue thanks to old age. It coſteth mee not much. When I haue ſtirred, I am wearyed. But this is the end of exerciſe, cuen to thoſe that are moſt ſtrong. Seekelt thou with whom I exerciſe my ſelfe? One ſufficieth me, *Earinus* (as thou knoweſt) a lovely Boy: but he ſhall be changed. Now I ſeek for one that is more tender. He indeed ſaith, that we haue the ſame *Criſis*, becauſe that the teeth of vs both fall out: but now I ſcarce ouer-take him when he doth runne, and within a very few dayes I ſhall be vnable to doe it. See what continually exerciſe can profit. Speedily there is made a great diſtance betwixt two that goe in a contrary journey: at the ſame time hee aſcendeth, I deſcend: neyther art thou ignorant how much the one of theſe is the more ſpeedily done. I lyed: for now our age deſcendeth not, but falleth. Notwithſtanding doeſt

doeſt thou ſeek how this dayes ſtrife ſucceeded vnto vs? As ſeldome it falleth forth to our winners: neyther of vs both did ouercome. From this wearineſſe, rather then exerciſe, I deſcended into cold water. This is called by me water ſcarce warme. I that ſo great a walher in cold water, who in the Calends of *January* leaped into a Pond; who in the new yeare, as I beganne to reade, to write, to ſpeake ſomewhat, ſo began I to leape downe into cleare water: firſt tranſlating my Tent to Tyber: then to this Bathing Tub, which becauſe I am moſt ſtrong, and all things are done in good earnest, the Sunne moderateth for mee. Not much time aſter doe I carry at the Bath. Then ſeate dry Bread, and a Dinner without a Board: after which I am not to waſh mine hands. I ſleepe very little. Thou haſt knowne my cuſtome: and I uſe a moſt ſhort ſleepe, and as it were by ſeuerall naps. It is ſufficient that I haue ceaſed to watch. Sometimes I know, ſometimes I ſuſpect that I haue ſlept. Behold the cry of the *Circenſians* maketh a noiſe in mine eares: mine eares are ſtricken with ſome ſudden and vniuerſall voyce. Neyer doe they put forth, neyther indeed doe they interrupt my thought: moſt patiently I beare their clamorous noiſes, many voyces and conſuled in one, are to mee in ſtead of a waue, or of a winde beating vpon a Wood, and ſuch other conſuled ſounds. O what therefore is it? I will tell thee, whereon now I haue ſet my minde. A thought abideth with me ſtill ſince yeſterday, namely, what moſt Wiſemen haue meant, who haue made moſt light and perplexed proofes of thoſe things that are moſt ſerious, which although they be true, are notwithstanding like to a Lye. *Zeno* would deterre vs from Drunkenneſſe, an exceeding great man the founder of this moſt valiant and moſt holy Sect. Heare now how hee gathereth, that a good man will not be drunke. No man committeth ſecret ſpeech to a drunken man: but hee committeth it to a good man; therefore a good man will not be drunke. Marke how he may be derided with the like oppoſite Interrogation. For it ſufficieth of many to ſet downe one. No man committeth ſecret ſpeech to one that is a ſleeper, but hee committeth it to a good man; therefore a good man doth not ſleepe. *Posidonius* as farre as in him lyeth pleadeth the cauſe of our *Zeno*: but very furiouſly as I ſuppoſe. For he ſaith that a drunken man is ſo ſaid to bee two manner of wayes: the one, when hee is loaden with Wine, and not maſter of himſelfe; the other, if he be accuſtomed to be made drunk, and be ſubiect vnto this vice. He is ſpoken of by *Zeno*, who is accuſtomed to be made drunk, not he that may be drunk. But no man will comit ſecrets to him, which through Wine he may publiſh abroad; which is falſe. For that firſt interrogation comprehendeth him that is drunke, not him who will ſo be. For thou wilt grant that there is great difference betwixt him that is drunke, and a Drunkard. For a man may be drunk at one time, and yet be no Drunkard: and he that is giuen to drinke, ſometimes on the other ſide may be without drunkenneſſe. Therefore I vnderſtand that, which is wont to be ſignified in this word: eſpecially ſith it is ſet down by a man profeſſing diligence, & examining words. Adde now, that if *Zeno* vnderſtood, & would haue vs to vnderſtand this, by doubtfulneſſe of the word, he hath ſought place for deceit: which thing is not to be done, when verity is ſought for. But certes, although hee hath thought thus: yet that which followeth is falſe; namely, that to him who is accuſtomed to be made drunk, a ſecret ſpeech is not to be committed. For think to how many Souldiers not alwaies ſober, both the Emperor, & Tribune, & Centurion hath committed ſilent things. Concerning that ſlaughter of *C. Ceſar*, (of him do I ſpeak, who hauing overcome *Pompeius*, poſſeſſed the Common wealth: the ſecret thereof was as well committed

to *Tillius Cimber*, as to *C. Cassius*. *Cassius* dranke water all his life long. *Tillius Cimber* was both too much giuen to wine, and was lauish of his tongue: he iested at this thing himselfe. Can I beare any one, saith he, who cannot beare wine? Let euery one now name those vnto himselfe, to whom he knoweth that wine is badly, and that speech is well committed. Notwithstanding I will relate one example that commeth to my minde; lest it be forgot. For life is to be instructed by famous examples. Let vs not alwaies flie to those that be old. *Lucius Piso* the Warden of the Citie, after that he was once made drunke, spent the greater part of the night in the Feast: and did for the most part sleepe almost vntill noone; this was his morning time. Notwithstanding, most diligently he administred his office, wherein the safetie of the Citie was contained. To him both *Augustus* gaue secret commands, when he gaue him the government of Thracia, which he did subdue; and *Tiberius* going into Campania, when he left many things in the Citie both suspected and hateful, I thinke, because the drunkennesse of *Piso* had well fallen forth vnto him, afterwards made *Cassius* Governour of the Citie, a grave and moderate man, but drowned and floating in wine, so that sometimes being oppressed with a sound sleepe, he was carried out of the Senate, into which he had come from a feast. To him notwithstanding *Tiberius* wrote many things with his owne hand, which as he iudged ought not to be committed to his owne seruants. No priuate nor publique secret escaped from *Cassius*. Therefore let vs remove from amongst vs these declamations: The minde hath not power ouer it selfe, being bound about with drunkennesse. As barrels themselves are broken with new wine: and all that is in the bottome, is by force of the heat cast vp into the vpper part: so when the wine boileth vpwards, and tempteth the brain, whatsoeuer lieth hid in the heart, is discovered and commeth abroad. As they who are laden with wine, containe not their meat through abundance of the same, so indeed doe they keepe no secret thing; that which is their owne and other mens, alike doe they spread abroad. But although this is wont to fall forth, so also is that, that with these whom we know somewhat freely to drink, we deliberate of necessarie things. There is therefore no foundation in this pretended Maxime, that a secret is not to be committed to him, who is accustomed to be made drunke. How much better were it openly to accuse drunkennesse, and to lay open the vices thereof? which euen a tollerable man hath auoyded, much more a perfect and a wise man: to whom it is sufficient to quench thirst: who also, if at any time mirth doth arise, and is continued somewhat long vpon some other cause, yet notwithstanding resisteth without being drunke. We will dispute hereafter, whether the minde of a wise man may be troubled with too much wine, and may doe that which is accustomed to drunken men. In the meane space, if thou wilt conclude this, that a good man ought not to be drunke, why proceedest thou with syllogismes? Shew how dishonest a thing it is, to poure in more then one can containe, and not to know the measure of ones stomacke: How many things drunken men doe, which sober men be ashamed of: that drunkennesse is nothing else, then a voluntarie madnesse. Extend that drunken habit into many daies, doubtst thou but it will be madnesse? Now also it is not lesse, but shorter. Relate the example of *Alexander*, the Macedonian, who in the midst of a banquet stabbed *Chytus*, one most deare and most faithfull vnto him, and vnderstanding that heinous deed, he would haue dyed; certainly he deferred to die. Drunkennesse augmenteth and discovereth euery vice; it remoueth modestie, which hindereth

reth from bad Enterprizes. For more abstayne from forbidden things through shame to offend, then through good will. When too much Wine possideth the minde, what euill soeuer did lye hid, commeth forth. Drunkennesse causeth not vices, but betrayeth them; then the lecherous person tarryeth not indeed for a Chamber, but without delay permitteth to his desires so much as they shall require: then the shamelesse man professeth and publisheth his disleafe: then the wanton containeth not his tongue nor hand. Pride encrease to the haughty, rage to the cruell, malice to the enuious; euery vice is discouered, and commeth forth. Furthermore a man that is drunke knoweth neither where nor what he is; he stammereth and lispeth in his speeches, his eyes are inconstant, his feet stumble, his head turneth, he supposeth that the Tyles and coverings of the House remove themselves, and that the whole House is shaken, and when the Wine beginneth to boyle, it tormenteth his stomacke, and distendeth his bowels. Yet then howsoeuer tollerable it bee as long as his forces are entyre; what will it then be when it is corrupted with sleepe, and that which was Drunkennesse is made Cruditie? Thinke what slaughters publike Drunkennesse hath committed. This hath deliuered most fierce and warlike Nations to their enemies: this hath layd open walls, defended against the resolute Warre of many yeares: this hath enforced the most resolute, and the refusers of subiection, to the command of other men: this hath conquered those who haue bene vnconquered in Warre. So many iournies, so many battels, so many Winters, through which *Alexander* had passed, in which hee ouercame the difficulty of times and places; so many floods whose sources were vnknowne, so many Seas dismissed him safe; but the distemper of drinking, and that *Herculean* and fatall Cup buried him. What glorie is it to contayne much? When the Victory shall be atchieued by thee, when men lying scattered as sleepe, and casting shall refuse thy drunken Carowles, when thou alone shalt remayne of the whole Banquet, when thou shalt ouercome all men in magnificall valour, and no man shall be so capable of Wine as thy selfe, yet art thou overcome by a Tunne: what other thing saue Drunkennesse, and the loue of *Cleopatra* no lesse dangerous then Wine, destroyed *M. Antonius*, a great man and of a noble wit, and transferred him into externall fashions, and into vices which were not Roman-like? This thing made him an enemy to the Commonwealth, this made him vnequall to his enemies, this made him cruell; when the heads of the Princes of the City were set before him as he did sup, when amongst most exquisite Feasts and Kingly ryot, hee tooke pleasure to behold the heads and hands of the proscribed; when being loded with Wine, hee notwithstanding thirsted for bloud. It was intollerable in him to bee drunke, but how much more intollerable were those things which he did in Drunkennesse it selfe? Crueltie for the most part accompanieth Drunkennesse; for the health of the mind is violated and exasperated by such excess. Euen as long Diseases cause tender eyes, that they are offended with the least glimpse of the Sunne: so continually Drunkennesse enrageth mens minds. Because Drunkards are almost ordinarily transported with Wine, their vices endure by accustomed this beastliness, and conceiued by lauish drinking. Finally, maintayne themselves in force, although the vicious drink not any Wine. Tell therefore why a Wife-man ought not to be made drunke. Shew the deformitie and the importunitie of the thing with deeds, not with words, which will be most easie to do. Proue these same pleasures (as they are called, when they haue passed a meane) to be punishments. For if thou shalt argue after this manner, that a Wiseman can be

bedrunke with much Wine, and retayne a right tenor although he be ouerborne: thou mayest as well conclude, that hee may drinke Poyson and not dye; that hee may take the iuyce of blacke Poppy and not sleepe; that hee may take Ellebore, and not call vpward or scoure downward that whatsoeuer sticketh in the bowels. But if his feet be afflicted, if his tongue bee not his owne, why thinkest thou him to be partly sober, and partly drunke?

EPIST. LXXXIII.

Writing and reading are to bee changed. Things read are to bee turned into one nourishing substance, and are to be made ours. Lastly, there is an exhortation to Wisdom, Good and profitable admonitions.

Iudge these iourneyes which shake off slothfulnesse from mee, to profit my studies and health. Thou seest why they helpe mine health: sith the loue of Learning maketh me slow and negligent of my bodie, I am exercised by others helpe. I will shew thee why they profit my studies. I haue not giuen ouer reading. For as I suppose these iourneyes are necessary, first, that I may not be content with my selfe alone; then, that when I shall know things sought forth by other men, I may settle my judgment vpon their inuentions, and bethinke my selfe of those that be to be found out. Reading nourisheth the wit; and when it is wearied with studie, it refresheth it, yet not without studie. Neyther onely ought wee to write, or onely to reade; the one of these things will wearie and consume the strength; I speake of writing: the other will dissolue and dissipate it. Interchangeably this is to be exchanged with that, and the one is to be moderated with the other; so that whatsoeuer is gathered together by reading, the Pen may reduce into a bodie. Wee ought (as they say) to imitate Bees, which wander vp and downe, and picke fit Flowres to make Honey: then whatsoeuer they haue brought they dispose and place through their Combes, and as our *Virgil* sayth;

*Moyst Honey to make thicke they much doe strue,
Spreading the same with sweet dew through their Hine.*

Concerning them it is not apparent enough, whether they draw a moyst substance from the Flowers, which is presently Honey; or whether that they change those things which they haue gathered with a certain mixture and propriety of their breath, into this taste. For some thinke, that not the knowledge of making Honey, but of gathering it, is vnto them. They say that amongst the *Indians* Honey is found vpon the Leauens of Reedes, which eyther the dew of that Skie, or the pleasant and more fat moysture of the very Reed may beget. Vpon our Herbes also the same force, but lesse manifest and notable is found, which a Creature borne for this end may follow after, and gather together. Somethinke that those things which they haue picked from the tender of that which is greene and flourishing, are not without a certaine Leauen, as I may so call it, whereby diuers things doe knit together into one. But that I be not led away to any other thing, then to that which is in hand, wee also ought to imitate Bees, and to separate what things soeuer wee haue heaped together from

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diuers readings; for distinct things are the better remembred. And afterwards, hauing digested the whole by our selues, according to the care and abilitie of our vnderstanding, to make a good broth of these diuers saues in such sort: that although it shall appeare whence it was taken, yet it may appeare to bee some other thing, then that whence it was taken: which thing wee see Nature doth in our bodie, without any helpe of ours. The meat which we haue taken, so long as it abideth in qualitie, and swimmeth solid in the stomacke, is a burthen; but when it is changed from that which it was, then at length it passeth into strength and bloud. The same let vs doe in those things where-with our wits are nourished: Let vs not suffer those things to remaine intire which we haue gathered from other Authors, for they will not be ours. Let vs concoct them, otherwise they will onely fill the memorie, and leaue the vnderstanding void. Let vs faithfully assent vnto them, and make them ours, that one certaine thing may be made of many: as one number is made of seuerall ones, when one computation comprehendeth lesser and disagreeing summes. This let our minde doe: all things whereby it is holpen, let it hide: onely let it shew that which it hath done. Although in thee the likenesse of some one shall appeare, whom admiration hath more deeply fastned in thee: I would that thou shouldest be like to him, not as an Image, but as a sonne. An Image is a thing that is dead. What therefore? Is it not vnderstood whose speech thou dost imitate? whose reasoning? whose sentences? I thinke at length it cannot be vnderstood indeed, if they be of a great man; for not in all things, which he hath drawne as examples from euery one, hath he so imprinted his shape, that they may agree into that one thing alone. Seest thou not how the Quire consisteth of many voyces? Notwithstanding one sound is made of them all. One of these singeth the treble, another the base, and another the meane. Womens voyces are ioyned with mens, Recorders and Flutes are added vnto them: there the voyces of euery one in seuerall lye hid, of all appeare. I speake of musick as the ancient Philolophers did. In our feasts there are more Singers, then once were of Spectatours vpon the Theatres. When the order of those that sing hath filled all wayes, and the Theatre is compassed with Trumpeters, and all kinde of Pipes and Organs found from a galerie aboue, a consonance is made of discords. Such would I haue our minde to be, that there be many arts therein, many precepts, examples of many ages; but conspiring in one. How saist thou, may this be done? By continuall taking of heed; if that wee doe nothing but by the perswasion of reason: hir if thou wilt heare, she will say vnto thee: Leave these things forthwith, whereunto men doe runne; leaue riches, which are either the danger or burden of those that possesse them; leaue the pleasures of the bodie and of the mind, they mollifie and make weak; leaue suing for offices, it is a swelling, vaine, and windie thing, it hath no bound: as well careful is it, not to see any body before it selfe, as not to see it selfe after another manner: it labourerth with enuie, and indeed with two sorts thereof. But thou seest how wretched he is, who is enuied at, if he himselfe enuie also. Beholdest thou those houses of mightie men, those tumultuous doores with the bawling of them that doe salute? Much reproach must thou endure, that thou maiest enter in, more when thou hast entered in. Passe by these staires of the rich, and entrieis hanged with heapes of ancient spoiles. Not onely in a craggie, but also in a slipperie place shalt thou there stand. Hither rather vnto wisdom direct thy course, and seeke to attaine the most quiet, and therewithall the most ample thing. What things soeuer seeme

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to excell in humane affaires, although they be small, and stand above in comparison of the basest things, are notwithstanding by difficult and hard wayes gone vnto. Vnto the height of dignitie there is a broken way. But if thou wilt climbe vnto this top, whereunto fortune submitteth it selfe, thou shalt behold indeed all things vnder thee, which are accounted exceeding high; but notwithstanding thou shalt come vnto highest things by that which is plaine.

EPIST. LXXXV.

He disalloweth Sophismes, and driueth them from serious studies. He giueth certaine examples, but leadeth to profitable things; against the Aristotelians, that a wise man ought to want affections. Then, that blessed life sufficeth of it selfe; it is one and equal, whether it be long or short. Also, it is not lessened by outward things, although euils and losses fall forth, yet a wise man respecteth all well. A good and wise Epistle.



Had spared thee, and had overpassed whatsoeuer scruple as yet remained, contenting my selfe to giue thee some taste of those things which are alledged by our Stoicks, to proue that vertue alone is sufficiently effectuell to liue well and happily. Thou wilt see mee to collect all their arguments, or that which hath bin inuented to confirme their opinion; which if I should doe, in stead of a Letter I should send thee a Booke. I am contrayned to protest once againe, that such a manner of discourse displeaseth me: I am ashamed, being armed with a bodkin, to vndertake the quarrell both of Gods and men. He that is wise, is temperate. He that is temperate is a constant man. He that is constant, is a true tempered man. He that is without griefe, is a blessed man. Therefore, he that is prudent is a blessed man, and prudence is sufficient for a blessed life. To this collection, some of the Aristotelians answer after this sort. That they may conceiue a man of true temper, and constant, and without griefe; who rarely and small is disturbed, not he who neuer is. They likewise say, that he is iustly said to be without sadnesse, who is not subiect thereunto, nor is too frequent, nor too much in this fault. For that were, in their opinion, to denie the nature of man, for any one to maintaine, that the minde of some man should be free from griefe: They grant, that a wise man is not ouercome with sorrow; but say, he is touched therewith: Such are their allegations, and others conformable to the opinion of their Sect. They take not away the affections, but moderate them. But how little doe wee giue to a wise man, if he be stronger then the weakest, and merrier then the saddest, and more moderate, then the most vnbridled, and greater then the basest be? What if *Lucius* admire her owne swiftnesse, looking backe vnto those that be lame and weak?

*On tops of Grasse, not pressing them, she ran,
Nor tops of standing Corne, her course hurs can;
In midst of Sea on waters highest tip,
Her running feet in water doe not dip.*

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This is that swiftnesse which is esteemed of by it selfe, not that which is praised in comparison of those that be most slow. What if thou call him, who is slightly sick of an ague, a sound man? A moderate sickness is not perfect health. In that sense is a Wiseman said to be without perturbation, as we terme these fruits to be kernellless, not in which there is no hardnes of the kernels, but in which lesse hardnes is. It is false: for I do not vnderstand a diminution of euils but an expection in a good man: those ought to be none, not those that are small in him. For if there be any, they will encrease, and sometimes will hinder him. As a greater and confirmed Web in the Eye causeth blindness, so a small one troubleth the sight. If thou attribute any affections to a Wiseman, reason shall be vnable to master them, he shall be transported like a torrent: especially when thou leauest him not one, but a whole troope of affections wherewithall he may strue. A band of men that are of lesse strength can doe more then the violence of a Great. He hath couetousnesse, but it is meane; he hath ambition, but it is not eager; he hath anger, but it is to be appeased, he hath inconstancie, but not very wandering and subiect to motion: he hath lust, but not madnes. Better is it with him who hath one whole vice, then with him who hath lighter vices indeed, but yet hath all vice. Again, it importeth not, how main the affection be, how great soeuer it is; it knoweth not to obey, it admitteth no counsell. As no liuing creature obeyeth reason, eyther wild, tame, or gentle; because their nature admitteth not, is deafe to him that doth perswade: so affections do not follow, they do not heare, how small soeuer they be. Tigers and Lions neuer but shake off their fiercenesse, there sometimes they submit; and when thou shalt least expect, their mitigated fiercenesse is exasperated. Vices neuer in good earnest doe waxe tame. But if reason preuaile, the affections will not insul: if they shall begin against reasons will, they will perseuer against the will of it. For it is more ealie to forbid the beginnings of them, then to rule their force. Therefore this mediocritie is false, and vnprofitable, and is to be esteemed of in the same nature, as if one should say, a man might be indifferently mad, or indifferently sick. Vertue alone hath it; the euils of the minde doe not receiue moderation, more easily shalt thou take them away, then gouerne them. Is there any doubt, but that the inueterate and incurable vices of the soule, which we call diseases, be without moderation; as couetousnesse, as cruelty, as vnruinesse, as impiety? Therefore also the affections are without moderation: for we passe from these into those. Furthermore, if thou giue any power to sadnesse, to feare, to couetousnesse and to other bad motions, they will not be ruled by vs. Why? because those things be out of our power whereby they be stirred vp. Therefore they encrease, as they haue greater or lesse causes, whereby they be prouoked. Greater shall the feare be, if there be more wherewithall it may be affrighted, or if one shall looke nearer thereunto; couetousnesse shall be more cruell, when hope of a larger estate shall call it forth. If it be not in our power, to know whether affections may bee or not, neyther will it bee in our power to know, how many they may be: if thou sufferest them to begin, they will encrease with their causes, and they shall be as great, as they are made by thee. Adde now, that these, although they be but little things, grow to be greater. Neuer doe hurtfull things keepe a meane. Although the beginnings of diseases bee light, yet doe they re-enforce themselves, and sometimes the least accession drowneth a body that is already sick. But what folly is it, to thinke that wee haue the ends of those things in our power whose beginnings wee are incertaine of? How am I sufficiently able to put an end vnto that, which I was vnable to hinder

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der? Sith it is more easie to exclude, then to suppress things admitted in. Some haue distinguished after this manner, and said: A temperate and a prudent man in the frame and habit of the mind is calme, but not in the event thereof: for in regard of the habit of the mind he is not troubled, neither lea-
 reth, nor is sad: but many causes doe outwardly fall forth, which may bring perturbation vnto him. This is as much as if they said, that hee is not indeed a cholerick man, yet that he is angry at sometime. And that he is not a fearefull man, yet that he feareth at some time: that is to say, he wanteth the vice, but not the passion of feare. But if we allow of this feare, with frequent vse it be-
 cometh a vice: and anger being admitted into the minde will discover that habit of the mind that wanted anger. Furthermore, if he contemneth not those causes which outwardly come, and feareth any thing, when that valiantly hee
 ought to goe against weapons, and fires, for his Countrey, Lawes and libertie, he wil faintly set forward, & cowardly is in his thoughts. But this diuersitie of mind falleth not vpon a Wiseman. That furthermore doe I iudge to be obser-
 ued, lest we confound two things which are severally to be proued. For by it selfe it is gathered, that there is one only good, namely, that which is honest: that by it selfe againe vertue is sufficient for a happy life. If there bee but one
 good, namely, that which is honest; all then grant that vertue is sufficient to liue well: contrarily it shall not be reiected, if vertue alone doe make a blessed man, that there is one good, that is, that which is honest. *Xenocrates* and *Speu-
 sippus* doe suppose, that a man may be made happy by vertue only; and deny that that is the one only good, which is honest. *Epicurus* also iudgeth, that
 when one hath vertue, that he is blessed, yet that vertue it selfe is not sufficient to a blessed life: because that pleasure may make a man blessed, which is from vertue, and is not vertue it selfe. A foolish distinction. For the same man de-
 nyeth, that vertue is at any time without pleasure: thus if it alwayes be ioyned vnto it, and be inseparable, it also is sufficient alone. But impertinently is this
 said, that one shall become happy euen by vertue alone: but shall not become perfectly happy thereby: which thing how it may come to passe, I doe not
 find. For a blessed life hath in it self a perfect & incomprehensible good: which thing if it be thus, it is perfectly a blessed life. If the life of the gods hath in it no
 more nor better thing, and a blessed life is a diuine life; there is nothing about which she may be mounted higher. Furthermore, if a blessed life needeth not
 any thing, every blessed life is perfect, and consequently happie, yea most hap-
 pie. Knoweth thou not that a blessed life is the chiefest good? If it bee the chief-
 est good, it is exceedingly happie. As that which is the chiefest receiveth no
 augmentation (for what is about that which shall be the chiefest?) so is a blessed
 life defective in nothing which is not without the souereigne good. But if thou
 shalt propose any one who is more blessed, then shalt thou make a great many
 more innumerable differences of the chiefest good: when I vnderstand the
 chiefest good, I speake of that which hath not any degree about it selfe. If
 any bee lesse blessed then another: it followeth, that hee will more
 desire the life of that other more blessed, rather then his owne life: but
 the blessed man preferreth nothing before his owne life. Both these are
 incredible, eyther that there remaineth something, I know not what, for a
 Wiseman, which hee had rather bee, then that which is: or that rather
 hee should not desire that, which is better then himselfe. Certainly, the
 more wise that a man is, the more extendeth hee himselfe towards
 that which is good, and desireth to attayne that euerie way. But
 how

how is hee blessed, who can still, yea, who ought to desire? I will say what
 it is, from whence this error proceedeth. They know not that blessed life is
 one. The qualitie thereof, and not the greatnesse, placeth it in the best estate.
 Therefore whether she be long or short, broad or narrow, distributed into ma-
 ny places and parts, or gathered into one, she is equal and alike. He that este-
 meth it by number, and measure, and parts, taketh that therefrom, which is
 the most excellent therein. But what is that which is excellent in a blessed life?
 That it is full; The end of eating and drinking, in my iudgement, is facietie:
 this man eateth more, than man lesse. What of all this? both of them are sa-
 tisfied. This man drinketh more, he lesse: what difference? neither of them is
 athirst. He hath liued more, he fewer yeares. There is no difference: if many
 yeares haue made him as wel a blessed man as a few yeares this man. He whom
 thou callest lesse blessed, is not blessed: the name cannot be lessened. He that is
 valiant, is without feare: he that is without feare, is without sadnesse: he that is
 without sadnesse is blessed. This is an Argument of the Stoicks. Hereunto
 some there are that endeavour to answer thus; that wee bring in a false and a
 controuerted, for a true thing, namely, that he who is valiant is without feare.
 What therefore? shall not a valiant man, saith he, feare euils hanging ouer him?
 This were the part of a mad man, and of one out of his wits, and not of a vali-
 ant man. He indeed, saith he, feareth most moderately, but is not altogether
 without feare. They who speak these things fall againe into this absurdity, that
 smaller vices be vnto them in the place of vertues. For he who feareth, but more
 seldom and lesse, wanteth not folly, but this folly is the lesse. One may re-
 ply that he cannot be supposed wise, who feareth not euils hanging ouer him.
 True it is which he saith, if they be euils; but if he know that they be not euils,
 and iudgeth dishonesty alone to be that which is euil, he ought securely to look
 vpon dangers, and to contemne those things which other men feare: or if it be
 the part of a Foole or of a mad man, to contemne dangers; by how much any
 one is the more wise, by so much shall hee feare the more. As it seemeth to you,
 saith he, a valiant man shall thrust himselfe into dangers. No, he shall not feare
 them, but shall auoyd them. Warinesse, not feare becometh him. What
 therefore? Doeest thou say, that he shall not feare death, bands, fire, and other
 weapons of Fortune? No; for hee knoweth that those things bee not ill, but
 seeme so to be: he thinketh that all these things bee the Bug-beares of humane
 life. Describe captiuitie, beating, chaines, pouertie, tearing aunder of the mem-
 bers, either by sicknesse or by iniurie: and whatsoever thou shalt bring here-
 unto, number them amongst imaginary feares. These things are to be feared by
 those that be fearefull. Supposest thou that to be bad, whereunto sometimes of
 our owne accord we must come? Desirest thou to know what euill is? To giue
 place to these things which are called euill, and to engage our owne liberty vn-
 to them, for which we ought to endure all sorts of miseries. And liberty is lost,
 except we contemne those things, which lay a yoke vpon vs. They would not
 doubt what would become a valiant man, if they knew what valour were. For
 it is not vnadvised rashnes, nor loue of dangers, nor a desire of fearefull things.
 It is a science that distinguisheth good from euill: it is this valor is most diligent
 in defending of it selfe, and endureth patiently those euils which are but appa-
 rently euill. What therefore if a Sword be thrust into the throat of a valiant man,
 if first one part and then another be pierced thorow, if he see his owne bowels
 in his owne armes, if after a space (to the end that hee may feele torments the
 more,) hee be set vpon againe, and fresh blood tricketh downe by his dried
 howels?

bowels? wilt thou say, that such a one doth neither feare nor feele griefe? Certainly he feeleth paine, for no vertue taketh away a mans sence; but he is not affrighted, hee beholdeth from on high, and with an inuincible heart the strokes which hee receiueth. Askest thou me what courage hee hath at that time? The same which they haue who exhort their sick friend. That which is euill hurteth, that which hurtheth maketh worse. Dolour and pouertie make not worse, therefore they are not bad. False is it, saith he, which is propounded, for if any thing hurt, it doth not also make worse. A tempest and storme do hurt a Pilot, but notwithstanding they make him not worse. Certaine Stoicks doe thus answer against this, That a Pilot is made worse by a tempest and by a storme, because that thing which hee had purposed hee cannot effect, nor keepe on his course. Worse is he made, not in his skill, but in his work. To whom the *Driftoelian*: Therefore, saith he, pouertie and dolour, and whatsoever such like thing there shall be, shall not take vertue from him, but shall hinder his performance. This were rightly said, except the condition of a Pilot & of a Wiseman were vnlike. For the purpose of him is in leading his life, not to effect that infallibly which he aſſayeth to do, but to do all things aright. The purpose of the Pilot is, to bring his ship into the Hauen. Arts are but Ministers, they ought to performe that which they promise. Wisdome is a Miltris and Gouvernelle. Arts attend life, Wisdome governeth it. For mine owne part, I would answer otherwise, namely, that neither the skill of the Gouverneur is made worse by any tempest, nor yet the very administration of Art. The Gouverneur hath not promised prosperous successe vnto thee, but his profitable endeavour, and skill to gouerne the ship. This appeareth the more, by how much the more some force of fortune hath hindred him. He that hath bene able to say this, O *Neptune*, this ship was neuer but right, hath satisfied skill. A tempest hindereth not the worke of a Pilot, but the successe. What therefore sayest thou? Doth not that thing hurt a Pilot, which hindereth him from entering the Port? which causeth his endeouours to be vaine? which either beareth him backe, or detaineth and disarmeth him? It hurteth him not as Pilot, but as one that doth sayle. Otherwise it doth not so much hinder, as shew the Pilots skill. For euery one can, as they say, be a Pilot in the calme. These things hinder the ship, not a Pilot, as he is a Pilot. Two persons a Pilot hath; the one common with all who haue gone aboard the same ship, wherein he himselfe also is a passenger; the other proper, as hee is a Gouverneur. The tempest hurteth him as hee is a passenger, not as a Pilot. Furthermore the art of a Pilot is anothers good, it appertayneth to those whom he carryeth: as the art of a Physitian appertayneth to those whom he doth cure. Wisdome is a common good, and is proper to it selfe, and those with whom the Wiseman liueth. Therefore peradventure a Pilot is hurt, whose promised seruice to others is let by a tempest. A Wiseman is not hurt by pouertie, nor by dolour, nor by other tempests of life. For no man can hinder any one of these actions which are proper vnto him; he is alwayes himselfe indeed, and then greatest of all, when Fortune hath opposed her selfe vnto him, then manageth he the businesse of Wisdome it selfe: which Wisdome we haue said to be both anothers and his owne good. Furthermore, he is not then hindered to profit other men, when some necessities doe presse him. Through pouertie he is hindred to teach how a Commonwealth may be managed: but he teacheth other men this thing, how pouertie is to be managed. His work is extended at his life long. Thus no incommodity or thing whatsoever excludeth the acts of a wiseman. For he doth not that very thing, wherby he is forbidde to do other

other things. He is fit for both chanches: a Gouverneur of the bad, an ouercomer of the good. So I say, hath he exercised himselfe, that he sheweth vertue as well in prosperous as in aduersé affaires, neither looketh hee vpon the matter thereof, but vpon it selfe. Therefore neither pouertie, nor dolour, nor any other thing, which turneth backe the vnskillfull, and driueth them head-long, hindereth them. Hast thou rather he should be pressed? He maketh vse of it. Not only of Luorie did *Phidias* know how to make Images: he made them of Brasse, if marble were vnto him, if thou hadst offered baser matter, he would haue made such an one thereof, as could bee made of that which was the best: So a Wiseman will shew vertue, if he may, in wealth; if not, in pouertie: if hee shall bee able, in his Countrey; if not, in Banishment: if he can, being a Commander; if not, being a Souldier: if hee can, being sound; if not, being weak: what fortune soeuer hee shall entertaine, hee will performe some memorable thing thereby. Certaine tamers there be of wild beasts, who teach the fiercest creatures, (and which terrifie a man when they meet him,) to suffer the yoke: and not contenting themselves to haue despoyled them of their naturall crueltie, they lo tame them that they make them sociable. The Master vseth often to thrust out his hand to Lions; they kille it. The Keeper commandeth his Tiger; the *Athiopian* Player commandeth his Elephant to fall vpon their knees, and to walke vpon a Rope: so a Wiseman is skillfull to subdue euill things. Dolour, Pouerty, Ignominy, Prison, Banishment, when they come vnto him, are made tame.

EPIST. LXXXVI.

Of the Countrey-house of AFRICANVS, of his Building and Bath, which was neyther garnished nor neat. Against the Rye of his time. Last of all, of setting Oliues, through occasion of a Countrey-house.

Lying in the very Towne of *Scipio Africanus*, I write these things vnto thee, hauing adored the spirit of him, and the Altar, which I suppose to be the Sepulcher of so great a man: his soule I perswade my selfe that it returned into Heaven, whence it was: not because he ledde great Armies (for this also furious *Cambyses* did, and prosperously vsed furie) but for his great moderation and pietie, more admirable in him when hee left his Countrey, then when hee defended it. Eyer *Scipio* must be deprived of Rome, or Rome of libertie. Nothing, sayth hee, will I derogate from Lawes, nothing from Decrees. Amongst all Citizens let there be an equal right. O my Countrey, vse the benefit of me without mee. I haue bin the cause, I will also be an argument of libertie vnto thee: I depart, if I haue increased more then I expedient for me. How can I chuse but admire this greatness of mind? He departed into voluntary Banishment, and disburthened the Citie. The matter was brought vnto that passe, that either libertie should doe iniurie to *Scipio*, or *Scipio* to libertie. Neither was lawfull to bee done. Therefore he gaue place to the Lawes, and betooke himselfe to Litternuth, as willing to impure the Banishment of himselfe as of *Hannibal*, to the Common-wealth. I saw that Towne builded of foure-square stone, a Wall compassing about a Wood, Towers also set vnder both sides of the Towne for a defence: A Cistern layd vnder the Buildings and greene places, which was able to serue euen an Armie of men: A little narrow Bath, some-what darke, as the old fashion was.

It seemed none was warmed for our Ancestors, except it were obscure. Great pleasure entered into me, beholding the manners of *Scipio*, and of vs. In this corner, that horror of *Carthage*, to whom *Rome* is obliged, that it was taken but once, washed his body, wearied with the labours of the Countrey: for hee exercised himselfe in worke, and he himselfe tilled the Earth, as the fashion of the Ancients was. Hee stood vnder this so bafe a rooffe, this so meane a floore sustayned him. But what man is he in these dayes that can endure to be bathed thus? Poore and bafe seemeth hee to himselfe, except the walles haue shined with great and precious rounds, except *Alexandrian* Marbles be distinguished with *Numidian* Rooffe-casts; except all about vpon them, a curious varied Playstering be layed like a Picture that is drawne, except the Chamber be covered ouer with Glasse, except stone of the Ile *Thasus*, once a rare gazing stocke in some Temple, haue compassed about our Ponds, where we goe and bathe our bodies enfeebled with too much swet; except the water of our Fountaines run thorow Pipes of siluer. I speake as yet but of the common Rouges, but what shal I say, when I shal come to the Bathes of free men? how great Pictures, how great Pillars holding nothing vp, but placed for ornament sake and ostentation of expence, how many Fountaines whose waters fall & flow by degrees to the end to make the noise more pleasant? So farre are we drowned in delights, that we will not tread but vpon precious Stones. In this Bath of *Scipio*, there bee verie small chinkes, rather then windowes, cut out in the stone wall, that without hurt of the fence, they should let the light in. But now are they called the Bathes of Gnats, if any bee not framed so, as to receiue with most large windowes the Sunne all the day long; except they bee bathed and perfumed both at one time, except from their Bed they discouer both Land and Sea. Those therefore which had concourse to them, and admiration at them when they were first dedicated, these are reiected into the number of the old, because dissolution hath deuised some new thing, where withal it might ouerthrow it selfe. But in old time there were few Bathes, neither were they adorned with any ornament. For why should a place whereinto a man might enter for a farthing be embellished, which was made for a man to bathe himselfe in, and not to giue him pleasure? Water was not still powred in, neither alwayes as from a warme fountaine did it runne fresh: neither beleued they that it any wayes concerned them how cleare the Vessels were in which they clenfed them. But, O the good gods, how delighted it to enter into Bathes somewhat darke, and covered with feeling of the common fort, which thou diddest know, that *Cato*, when he was ouer-seer of the buildings, or else *Fabius Maximus*, or some of the *Cornels* had tempered with their owne hand? For these magnificent *Ædiles* vouchsafed to take the pain to enter into these places, which were haunted by the people, to see they should be cleanly, that they should be proper and wel ayred, not after the present fashion, where a stone is changed into a burning furnace, so that to punish a slave which is consiſted of any hainous crime, it sufficeth to bathe him naked in such Stoues. At this day there is no difference, as I deeme, betwixt a hot and a burning Bath. How many are they at this day that condemne *Scipio*, and repute him ouer-rutick, because hee had not made the windowes of his Stoue large enough to admit the day, because hee sod not himselfe in open sight, and expected to make his concoction in his Bath? Behold, say they, a miserable man! he knoweth not how to liue; he was not washed in faire, but oftentimes in troubled water, and almost muddie, when more vehemently it did raine. Neither much cared he, whether hee were washed

thed so, for he came to wash away sweat, and not to wash away oymntment therewith. What thinkest thou will some of the wantons of this time say? I enuie not *Scipio*, he truly liued in banishment, who was washed thus; yea if thou wilt know it, he was not washed euerie day. For, as they say, who haue written of the ancient customes of the Cittie men in times past, they washed armes and legges euerie day, to cleanse away that filth they had gathered by trauaile. Then washed they their whole bodie euerie nine daies. In this place, some one will say, that it is apparent, that in those dayes they were verie slouens; Now, since these neat and new bathes are found out, are they any whit the purer? What thinkest thou they smelled of? Of warre, of labour, of playing the men, What saith *Horatius Flaccus*, intending to describe an infamous man, and one notorious for too many delights?

Of Pomander doth RYFILLVS smell——

As if he would say, *Rufillus* is a stinking fellow, he smelleth like a Goat, as *Gorganius* doth, who is coupled with him in these Verses. It is a small matter at this day to be perfumed, except it be renewed twice or thrice in the day, lest it vanish in the bodie. And that which is more, some glorie in their fauours, as if they came from themselves. If this discourse seeme displeasing vnto thee, thou shalt impute it to *Scipio's* Country-house; wherein I learned from *Ægialus*, a most diligent Husband (for he now is the possessor of this ground) that a shrubbe, although it be old, may be translated into another place. This is necessarie for vs to learne, who are old men, since there are none of vs but planteth an Orchard of Oliues for another man. That which I haue seene, I speake; namely, that a yong plant of three or foure yeares old hath bene remoued to another soyle in Autumne, because his fruits were displeasing. This flow Tree which shall giue shadow to the children of thy children, shall bring forth sufficient leaues to couer thee: which

*Hath bene slow to make a shade before,
To yong nephewes and those that were vnborne:*

As our *Virgil* saith, who respected not what might be spoken most truly, but most seemely: neither desired he to teach Husbandmen, but to delight those that read. For (to passe by other things) I will adde hereunto that, which is needfull to reprehend at this day:

*In Spring, be Beanes and dunged Lyons set,
And Millet doth a new yeares care beget.*

Thou maist know by that which I intend to say, whether we ought to sow these three graines at one and the same season, or whether in the Spring or no. The present letters I now write vnto thee are about the end of *Iune*. In the same day I saw some gathering Beanes, and sowing Millet. I returne to the Orchard of Oliues, which I saw disposed after two sorts. *Ægialus* hauing digged away the earth from the trunks of great trees, cutting away the branches a foot distant from the trunk, hath transplanted them with their remainder, after he had cut off the rootes almost neere vnto that head from whence they sprung. Then encompassing this head with good dung, he put

it into a trench sufficiently deepe, and contented not himselfe to fill it vp with earth, but he pressed and trod it downe with his feete, affirming, that there is nothing more effectuall then this ramming it in, because it excludeth both the cold and winde. Furthermore, the rootes are no waies shaken, and for that cause suffereth the growing roots to burgen and fasten in the earth, which would be loosened and rooted vp by a slight agitation, because as yet they are tender, and haue but slight hold. But before he couereth the trunke, he scrapeth it round about; and his reason is, because that from euerie trench which is laied bare and scraped, the new rootes doe sprout out more easily. The stocke of the Tree ought not bee out of the earth more then three or foure foote high, for incontinently it will be garnished from below, neyther shall the most part thereof be dried and burned, as it falleth out in those Orchards where Oliues grow. Moreover, he vseth another kind of planting, in taking sufficiently bigge branches, and such as had a tender barke, and those of the younger trees, and husbanded them after the former manner. These plants encrease not so quickly, but when they are a little forward, and haue taken roote, they are faire and pleasant. I haue likewise now seene this, an old Vine transplanted from her stocke. They bind vp as conveniently as they can, the sprouts or syens of the same; then couch they the stocke in the earth gently, and at large, to the end it may cast forth rootes from his bodie. I saw them not onely planted in Februarie, but in the moneth of March which is past, which began to spread their branches, and to twist themselves about the neighbouring trees. But all these trees (as he saith) which are of great couert, should be watered with Cisterne water, which being profitable, is easie to be recovered by the means of raies. I thinke it not meete to teach thee any further, lest euen as our *Agrius* hath made me to emulate his industrie, so likewise I should fashion thee to emulate mee.

EPIST. LXXXVII.

The frugalitie of SENECA, and contempt of externall things: An admonition vnto others, that their wils and deedes might be such. Then follow small disputations, wherein he approoueth, that casuall things are not amongst those that be good: onely that they may be called Commodities.

I Haue suffered shipwracke, before I haue gone aboard: I tell not how this came to passe, lest this also in thy iudgement should be numbred amongst the Stoicall paradoxes: of which, I will approue when thou wilt, yea if thou wilt not, that each of them is true, nor so wonderfull, as they appeare to be at the first sight. In the meane space, this iourney I haue made, hath instructed me, how many superfluous goods we haue, and how easily with silded iudgement we might contemne them; which if at any time necessitie hath taken away, we feele them not to be taken away. With a verie few seruants, whom one Chariot could containe, without any stuffe, saue that which was carried vpon our backs, I and my *Maximus* haue now ledde these two dayes a happy life. A matteresse lyeth vpon the ground, I vpon the matteresse. Of two cloakes, the one is a blanket to lye vpon, the other is made a couer-lid. Concerning my dinner, nothing is superfluous therein, it hath been made readie without cookery;

neuer

neuer without drie figges, neuer without Cakes. If I haue bread, the figges serue me for my dinner. If not, I eat them in stead of bread; this entertainment maketh me a New yeare of every day, which I make prosperous and blessed by thoughts that be good, and by greatnesse of the minde: which neuer is greater, then when it hath separated forraine things: and by fearing of nothing, hath got peace vnto it selfe; and by coueting of nothing, hath got wealth vnto it selfe. The Chariot wherein I ride, is a homely one. The Mules testifie that they liue by going onely. The Muleter is vnshod, but not for heat: I scarce obtaine of my selfe, that I would haue this Chariot to be suppoled mine. A peruerse shamefastnesse of that which is right abideth as yet: so often as we doe fall into some brauer company, I blush against my will; which is an argument, that these things which I approue, and praise, haue not as yet a certaine and vnmoueable residence. He that blusseth at a base Coach, glorieth at a precious one. Little haue I profited as yet, I dare not publish frugalitie, yea now doe I care for the opinions of those that passe by. But I must exclaime against the opinions of all mankind: you play the fooles, you erre, you admire superfluous things, you esteeme no man according to his worth. When yee come to debate on your patrimonie, yee are most diligent reckoners. You consider exactly to whom you ought to lend, and to whom you ought to giue. For these also doe ye account amongst your expences. You will say, such an one possesseth a great deale, but that he oweth much: such another hath a faire house, but it is builded with other mens money: no man on the sudden can shew a more gallant Familie then this man, but he payeth not his debts. For if he shall pay his creditors, he should haue nothing left him. The same should you doe in other things, and examine how much proper goods euerie man hath. Thou suppoest such a one to be a rich man, because golden household stuffe followeth him vpon the way, because he tilleth grounds in all Prouinces, because a great booke of his accounts is rolled vp, because he possesseth so much ground in the Suburbs, as with enuie he should possesse in the deserts of *Apulia*: and when thou hast said all, he is a poore man: Wherefore? Because he is in debt. How much, saist thou? All that he hath, except peradventure thou thinkest that there is a difference, whether that one hath borrowed of a man, or of Fortune. To what end serue these fatted Mules, all of one colour? Or these carued Coaches?

*Tapeitrie, Scarlet, Foot-clothes Horses bore,
And long Gold pottrels on their breasts before?
Couered with Gold, they champe a yellow bit,
And with their teeth the Gold they chew of it.*

These things can make neither a better Master nor Mule. *Marcus Cato* the Censor (whose birth was as truly profitable to the people of Rome, as *Scipio*'s was; for the one made warre with our enemies, the other with the manners of the time) was mounted on a Gelding, and had a cloake-bagge behind him, wherein he carried his necessarie stuffe. O how willingly would I, that some of these rich Cavaliers might meet with him, hauing foot-men and *Nu-midians*, and a great deale of dust before him. Vndoubtedly such a one would seeme richer and better attended then *Cato* was: But this braue gallant, who is so richly mounted, in the midst of his triumphs, scarcely knoweth whether he should praise himselfe for a Fencer, or a killer of beasts. O how great a dignitie was it to that age, that an Emperor, who had triumphed, who had bin Cen-

sor,

for, and which is about all, that *Cato* should be contented with one horse, may certainly not with a whole horse; for his fardell hanging downe on both sides, possessed part of him. Wouldst thou not preferre this Gelding which *Cato* curried and rubbed with his owne hands, before all the well-fed ambling naggcs, before these great and easie going horses? I should never see an end of this discourse, except I ended it my selfe. Here therefore will I hold my peace, as concerning these things: which without doubt he fore-saw they would be such, as now they be, who first called them impediments. Now further will I relate a verie few Interrogations of our men, pertayning to vertue, which we maintaine to be sufficient for a blessed life. That which is good, maketh men to be good. For example sake, in Musicke-skill, that which is good, maketh a good Musitian. Casuall goods make not a man good, therefore they be not good. Hereunto the Peripatitiques answer, in such sort, as they repute that to be false which formerly we haue propofed: certaine it is, that whatsoeuer is good, maketh not men alwaies good. In Musicke, there is something that is good, as a Pipe, an Harpe-string, or some instrument fitted for the vse of singing: notwithstanding there is not any of these things that maketh a Musitian. Hereunto will we answer them; You vnderstand not how we conceiue that which is good to a Musitian: for we doe not speake of that which instructeth, but of that which maketh a Musitian: Thou considerest the instruments that belong to that profession, and not the profession or science it selfe. But if there be anything which is good in musicke skill, that certainly will make a Musitian so to be. I will as yet once more explaine this: That which is good in musicke-skill, is said to be so after two manner of waies; the one, whereby musically effects, the other, whereby Art is holpen. The instruments of the Pipe, and Organs, and Harpe-strings doe appertaine to the effect, but they doe not appertaine to the Art it selfe; for he is skilfull without these, but cannot peraduenture without them vse his skill. The good which is in a man, is not conceived in the same manner; for both that good which is in him, and in his life, is the same good. That is not good which can befall every most base and dishonest man: but riches befall both to the Bawle and Fencer, and therefore they are not good. That which is propounded, say they, is false; for both in Grammer, and in the Art of Physicke and of governing, we see that goods doe befall euerie one of the best sort. But these Arts professe not a greatnesse of the mind, they rise not a lott, neither didaine they such things as come by chance. Vertue extollet a man, and placeth him about those which are deere to mortall wights: neither doth he too much desire or feare those things that are called good or bad. *Chelidon*, one of those effeminate Eunuchs which attended *Cleopatra*, possessed a great Patrimoine. It is not long since, that *Natalis*, a man of as wicked and foule language as euer the earth bare, was both the heire of much, and left many heires. What therefore? did money make him impure, or did not he himselfe pollute money? which falleth vpon some men in such sort, as a piece of money fallerh into the vault. Vertue is scated about these things: she is prized according to her owne worth, she iudgeth none of these things to be good, howsoeuer they fall vnto vs. Physicke and gouernement neither forbid themselves, nor any of theirs, to admire such things. He that is not a good man, may neuertheless be a Phytician, may be a Gouernour, may be a Grammarian, forsooth, as well as a Cooke. Thou canst not say, that a man is all, who hath not the fortune to haue all. What things euerie one hath, such a manner

of

of man he is. A publique Treasurer is great, according to the businesse that he hath, and that likewise which he hath, is but accessorie to him. Who setteth any price vpon a full bagge, except the summe of the money put therein hath caused him? The same befallerh the rich, and such as haue great patrimonies; their goods are but accessories and additions. Why therefore is a wiseman great? Because he hath a great minde. True therefore it is, that that is not good, which befallerh vnto euerie most base man. Therefore will I neuer say, that the want of sorrow is a good thing, a Grasshopper hath that, a Gnat hath that. Nor indeed will I say, that quietnesse, and to want trouble is a good thing. What is more idle then a vvorme? Seekst thou what maketh a man wise, what maketh him a God? It is meet that thou giue him some diuine, some heavenly, some magnificent thing. Good falleth not vpon all, neither en-dureth it euerie possessor. See thou,

*What euerie Land will beare, or will not beare;
This Corne, that Grapes, more happily doth craue.
Some where yong trees doe sprout, and Grassc amaine:
Of Saffron smells, hill Tmolus is the vaine.
Doth not th' Indian climate send t'ry out;
Of Sabaus soft is not their incense bought?
From naked Chalybes is Iron brought.*

These commodities haue beene distributed into certaine seuerall countries, to the end that men should be contrayned to traffique together, where the one should haue need of the thing which the other possessed. That chiefest good it selfe hath also his seate: it springeth not where luorie or Iron doth. Seekst thou what is the place of the chiefest good? It is the minde: This except it be pure and holy, entertaineth not God. Good is not made of that which is bad; but riches proceed from couetousnesse; therefore they be not good. It is not true, saith he, that good springeth of that which is bad. From sacriledge and from theft doth money come: therefore sacriledge and theft are bad indeed: but therefore bad, because it doth more euill then good. For it giueth gain, but with feare, with care, with torments both of bodie and of minde. Whosoever speaketh this, it is needfull that he admit, that as sacriledge is bad, because it doth many bad things, so also that it is good in some sort, because it doth some good: Can a man inferre an opinion more monstrous then this, who placeth sacriledge, theft, and adulterie, in the ranke of good things? I am assured, no. How many blush not at theft? how many boast of adulterie? for small sacriledges are punished, great ones are carried in triumph. Adde now that sacriledge, if altogether it be good in any sort, shall also be honest, and shall be said to be well done: for the action is ours, which thing the thought of no man receiueth; therefore good things cannot come of those that be bad. For if, as yee say, for this one thing sacriledge is bad, because it bringeth much euill: if thou shalt remit punishments to it, if thou shalt promise securitie, altogether it shall be good. But the greatest punishment of heinous deeds is in themselves. Thou erreth, I say, if thou put them off to the Hang-man, and to the Layle: presently are they punished, when they are done, yea whilst they are in doing them. Therefore good springeth not from that which is bad, no more then a Figge from an Oliue Tree. Both the Hearbe, the Lease, and the Fruit, resemble their Seed. That which is

good

good cannot degenerate; euen as, villanie engendreth not puritie, so euill like wife produceth not good; for that which is pure and good, is one and the same thing. Some of the Stoicks answer thus hereunto. Suppose that money be good whence soeuer it commeth, it followeth not therefore that it hath sacrilege in it, although it be gotten and taken from sacrilege. Thus vnderstand this. In the same pitcher there is both Gold and a Viper. If thou shalt take the gold out of the pitcher, because there also a Viper is, not therefore doth the pitcher giue gold vnto me, because it containeth a Viper, but it giueth Gold, although it haue a Viper. After the same sort, gaine is made from sacrilege, not as sacrilege is dishonest and wicked, but as it hath gaine; euen as in that pitcher a Viper is bad, not the gold which lyeth with the Viper: so in sacrilege the heinous deed is bad, but not the gaine. To this, some answer, that the condition of both these things is most vnlike: There can I take away Gold without the Viper: Here I cannot make gaine without sacrilege: This gaine is not added to, but is mingled with a thing, in purchase of which we fall into many mischiefs, the sacrilege should not be called good: In labouring to gather riches, we fall into diuers euils: whereunto some reply, therefore riches are not good: Your proposition hath two significations, the first whereof is this, that whilste we will obtaine riches, we fall into many bad things: but into many bad things doe we fall, whilste also we would obtaine vertue. Some one whilst he hath failed to studie, hath suffered shipwracke; another hath bene taken. The second sence is, that that thing is not good: but it is badly concluded to say, that by riches or pleasures we fall into euils, or that, if by the meanes of riches we encounter with many miseries, that riches are not onely not good, but be bad. But yee onely say, that they be not that which is good. Furthermore, saith he, ye grant that riches haue some vse, and amongst commodities doe ye number them. But by the same reason they shal not be a profit indeed: for by them many discommodities come to vs. Some men answer thus vnto these things: Ye erre, who impute discommodities vnto riches. They hurt no man, euerie man is preiudiced either by his own folly, or the wickednesse of other men: no more then a sword doth, which killeth no man, yet is the instrument of him that doth kill. Riches therefore doe not hurt thee, if for riches there be hurt vnto thee. *Pesidonius* speaketh better, as I suppose, who saith, That riches are the cause of euill things, not because themselves can doe any thing, but because they prouoke those that will doe. For there is no efficient cause, which of necessitie forthwith must hurt: another, is a precedent cause, riches haue in them this precedent cause. They puffed vp the minde, bring forth pride, procure enuie, and so farre forth strange the mind, that the same of money, yea that which will hurt, delighteth vs. But good things ought to want all manner of blame: they be pure, they doe not corrupt, nor sollicit the minde: they lift vp indeed and dilate, but without swelling. Those things that be good, cause confidence, riches cause boldnesse. Those things that are good, cause magnanimitie; riches, infolencie. But infolencie is nothing else, then a false apparence of magnanimitie. After this sort, sayest thou, riches are not onely not that which is good, but also that which is bad. They were a bad thing, if by themselves they should hurt; if (as I haue said) they had an efficient cause: now they haue a precedent cause, and indeed not onely such a one that prouoketh, but draweth mens minds thereunto. For they shew forth a verie likely shape of that which is good, which many men credibly beleeeve for to be a thing truly good.

Ver-

Vertue also hath a precedent cause vnto enuy, for many through wisdom, many through iustice are enuied at: but neither from it selfe hath it this cause, nor any like vnto it. For contrarily, that more likely shape is by vertue set before the mindes of men, which may call them vnto loue and admiration thereof. *Pesidonius* saith, that we must reason thus: What things giue neither greatness, nor confidence, nor securitie to the minde, are not good: but riches, and good health, and things like vnto these, cause none of these things; therefore they are not good: He amplifieth this argument once more after this manner. Those things be bad which giue neither greatness, nor confidence, nor securitie to the mind; but contrarily heget infolencie, pride, and arrogancie in vs, they are euill: but by casuall things, we are enforced into these vices; therefore they are not good. By this reason, saith he, they shal not be commodities indeed. There is one condition of commodities, another of good things. A commodity is that which hath more vse, then trouble: a good thing ought to be sincere and without hurt on euerie part. That is not good which profiteth more, but that which cannot but profit. Wherefore, commoditie pertaineth both to beasts, and to vnperfect men, and to fooles. Therefore discommodity may be mixed therewith: but it is called commoditie, being effectuated by the greater part thereof. That which is good, appertaineth to a wise-man alone, and ought to be inuiolate. Be of good courage: there remaineth but one difficultie for thee to decide, but such a one as may hardly be determined. Good proceedeth not from bad things, Riches are deriued from many puerities, therefore are they not good. The *Aristotelians*, both forme the Argument, and answer the same. But *Pesidonius* saith, that this Sophisme is tosted through all the Logicians Schooles, and by *Antipater* is refelld thus. Pouerty is not called according to a putting to, but according to a taking from, or (as the Ancients haue said) by priuation: the Grecians say, *enantiopon*: not because it hath, is it so called, but because it hath not. Therefore by many void things nothing can be filled: many things, and not much want, are the cause of riches. Thou vnderstandest pouerty, in an other sence then thou oughtest to doe. That is not pouertie which possesseth a little, but that which possesseth not much. She taketh not therefore her denomination from that which she hath, but from that which she wanteth. More easily would I expresse that which I meane, if there were a Latine word, whereby *enantiopon* is signified. *Antipater* assigneth this to pouertie. I see not what other thing pouertie may be, then possession of a smal thing. As touching this point, according to our leisure and opportunitie, wee will conclude together, what the substance of riches, what the substance of pouertie may be: but then also will we consider, whether it were better to adswage pouertie, to take losse lookes from riches, then to strue concerning words, as though alreadie we had iudged of the things. Let vs suppose that we are called to a Parliament. A Law is propounded for the abolishing of riches: by these reasons shal we perswade or dissuade? By these, shall we cause the people of *Rome* to require, and to praise pouertie, the foundation and cause of their Empire? and to feare their wealth? to think how they haue found these amongst the conquered? that hence ambition, and bribery, and tumults haue broken into a most holy and a most temperate Citie? That too dissolutely the spoiles of the Nations are shewed out? That it is more easie for all Nations to take from one people, which one people hath taken from all. It is better to perswade these things, & to fight against the affections, not to circumscribe. If it be possible, let vs speake more valiantly; if not, more openly.

I i

EPIST.

EPIST. LXXXVIII.

Liberal studies are not among good things, neither doe they of themselves leade to vertue. Senerally teacheth he this in Grammer, in Musicke, in Geometrie, in Astronomie. But although they doe not leade, yet they helpe: that is, they further and prepare. Then there is another diuision of Arts into Vulgar, Sporting, Childish, Liberal: and amongst these, he maketh Philosophie to be onely that, which truly maketh free. Tea it alone searcheth forth concerning Good and Bad things: it alone knoweth them; it therefore alone, or chiefly is to be embraced: and sheweth how vnprofitable and superfluous things Great Readers follow after, yea some Philosophers too. O good, O golden things be here! Reade ye both yong and olde.

IHou desirest to know my opinion as touching the liberal studies. I admitte none, I ranke no man amongst the number of those that be good, whose end and aime is for gaine. These are onely Artificers to procure gaine, so farre profitable, as they prepare, but detain not the spirit. For so long must we abide in them, as the mind can performe no greater thing; they be our rudiments, not our actions. Thou seest wherefore they be called liberal studies, because they be worthe of a free man. But there is one studie which is liberal indeed, which maketh a free man; and this is wisdom, high, valiant, magnanimous; the other be pretie and childish things. Beleeueth thou that there is any good in those sciences? the professors wherof thou seest to be the most dishonest, and the most wicked of all men? We ought not to learne, but to forget these things. Some haue iudged that a question may be made, concerning liberal studies, Whether they could make a man good. They promise it not indeed, neither doe they affect the knowledge of such a thing. A Grammarian studieth how to speake well, and if he pretendeth to wade any further, it is about Histories, the largest scope he hath is poeise. What is there in all these maketh the way to vertue? Is it the vnfoling of Syllables, and diligence of words, and memorie of fables, and the law and scanning of Verses? Which of these taketh away feare, tames our couetousnesse, refraineth lust? Let vs passe to Geometrie, and to musike. Thou shalt find nothing in these, which forbideth to feare, forbideth to couet: whofoeuer is ignorant hereof, in vaine he knoweth other things. Let vs see whether these professors aboue mentioned, teach vertue, or not; if they do not teach, they deliuer it not indeed: if they doe teach, they be Philosophers. Wilt thou know, how farre their doctrine is from teaching vertue? Consider how different their studies are the one from the other, but there would be agreement with them, if they taught one and the same thing. Except peradventure they perswade thee, that *Homer* was a Philosopher, although they denie the same by the verie same arguments that they gather to approue it. For sometimes they make him a Stoicke, allowing of vertue alone, and flying backe from pleasures, and not retrying backe from that which is honest, for the price of immortallitie it selfe: Sometime an Epicurean, praying the state of a quiet Citie, and amongst Bankets and Songs spending his life: Sometime an Aristotelian, bringing in three kindes of good things: Sometime an Academicke, teaching all things to be vncertaine. It appeareth that none of these things be in him, because that all be: for these things disagree amongst themselves. Let vs grant vnto them, that *Homer* was a Philosopher: certainly he was made wise before he knew any verse: therefore let vs learne those

those things, which haue made *Homer* to be a wise man. For me to seeke after this thing indeed, whether *Homer* or *Hesiod* were elder by birth, no more appertaineth to the businesse, then to know, whether *Heceba* was yonger then *Helén*, and why so badly she did beare her age. What, I say, supposest thou that it appertaineth to the purpose, to enquire for the yeares of *Patroclus* and *Achilles*? Seekest thou in what Sea *Vlysses* layed so long? rather take thou order that we proue not extravagant euerie day. I haue no leasure to heare, whether that *Vlysses* were tossed betwixt *Italy* and *Sicily*, or in some world vnknowne vnto vs, for he could not make so long a voyage in a Sea so streight as that is. Tempests of the minde doe daily tosse vs, and wickednesse driueth vs vpon euils. *Vlysses* miseries are afoot; there wanteth not beautie to remp his eyes, neither enemies; on the one side are very cruell monsters, delighting in humane blood; on the other, are deceitful allurements of the cares: both here and there are shipwracks and misfortunes of all sorts. Teach me this thing, how I may loue my Country, how my wife, how my father, how in despite of dangers, I may saile vnto these so honest things. What enquirest thou, whether *Penelope* was vnchaste, whether she deceived those of her time, whether she suspected him to be *Vlysses* whom she saw, before that she knew it to be true? Teach me what chastitie is, and how great a good there is in it: whether it be placed in the bodie or in the minde. I come now to a Musitian. Thou teachest me how acute and graue founds may agree amongst themselves, how a concord may be of strings making an vnlike sound. Make me rather know how my minde may agree with it selfe, and how my counsells may not disagree. Thou shewest me which be the mourning tunes: shew me rather how in aduersitie I may not vtter a mourning voice. The Geometrician teacheth mee to measure large pieces of grounds: rather let him teach, how I may measure, how much may be sufficient for a man. Arithmetike teacheth me to number, and to lend my fingers to couetousnesse: rather let it teach me, that these computations doe no waies appertaine to mine estate. That he is not a happier man, who hath so much wealth that his receiuers are wearied to reckon the same: but contrariwise, that such a one possesseth infinite superfluities, and could not be but most vnhappie, if he were constrained himselfe to keepe account of all that which he hath. What profiteth it me to know, how to diuide a small field into parts, if I know not how to diuide it with my brother? What profiteth it subtilly to know how many feet are in an acre of ground, and also to comprehend if any thing hath escaped the perch; if a mightie neighbour maketh me sad, and encroacheth on somewhat of that which is mine: Teachest thou me, how I may lose nothing of my bounds? but I am willing to learne how I may lose them all with mirth. I am expelled, saith he, from my fathers and from my grandfather's land. But I aske thee, who possessed it before them both? Tell if thou canst; not what mans, but what peoples it was? Thereinto hast thou entred, not as a Lord, but as a Tenant. Whose Tenant art thou? Thine heires, if the inconstancie of humane affaires permitte it. Lawyers denie, that any thing can be prescribed vpon, which is publique: this is publique which thou possessest, and belongeth vnto mankind. O excellent Art! Thou knowest how to measure round things, thou bringest into a square whatsoever forme is presented thee: Thou settest downe the distances of the Starres: nothing there is but falleth within thy measure. If thou be able, measure the minde of man: Tell how great, tell how little it is. Thou knowest moreouer, what is a straight Line: What doth this profit thee,

if thou be ignorant what is straight in life? Now I come to him who boasteth in the knowledge of heavenly things.

*Whither cold SATVRNE doth him selfe betake,
And what circles CYLLENIVS star doth make.*

What shall it profit to know this? that I may be carefull when *Saturne* and *Stars* shall be in opposition, or when *Mercurie* shall make his euening set when *Saturne* shall behold him? Rather I had learne this, that wherefoever these things be, that they be prosperous, that they cannot be changed. A continuall order and an ineuitable course of destinies moueth these: by set courses they doe retire. They either moue or note forth the effects of all things. But suppose them to be the cause, why every thing falleth forth, what shall the knowledge of an vnchangeable thing profit thee? or be it that they preface and signifie such euents? what skilleth it to provide for that which thou canst not auoid? Whether thou doe know or not know these things, they shall come to passe.

*On the swift Sunne and Starres that follow it,
If that thou looke in order as they sit,
Then ensuing day will neuer thee deceiue,
Nor cleare nights flights of fire-light will bereaue.*

Sufficiently and abundantly it is provided, that I should be safe from ambushes. Doth not the time that is to morrow deceiue me? for it deceiueh him that is ignorant hereof. I know not what shall happen, but know what may come to passe. I despair nothing of this, I expect the whole. If any thing be remitted, I take it in good part. Time deceiueh, if it spareh me: but neyther so indeed deceiueh it. For as I know that all things may fall forth, so also I know that for certaine they will not fall forth. For certaine I expect prosperous things: I am prepared for those that be bad. Of necessity thou must beare with me in this, that I goe not as some pretend to lead me. For I cannot conceiue that men should ranke eyther Painters or Caruers, or Stone-cutters, nor those other Maisters of dissolution amongst the professors of the liberall sciences. I likewise exclude wraflers, and all the Science that consisteth in ioynting or poudring the bodie, neither will I admit Perfumers, Cookes, or such other that spend their spirits to feed on voluptuousnesse? For what liberall thing, I pray thee, haue these fasting fepwers, whose bodies be fat, whose mindes be leane and asleepe: Doe we beleuee that gormandise and drunkennesse is a liberall Studie for our youth, whom our ancelors taught to stand vpright when they exercised themselves in darting the iauelin, in tossing the pike, in backing their horses, and managging armes? They taught their children nothing that they should learne sitting. But neither these nor those doe teach or nourish vertue. For what profiteth it to gouern a horse, & with a bridle to moderate his course when afterwards he suffereth himself to be transported by vnbridled passions? What profiteth it with buffers to overcome many men, & to be overcome by anger? What therefore? Do liberall studies bestow nothing vpon vs? For other things much, for vertue nothing. For these mechanickall Arts, which are wholly manual, confer much to the instruments of life, notwithstanding to vertue they do not belong. Why do we instruct our children in liberal studies? Not because they can giue vertue, but because they prepare the minde to the receiuing of it. For as Grammar, as the Ancients called it, whereby the first principles are deli-

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uered to children, teacheth not the liberall Arts, but prepareth a place for the first receiuing of them: so liberall Arts leade not the minde to vertue, but make it fit. *Epidonius* saith, that there be foure kinds of Arts; the vulgar and base, the sporting, the childish, and the liberall Arts. Vulgar be of crafts men, which consist of the hand, and be busied for the furnishing of life; wherein there is no counterfeiting of comelinesse, nor of any honest thing. Sporting Arts be those which tend to the pleasure of the eyes and the eares. To these you may number the Ingeniers, who deuise baces or pedestals rising vp of themselves, and scelings which without noice raise and enlarge themselves, and other varieties scarce thought vpon; causing eyther those things which did cleaue together to separate themselves, or those things which stood asunder, to vnite themselves of their owne accord, or those things which were raised vp, to kittle downe by little and little vpon themselves. The eyes of the vnskillfull are rauished with these things, wondering (because they haue not knowne the causes) at all sudden things. The childish haue something which resembleth the liberall Arts, namely, these which the Grecians call, *mathesis*, and our men call Liberall Arts. But they alone are liberall Art (and as I may more truly speake) be free, which haue a care of vertue. Euen as, saith he, some part of the minde is for naturall, some for morall, some for reasoning Philosophie; so also this troupe of Liberall Arts, doth in Philosophie challenge a place vnto it selfe. When we come to Naturall questions, we stand to the testimonie of Geometrie. Doth it therefore follow that it is a part of that science which it assisteth? Many things helpe vs, and yet for all that they are no portions of vs: yea if they were parts, they would not helpe. Meat is an helpe of the bodie, yet is it not a part. The seruice of Geometrie performeth somewhat vnto vs: so is it needfull to Philosophie, as a Carpenter is vnto it: but neither is he a part of Geometrie, nor that of Philosophie. Furthermore, both haue their ends: for a wise-man both seeketh and knoweth the causes of naturall things, the numbers and measures of which, a Geometrician followeth after and counteth. A wise man knoweth after what manner heavenly things consist, what force, or what nature is in them: a Mathematician collecteth the courses, and returnings backe, and the obseruations, by which they descend and rise, and sometimes make a shew as though they stood still, although that heavenly bodies are in perpetuall motion. A wise-man knoweth what the cause is that expresseth Images in a glasse: a Geometrician can tell that vnto thee, how much a bodie ought to be absent from the Image, and what forme the glasse should haue that may represent Images. A Philosopher will proue the Sunne to be great: the Mathematician will shew how great it is, who proceedeth by a certaine exercise and vse; but to make prooff thereof, you must grant him some principles and Maximes: but that science which borroweth her foundation from another is not liberall. Philosophie borroweth nothing from another Science, it raiseth vp the whole worke from the foundation. The Mathematicks (as I may so speake) is a superficiall Art, it receyueh principles from others, by the benefit of which it may come to farther things: if by it selfe it could come to that which is true, if it could comprehend the nature of the whole world, I should say that it would animate our vnderstandings very much, which encrease by the handling of heavenly things, and draw the one from the other. The minde is made perfect by one thing, namely, by the vnchangeable knowledge of good and bad things; which agreeth vnto Philosophie only. But none other Art enquireth about good

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and bad things. Let vs consider all Vertues in particular. Fortitude is a con-temner of things to be feared: it despiseth, prouoketh, and breaketh terrible things, and such as send our libertie vnder the yoke: what therefore doe libe-rall studies strengthen this? Fidelitie is the most holiest good that may be in a mans brest; by no necessitie is it contrayned to deceiue, it is corrupted by no reward. Burne, saith she, beat, kill, I will not betray; but by how the more paine shall seeke to discouer secret things, by so much will I the more deeply hide them: What, can the liberall Sciences giue any such courage? Tempe-rance ouer-ruleth pleasures; she hateth and driueth away some, she dispense-th with other some, and reduceth them to a sound meane, neyther at any time approcheth them for their owne cause. She knoweth that the best meane of desired things is, not to take how much thou wilt, but how much thou oughtest. Humanitie forbiddeth to be proud ouer thy fellows, to be couetous: in words, in deedes, in affections she sheweth her selfe gentle and easie vnto all: she iudgeth not ministerly of any man; she reputeth that to be hir chiefest good, and lowereth it which the foreseth may profit others. What, doe liberall Sci-ences command these manners? No more then simplicitie, modestie, frugality, and parsimonie; no more then clemencie, which spareth the blood of another as it were his owne, and knoweth that a man must not prodigally vse a man. When ye say (saith she) that without liberall studies Vertue cannot be attay-ned vnto: How denie ye that they conferre nothing to vertue? Because ney-ther without meat can vertue be attained vnto, yet notwithstanding meate ap-pertaineth not to vertue. Wood conferreth nothing vpon a ship, although that a ship cannot be made without wood. There is no cause, saith he, that thou mayst thinke any thing to be made with the helpe of that thing, without which it could not be made. That also may be spoken indeede, that without liberall studies wisdom may be come by: for although that vertue be to be learned, notwithstanding it is not learned by these Sciences. But what reason is it, wherefore I should esteeme that he shall not become wise who is ignorant of learning, seeing wisdom is not in learning? She teacheth deedes, not words; and I cannot tell whether the memorie may be more sure, which hath no help out of it selfe. Wisdom is a great and spacious thing; it hath need of an em-pie place: we must learne diuine & humane things, things past, things to come, things fading, and eternall, and time it selfe: concerning which one thing, see how many things may be questioned; first, whether any thing bee by it selfe, then, whether any thing be before time: if time began with the World, whe-ther because that some thing was before the world, time was so also. There are innumerable questions onely concerning the Soule, whence it is, and what, when it beginneth to be, how long it continueth: whether it may passe from one place to another, and may change her house, and may be cast from one forme of liuing creatures into another: or that it may serue no more then once, and being sent forth may wander in the whole world: whether it be a bodie, or no: what it will doe, when it ceaseth to doe any thing by vs: how she will vse her libertie when she hath escaped out of this layle: whether she may for-get former things, and there begin to know her selfe, when beeing disburthened of the bodie, she is retired and raised on high. Whatsoeuer part of diuine and humanes affaires thou shalt comprehend, thou shalt be wearied with huge abundance of things to be sought for, and to be learned. That these so many, and so great things may haue free place of remaining, superfluous things are to be taken out of the minde. Vertue will not put it selfe into these straites: a thing

a thing so great as she is desireth a large lodging: let all things be expelled; let the whole brest be empty for her. But the knowledge of many Arts delighteth. Let vs therefore retayne so much of them, as is necessaric. If thou supposest him to bee worthy of reproofe, who buyeth many superfluities, and adorneth his House with many precious things: dost thou not thinke him to be blame-worthy, who is occupied in the superfluous implements of Learning? To be willing to know more then may be sufficient, is a kind of intemperancie. Fur-thermore, this affectation to be instructed and learned in the Liberall Arts, maketh men troublesome, full of words, vnseasonable louers of themselves, who learne not that which is necessary, because they haue learned superfluous things. *Dydimus* the Grammarian wrote foure thousand Bookes: wretched were he, if he had read so many superfluous things. In these Bookes, the ques-tion is about *Homers* Countrey; in these of the true Mother of *Enecas*: in these whether *Anacreon* led a more lustfull or a more drunken life: whether *Sappho* was a Whore; and other which were to be vnlearned, if thou shouldst know them. Goe now, and deny life to be long. But when thou shalt come to our owne Stoicks likewise, I will shew thee many things that should be vtter-ly exterminated and rooted out. This praisling, O learned man! costeth great expence of time, great trouble of mens eares. Let vs bee content with this more rusticke title: O good m. n. Is it euen so? Shall I tosse ouer the Chro-nicles of all Nations, and shall I search who hath bene the first Poet: how much time may bee betwixt *Orpheus* and *Homer*; (although I haue no Re-cords, yet will I not cease to search it out) and shall I reuiue the notes of *Aristarchus*, wherein he taxed and corrected other mens Verses, and shall I spend my time in words and sillables? What, shall I so sicke in the Geome-tricall dust? Haue I forgotten that so profitable precept, *Spare time*? Shall I know these things, and be ignorant of my selfe? *Appion* the Grammarian, who vnder *Caius Caesar* was carryed about in all *Greece*, and by all Cities was adopted into *Homers* name, said, that *Homer* hauing finished the matter both of the *Odyssey*, and *Iliads*, added a beginning to his Worke, wherein he com-prehended the *Troian* Warre. For prooffe hereof he alleaged that *Homer* had placed two Letters in the first Verse, contayning the number of his Bookes. It is meet that he know these things, who will know many things. Wilt thou not thinke how much time and bad health may take from thee, how much pub-licke and priuate affaires, how much businesse: by day, how much sleepe? mea-sure thine age, it is not capable of so many things. I speake of Liberall Studies: As touching those that terme themselves Philosophers how many superflui-ties and abuses haue they? They also haue descended to the distinction of Sil-lables, and to the proprieties of Coniunctiōns and Prepositions, they haue en-uyed the Grammarians, and Geometricians. Whatsoeuer was superfluous in their Arts, they transported into their owne Schooles. So that they know more properly how to speake, then how to liue. Heare how great euill too great sub-tiltie can cause, and how great an enemy it is to truth. *Protagoras* saith, that we may indifferently dispute of euery thing *pro & contra*, of this question like-wise, which is, whether euery thing be disputable on both parts. *Nausiphanes* saith, that of those things that seeme to be, that nothing rather is, then is not. *Parmenides* saith, that of these things that are seene, there is nothing at all. *Zeno Eleates* hath cast all businesse out of businesse; he saith, that nothing is. The *Pyrrhonians* are for the most part conuersant about the same things, so are the *Megarians*, and *Eretrians*, and the *Academicks*, who haue brought in a new know-

knowledge, of knowing nothing. Cast all these things, vpon the superfluous flock of those that are addicted to the Liberal Sciences. Those deliuer a knowledge that will not profit; these take away the hope of all knowledge. But some will say, that it is better to know superfluous things, then nothing at all. These do not carry a light before, whereby the eye may be directed to that which is true: these put out mine eyes. If I beleue *Protagoras*, there is nothing but doubts in the nature of things: if *Nausiphanes*, this one thing is certaine, that nothing is certaine: if *Parmenides*, there is nothing but one thing: if *Zeno*, there is not one thing indeed. What therefore be we? What are these things which stand about, nourish, and sustaine vs? The whole nature of things shall bee a vaine or fallacious shadow. I cannot easily tell, whether I should bee more angry at them, who would haue vs to know nothing: or at them, who haue deprived vs also of this ignorance.

EPIST. LXXXIX.

The difference betwixt Philosophie and Wisdome: and a diuerse diuision thereof, and againe a diuision and description of the parts. Then an admonition, that these and such like are to be referred to manners and to the minde: and by the way be inuiceth against those that be badly rich, and therewithall bee chastizeth riotousnesse and Couetousnesse.

IF thou desirest a profitable and very necessary thing, for him whoeuer aspieth vnto Wisdome, namely, that Philosophie be diuided, and that the huge body thereof bee disposed into members. For more easily by parts are we brought to the knowledge of the whole. I would that as the face of the whole World presenteth it selfe to our eyes, so that whole Philosophie might appeare; this should be a spectacle like to that of the World. For truly it would speedily draw all mortall men into admiration of it selfe, and make them leaue those things which for the present they esteeme to be great for want of knowledge of those things which are truly such. But because this cannot fall forth, so shall it bee looked vpon by vs, as the secrets of the World are seene. The minde of a Wise-man indeed comprehendeth the whole frame thereof, neither lesse swiftly goeth about it, then our eye goeth about the Skie: but to vs, who are to breake thorow this darknesse, and whose sight faileth in that which is hard by, seuerall things can more easily bee shewed, wee being as yet vncapable of the whole. I will therefore doe that which thou requirest, and I will diuide Philosophie into parts, not into pieces. For it is profitable to be diuided, and not to be hacked small. For it is as difficult a matter to comprehend the greatest, as to comprehend the smallest things. The people are described into Tribes, an Armie into hundredths. Whatsoeuer hath encreased to bee very great, is more easily taken notice of, if it hath bene diuided into parts; which (as I haue said) should not be innumerable and too small. For too great a diuision hath no lesse fault than no diuision hath: The sub-diuisions to a graine of dust are meer confusions. First therefore, according to thy aduice, I will shew what difference there may be betwene Wisdome and Philosophie. Wisdome is the perfect good of humane vnderstanding. Philosophie is the loue, and affection of Wisdome. This sheweth whither Wisdome hath attained. As touching Philo-

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sophie it appeareth by her name why shee is so called. Some haue defined Wisdome thus; that they called it a knowledge of diuine and humane things. Some thus, Wisdome is to haue knowne diuine and humane things, and the causes of these. This addition seemeth superfluous vnto me, because causes be parts of diuine and of humane things. Also there haue bene who haue defined Philosophie, some one way, and some another way: some haue said, that it is a study of vertue; some a study of correcting the minde. By some it is called a desire of true reason. As though it were manifest, that there were some difference betwixt Philosophie and Wisdome. For it cannot come to passe, that that which is affected, and that which affecteth is the same thing. As there is much difference betwixt Money and Couetousnesse, seeing the one desireth, the other is desired: so is there betwixt Philosophie and Wisdome. For this is the reward and effect of that: that commeth, this is come vnto. Wisdome is that which the *Grecians* call *sophia*. This word did the *Romans* also vse, as at this day also they vse this word Philosophie; but both the ancient Images doe approve, and the Inscription vpon the Tombe of *Dossennus*:

*Stranger stand still, to goe doe not proceed,
But stay, the Wisdome of DOSSENNVS reade.*

Some Stoicks haue supposed that these two things cannot bee separated, although they auow that Philosophie is the studie of vertue; in such sort as the one is sought after, and the other seeketh after. Their reason is that Philosophie is not without vertue, nor vertue without Philosophie: but neither can vertue bee without the studie of it selfe, nor the studie of vertue bee without it selfe. We are not to conceiue of this as of those who endeavour to shoot from as farre at something, be that shooteth is in one place, and that wherewith hee aimeth is in another; or as the wayes that leade to Cities, and are without them. Men attaine vertue by her selfe. Philosophie therefore and vertue are as things vniued. Both the greatest and most principall Authours haue said, that there be three parts of Philosophie; namely, Morall, Naturall, and Reasonable. The first composeth the mind, the second searcheth the nature of things, the third exacteth the proprieties of words, and their frame, and manner of reasoning, that false things may not creepe in for that which is true. But there be found, who likewise would diuide Philosophie into fewer parts, and who would diuide it into more. Some of the *Aristotelians* haue added a fourth part, which they call politique, because it desireth a certaine proper exercise, and is occupied about another matter. Certaine haue added a part vnto these, which the *Grecians* call *oikonomiké*, the knowledge of governing a Family. Some also haue separated a place for the kindes of life. But there is none of these which is not found in the Morall part. The *Epicureans* haue supposed, that there be two parts of Philosophie, Naturall and Morall. The reasoning part they haue removed away. Then, being constrained in examining of things to discern the ambiguities and discover the fallacies hidden vnder the appearance of truth, they haue reduced this part which they call Iudgement and Rule: which hath serued them in stead of Rationall Philosophie, but they suppose it only to bee an accession to the naturall part. The *Cyrenaiques* haue abolished both Naturall and Rationall, contenting themselves with the morall. But that which they haue reiected on the one side, they haue introduced by another way; making five parts of the Morall: the first concerning that which we ought to flye; and de-

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fire, the second of affections, a third of actions, a fourth of causes, a fifth of arguments. Causes of things are from the naturall part, arguments from the reasonable, actions from the Morall. *Aristo Chius* hath maineyned, that the Naturall and Rationall were superfluous and contrarie also. As touching the Morall, onely which he hath left remayning, he hath maymed it by abolishing that part which containeth admonitions, alleaging that it appertayneth to a Pedagogue, and not to Philosopher: as though that a Wiseman is any thing else, then a Tutor of Mankind. Therefore sith Philosophie or the loue of Wildome is three-fold, let vs first beginne to dispose the Morall part thereof, or that which ordereth the manners of men. I deuide it also into three parts, whereof the first which is most profitable, shall be the inspection distributing to euery one that which is his, and estimating that which euery one is valued at and deserueth. For is there any thing more necessary then to value things? The second shall be of affections, the third of actions. First of all it is requisite that thou know the value of things. Secondly, that thou take an ordered and temperate affection to these things. Thirdly, that there may be an agreement betwixt thine endeuour and action, that in all these things thou mayest agree with thy selfe. If one of these three shall be wanting, it also troubleth the rest. For what profiteth it to know the true value of things, if thou art ouer-vehement in thine affections? and what helpeth it to bridle in thy desires, if thou knowest not when it is fit, to set or to withdraw thy hand from the action? and if thou knowest not when, and where, and how euery thing ought to be done? For it is one thing to haue knowne the worth and value of things; another, the opportunities; another to restrain the passions and affections; and to goe, not to precipitate a mans selfe into actions. Therefore then is life agreeable to it selfe, when action is not seuered from affection: Which proceedeth from the dignitie of euery thing, making it selfe more remisse or more fierce, according as that thing deserueth which is to be fought for. The part of Philosophie which is termed Naturall is distinguished into two, whereof the one regardeth things corporal, the other incorporeall. Both are deuided (as I may so speake) into diuers degrees. The part which considereth the body, regardeth first of all the things that giue being, then those that take being. The Elements are engendred and take being. Some thinke that the common place of the Element is simple; as other some thinke, it is deuided into a matter, and into a cause moving all things, and into the Elements. It remayneth that wee deuide the reasonable part of Philosophie. Euery speech is either continued, or deuided betwixt him that answereth and asketh. Some haue called the one *Dialecticke*, or the Art of Logike, the other *Rhetorick*. *Rhetorick* regardeth words, and sense, and order. *Dialecticke* is diuided into two parts, into words and significations: that is, into things which are spoken of, and into words, where-with they are spoken. Then there followeth an huge diuision of them both: therefore I will make an end in this place:

*I onely will relate
Of things their chiefest state.*

Otherwise, if I would make parts of parts, there will bee made a Booke of Questions. I feare thee not, O *Lucilius*, the best amongst men, from reading these things, so that whatsoeuer thou shalt reade thou doe presently apply it vnto manners. Bridle thou those, stirre vp that which languisheth in thee, bind that

that which is loose, tame that which is stubborne, and vexe thy publike desires as much as thou canst. If the World say this, Will you neuer giue ouer reprouing? Answerest thou this: Will you neuer bee weaned in continuing the same faults? You would haue the remedies cease, and the infirmities continue. But I will therather speake the truth; because you are obstinate, I will perseuer: Then beginneth Physick to profit, when touching causeth griefe in a troubled body. I will speake those things which shall profit, yea, euen to those that are refractorie. A day will come when you shall not haue this good to be able to heare a sweete word, and because in particular you will not heare the truth, heare it in publike. How farre will yee propagate the limits of your possessions? A large and great Champion that in times past contented a whole Nation, is too small for one Lord. Will you neuer cease to encrease your tillage in diuers Prouinces? When will you limit and bound your Reuenues? The runnings of famous Riuers through the ground of priuate men, and great Riuers, and the bounds of great Nations, from the Fountaine vnto the mouth, bee yours. Yet is this too little, except your houses be enuironed by Seas; except your Bayliffe reigne beyond the *Hadrian*, and *Ionian*, and *Aegan* Seas; except Ilands, the houses of great Capitaines, be numbered amongst the basest things. Possesse yee so largely as yee will, let that bee but one Heritage which in times past was called an Empire: make that yours what soeuer ye can, so that more belongeth to another man. Now I talke with you, whose riotousnesse is alike spaciouly spread abroad, as the couetousnesse of those is. I will aske you; How long shall be no water-lake, ouer which the height of your Villages may not hang? No streame, whose banks, your buildings may not couer about? Where soeuer veines of warme water shall spring vp, there new lodgings of ryot shall be builded. Where soeuer the shore shall bend crookedly into some creek, ye presently will lay foundations; not being contented with ground, except ye force with hand, to driue the Sea farther in. Although your houses glitter in all places, somewhere being set vpon Mountaines, for the vast prospect both of Land and Sea: somewhere being reared vp from the plain ground to the height of Mountaines; when ye haue builded many, when ye haue builded huge things, ye are not withstanding but seuerall and small bodies. What doe many Chambers profit? ye lie but in one. It is not yours, where soeuer ye are not. Finally, I passe to you, whose deepe and vnstable throat, on the one side searcheth Seas, on the other side searcheth Lands. You pursue with great labour some creatures with hookes, some with snares, some with diuers kinds of Nets: no liuing creatures haue peace, except such as you are glutted with. For how little of these Bankers which ye prepare through so many hands, doe yee taste of with a mouth wearied with pleasures? How little of this wilde beaust, taken with danger, doth the Master with a raw and loathing stomacke taste of? How little of so many Shel-fish brought from so farre, slideth downe by this insatiable stomacke? Vnhappy also ye are, because ye vnderstand not, that ye haue a greater hunger, then a belly. Tell these things to other men, so that whilst thou tellest them, thou mayest heare them thy selfe. Write, so that when thou hast written, thou reade, and referre all to the manners, and to the asswaging of the out-rage of affections. Studie, not to know any thing more, but to become better by knowing things.

EPIST.

EPIST. XC.

The praise of Philosophie, it hath formed life, it hath framed Societies and Empires, it hath given Lawes and Equitie. Also whether Arts be profitable to life, as working with the Hammer, working in Marble, in Metals, on Clothes, and such like? Himselfe denieth it, against POSIDONIUS, and saith, that these things are inferior to the Maiestie thereof, and that many of these bee superfluous. It manageth, and hath managed the affaires, not of the bodie, but of the minde. Also whether Wisemen were in the rude Age? No, but those that were like to Wisemen, by the benefit not of Learning, but of Nature. There are many good things amongst these, and fruitfull for Knowledge, and for Life.

WHo can doubt, my *Lucilius*, but that it is the gift of the immortal gods, that we liue, but of Philosophie, that we liue well? Therefore for so much do we owe more to it, then to the gods, by how much more a good life is a greater benefit, then life. For certaine it should be due, except the gods had given Philosophie it selfe: the knowledge whereof they haue given to none, but the abilitie to all. For if they also had made this a common good, we likewise should be borne wise: Wisdom had lost that which is the best therein, that it is not amongst casuall things. For now this is precious and magnificent in it, that it cometh not by chance, that every man oweth it vnto himselfe, that it is not sought for from another man. What shouldst thou haue, to admire in Philosophie, if one man might giue it to another? One worke of this is, to find forth the truth concerning Diuine and Humane things: Iustice, Godlinesse, Religion, and all the other traine of Vertues vnited and agreeing amongst themselves, neuer doe depart from this. This hath taught to honour Diuine things, to loue Humane things, & that gouernment is in the power of the gods, and that societie is to be amongst men: which sometime remained inuolable, before Couetousnesse distracted societie, and was a cause of pouertie euen vnto them whom it hath made rich. For they haue ceased to possesse all things, whilst they would haue them to be their owne. But the first men, and their Offspring followed Nature, and had the same, both for a Captaine and Law, for they suffered themselves to be guided by the better. For it is the part of Nature to submit worse things to the better. For either the greatest or the most vigorous bodies doe indeed rule ouer the dumbe flockes. A cowardly Bull goeth not before, but hee who hath ouercome other Males in greauenesse, and in strength of limbes: the highest of Elephants leadeth the flocke: amongst men is hee accounted chieft who is the best. They chuse him therefore for Chieftaine who had the most excellent minde, by whose means the Nations were infinitely happie, amongst whom no man could haue superiority, except he were more honest then others. For he is able to doe so much as he will, who thinketh that hee cannot doe, saue that which he ought. In that Age then which was surnamed Golden, *Posidonius* iudgeth that the wiser sort gouerned. These contained their hands and defended the weaker from those that were more strong: they perswaded and dissuaded, and shewed both profitable and vnprofitable things. The wisdom of these men provided that nothing might bee wanting vnto their subiects, their fortitude kept dangers

backe,

backe, their bountie increased, and adorned those that were subiect vnto them. It was not a Kingdome to rule ouer other men, but an office. No man approved his forces against them, through whom he had begun to be able to be powerfull. Neither was there either mind or cause to iniure any one, when there was good obedience to him who gouerned well, and a King could threaten nothing besides, to those who did badly obey, then that they should depart out of his Kingdome. But when as vices began to gather head, Kingdomes were turned into tyrannie: the lawes began to be necessarie, and from the beginning the wiser sort were the authors thereof. *Solon* who founded *Athens* with vpright lawes, was one of the seuen Sages noted for wisdom in his age. If the same age had brought forth *Lycargus*, he had beene in that holy number accounted the eight. The lawes of *Zalencus* and of *Charondas* are praised; these learned not at the bar, nor at Counsellers doores, but in that secret and holy solitary place of *Pythagoras*, those statutes which they published and established as well in the greater part of *Italy*. Hitherto I agree to *Posidonius*: but I deny that these Arts were invented by Philosophie, which humane life maketh ordinarie vfe of, neither will I ascribe so much honour to mechanique arts. He, saith he, taught those who were scattered vp and down, and covered with a cottage, or with some hollow rocke vnder which they digged, or with the trunk of an hollow tree, to build houses. For mine own part, I suppose Philosophie did no more inuent these frames of one house arising vpon another, and engines to surprise Cities, then those pooles and inclosed fish-ponds to exempt gormandize from the perill and tempests of the sea, and to the end that during the gusts and soule weather, dissolution might haue hir retreats and soaring places, wherein the might fatten seuerall sort of fishes in seuerall places. What saist thou? hath Philosophie taught men to haue a lock and key? and what else was it, then to giue a signeto couctousnesse? Is it Philosophie that hath raised these high rooves, to the danger of those that dwell vnder them? For it was but a small matter to be covered with such, whatsoever we might casually light vpon, and without either art or labour to fit our selues with some naturall habitation. Beleeue me, that happie age flourished, before there were either *Masons* or *Carpenters*. Such workes and workmen who square Ioints of timber, who nayle and so properly peg and vnite the ioynts that they know how to giue a iust proportion to the beame, were borne after dissolution.

Our forefathers with wedges claued

Such wood as they then cut would haue.

As yet men builded not banquetting houses able to entertain a whole nation: neither for this vfe were Pine or Fir-trees carried vpon a long row of Carts, the streets trebling thereat, to the intent they might make golden feelings of them. Two flakes planted and covered with bowes and leaues, disposed side-long, to the end the greater raines might slip away more easily, sufficed for a couerture to the cabin. Vnder these couerts, our first parents dwelt in al security. That couered free-men, but seruitude now dwelleth vnder marble and gold. In that also I disagree from *Posidonius*, because he iudgeth that working-toooles were deuised by wise men. For thus he might say, that they were wise, by whom

Denis d'it was wilde beasts with net and gin

To take; with dogs great fields to compass in.

For the subtiltie of mens minds, not wisdom hath deuised all these things. In this thing also I disagree, that they were wise men, who found out the mynes

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of

of yron and brasse: when as the earth being burned by the fire which was kindled in the Forrests, melted downe, and caused the veines of those mettals, being hidden vnder ground, to appeare aboue the same. Such men inuent these things, as honour them. Neither repute I this to be so subtile a question, as it seemeth to *Posidonius*: whether the hammer or the pinfers began to be used first. Some one of an exercised, sharpe, and no great, or high wit, found them both forth, and euerie thing besides which is to be fought for with a bended bodie, and with a minde looking towards the earth. A wife man takes not so much paine to liue. Why should he doe otherwise, sith also in this age, he desireth to liue at the easiest rate? How, I pray thee, agreeeth it, that thou admirest both *Diogenes* and *Talus*? Whether of these seemeth vnto thee to be wise, he that inuented the law: or he who seeing a boy drinking water in his hollow hand, presently brake a cup which he tooke out of his bag, reproving himselfe after this manner: How long haue I, foolish man, had superfluous burthens? I speake of that *Diogenes*, who foulded himselfe double in a Tub, and lay therein? Which of these at this day wouldst thou repute to be the wiser man, either him who hath found out the meanes, how out of secret pipes he may cast forth odoriferous flowers to an immeasurable height, who will cause waters sodainly to flow abundantly, and as sodainly to returne; who so coucheth together the changeable roofes of dining roomes, that one fashion after another may presently succede, and so often the roofo may be changed as the dishes themselves: or him, who sheweth this both to himselfe, and to other men, that Nature hath commanded vs no hard or difficult thing? That we may dwell in a house without the helpe of a stone caruer, that we may be cloathed without traffique with the *Serians*; that we may haue necessary things for our vses, if we shall be content with these things which appeare aboue the earth? If mankind would listen to this lesson, they would know that a Cooke were as superfluous as a Souldier. They were wise men, or for certain, like vnto wise men, that were not ouer curious in couering and clothing their bodies. Necessary things cost but little care: men labour for delights. Thou shalt not need artificers, if thou follow Nature. She would not haue vs to be intangled, shee hath furnished vs, in whatsoeuer our necessities. Cold is intollerable for a naked bodie. What therefore? Cannot the skines of wilde beasts, and of other creatures, abundantly defend vs from cold? Doe not many Nations couer their bodies with barks of trees? Are not the feathers of birds sewed together for the vse of apparell? And are not at this day, a great part of the Scythians couered with the skins of Foxes and of mice, which be soft, and not to be pierced thorow by the winds? Notwithstanding there is need of a thicker shade, to driue back the heat of the Sommer Sun. What therefore, hath not Antiquitie hidden many places, which either by iniurie of time, or by some other chance being made hollow, haue retired into the forme of a den? What therefore? haue they not with their hands wouen an hurdle of twigs, & plattered it with base clay? then haue they not covered the top thereof with stubble, and with other things fetched out of the wood, and whilst raine hath sliden downe by the eues thereof, haue they not in securitie spent the winter? What therefore? doe not the Syrtick Nations lie in a place digged out of the ground? who because of the too great heat of the Sunne, haue no couering sufficient enough for the repelling of the heat, but the very dry ground it selfe? Nature was not so much our enemy, that seeing she gaue an easie means of life to all other creatures besides, man alone should not liue without so many arts. She commanded vs none of these; nothing is to be

be fought for with labour to prolong our life. Our prouisions are prepared for as at our Birth: we haue made all things difficult vnto our selues by disdain of easie things. Houles and clothes and nourishments of bodies and meates, and those things which be now made a great businesse, were easie to come by, and freely gotten, and prepared with a light labour: for the measure of all things was as necessitie required; we haue made these things precious, we haue made them maruellous, we haue made them to be fought for with great and with many Arts. Nature furnisheth vs with that which the requireth. Dissolution hath reuolted from Nature, which continually inciteth it selfe, and increaseth in so many Ages, and helpeth vices with wit. First, she began to desire superfluous, then contrarie things; last of all, she sold the minde to the bodie, and commanded it to serue the lust thereof. All these Arts, wherewith the Citie is continually exercised, or busily troubled, doe manage the affaires of the bodie: to which all things were once ministred as to a Seruant, but now are prouided as for a Lord. Therefore hence be the shops of Weauers, hence of Hammermen, hence of those that seeth Perfumes, hence of those that teach effeminate motions of the bodie, and effeminate wanton Songs. For that naturall meane hath retired back, which bounded desires with necessary helpe: now is it clownishnesse and miserie to be willing to haue so much as dorth suffice. It is incredible, my *Lucilius*, how easilie affabilitie of speech can draw, euen those that be great men from the truth. Behold *Posidonius* who in mine opinion is one of those who haue added much to Philosophie, whilst first of all hee will describe how some threads may be hard spunne, and how some may be drawn from the soft and loosened Tow: then how a Webbe of Cloth extendeth the Yarne with weights hung thereon, how the Woofe is wouen in to mollifie the hardnesse of the cloth, pressing it together on both sides, and how the broad places may be constrained to meet, and to be ioyned together: hee also said, that the Weauers Art was inuented by Wisemen, forgetting this most subtile kind, which was afterwards found out, wherein

*The Web is ioyn'd to beame, a small stick doth diuide
The Yarne, the middle Woofes with Shittle slide,
Which Teeth in flay of Weauers Loomes fast put,
With their broad Combe the wouen Yarne doe cut.*

What if it had beene his hap to see the Webs of our time, of which wee make our Apparell so fine, that a man may perceiue all the parts of the bodie thorow them, and are so farre from couering our bodies, as they discouer our shame, wherein I will not say, that there is no helpe to the bodie, but that there is no helpe for shame? Then hee passeth to Husbandmen, and no lesse eloquently describeth he how the ground is ploughed vp, and tilled againe, to the end that the Earth may more easilie lye open to the Roots; then he describeth the Seed that is sowne, and Weedes picked out by hand, lest some casuall and wild thing may encrease vnder it, to kill the Corne. This also, saith he, is the worke of wisemen; as though that now also the Husbandmen in these dayes did not find out very many new things, whereby fertilitytie might be increased. Then is he not contented with these Arts, but sendeth a Wiseman downe into the Hand-mill; for hee sheweth how men in imitation of Nature began to make Bread. The solid and hard teeth meeting the one with the other, chew the meat which is receiued into the mouth, and if any thing fall by the tongue, gathereth and bringeth it backe to the teeth:

K k 2 then

then is it mingled with spittle, that more easily it might passe thorow the slipperietawes; but when it commeth into the belly, it is concocted with the heat of the stomacke, then at length conuerteth it selfe into the substance and nutriment of the body. Some one following this example, laid one rough stone vpon another, in likeness of the teeth, of which the vnamouable part expecteth the motion of the other: then the graines are broken by the grinding of them both, and oftner are they turned backe againe, vntill being ground they be brought vnto meale: then mixeth he the flower with water, and by continuall kneading and turning, maketh bread thereof, which first of all they baked vnder ashes and an hote stone. Finally, by little and little, ouens were found forth, and other meanes, whose heat might serue according to the pleasure of men. He scarcely contained himselfe from auowing, that wise men were inventors of the Shoemakers trade. Reason indeed, but not right reason hath inuented all these things. These are inventions of a man, not of a wife man: in such sort as ships are, by which we passe ouer riuers, and trauesse Seas, fitted with their sailes to receiue the flock of the wind, and hauing their helmes fastned to their sternes, which hither and thither might enforce the course of the ship: These are examples taken from fishes, whose taile serueth them in stead of a helpe, and with the small force thereof do bend their swiftnesse into either side. All these things indeed, saith he, did a wife man find forth, but being too bafe for himselfe to handle, bequeathed them to more sordid ministers; yet they were inuented by none other, then by such as at this day exercise the. We know that in our time many inventions haue bin published; as the vse of windowes made of stone, sending cleare light thorow them, by reason of a slate that the light shineth thorow: as the hanging vp of bathes, and pipes pressed into the walls, by which heat might be disperfed all about, which should alike cherish at one time, both those things that be below, and those that be aboue. What shall I speake of Marbles, wherewith Temples, where with houses doe shine? What of heapes of stone, fashioned to be round and smooth, whereof we make galleries and houses capable to receiue whole peoples? What of *Ciphers* and characters, whereby a man collecteth a whole oration, how swiftly sooner it bee pronounced, than in such sort the hand shall be so light that it shall follow the swiftnesse of the tongue? These are the deuices of the basest slaues: wisdom sitteth more high, neither teacheth she the hands, she is a mistress of mindes. Wilt thou know what thing she hath found forth, or what she hath made? Not vnseemely motions of the bodie, nor variable singings by the Trumpet and flute, by which breath being receiued, either in the going forth, or in the passing thorow, is formed into voice: nor weapons, nor wals, nor wars: she enduoreth profitable things, she fauoreth peace, and calleth all mankind to liue in amitie. She is not, I say, an forger of instruments for necessary vses. Why assignest thou so small things vnto her? Thou seest that she is the artificer of thy life. But the tenderness to a blessed estate, to that the leadeth, to that she openeth the way. She sheweth what be, and what seeme to be euill thing. She putteth vanitie out of the mind. She giueth solid greatnes, and represseth arrogance which is grounded vpon wind, and is glorious in appearance: neither suffereth she the men to be ignorant, what difference there is betwixt great and swelling things; she deliuereth the knowledge of all nature, and of her selfe. She declareth what the gods be, and of what sort they be; what be the infernall, what the household be, and what the *Genij*: what be those euermourning soules, hauing the second nature of deities; where they abide, what they doe, what they can, what they will.

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These are her introductions, by meanes whereof no priuate hallowed place, but the huge Temple of all the Gods, euen this World is layd open: whose true Images, and true representations she hath discovered to the eyes of our vnderstanding to behold. For our eyes are not strong enough to discern things so great. From thence afterward she remounteth to the beginning of things, and to the eternall Wisdom infused into the whole, and to the force of all seedes properly figuring every thing. Consequently she beginneth to enquire of the minde, whence it was, where, how long, and in how many parts it is diuided. Then from corporall she hath transferred her selfe to incorporall things, and hath examined the truth, and the arguments of them: after these, how the doubts of life and death should be discerned. A Wiseman withdraweth not himselfe, I say, as *Poſidonius* imagineth, from these Arts, but I adde this also, that hee is not wholly addicted vnto them. For he had iudged nothing worthy of inuention, which he would not iudge worthy of perpetuall vse. He would not admit those things which he intended to dismisſe. *Anacharſis*, saith he, found out the Potters wheele by the turning whereof Vessels be fashioned. Then because that the Potters wheele is found in *Homer*, he had rather that the Verses should seeme to be false, then a Fable. I doe not conend, that *Anacharſis* was the Author of this thing: and if he was, a Wiseman indeed inuented it, but not as being a Wiseman: as Wisemen doe many things, as they bee men, not as they be Wisemen. Suppose that a Wiseman is exceeding swift, hee will excell all in running, as he is swift, not as he is wise. I would desire to ſlew some Glasſe maker to *Poſidonius*, who with breath fashioneth Glasſe into many formes, which would scarce be framed by a diligent hand. These things are found out, since we haue ceased to find out a Wiseman. *Democritus* (saith hee) is reported to haue inuented Fornaces, causing that two hollowed stones inclining by little and little the one towards the other, should ioine themselves and be fastned, to a stone in the middle. I say, that this is false. For before *Democritus* was borne, it was necessary that there should bee both bridges and gates, the tops whereof for the most part are crooked. Furthermore, ye haue forgotten, how the same *Democritus* found out, how ſuory should bee polished, how a well purged stone should be turned into an *Emerald*, and by what coſture at this day those stones are coloured which are profitable to tht vse. Although that a Wiseman hath found out these things, yet found he not them out, as hee is a Wiseman: for a Wiseman doth many things, which a dullard or ignorant man will performe as well, or it may be better. Asketh thou what a Wiseman hath found out, what he hath brought into light? First, the nature of things, which he hath looked vpon, as other liuing Creatures haue done, with eyes slow to diuine things. Then the Law of life, which he hath directed according to all things: neyther only hath hee taught to know, but to follow the Gods, and to receiue accidents no otherwise then commands. He hath forbidden to obey false opinions, and he hath weighed with true estimation, of how great worth euery thing was: he hath condemned pleasures mixed with repentance. And hath prayed good things which will alwayes please, and hath made apparent, that he is the happiest man, who hath no need of happinesse: that hee is the most mightie man who hath power ouer himselfe. I speake not of that Philosophie, which hath placed a Citizen out of his Country, Gods out of the World, and hath made a vertue of the vice: but concerning that, which supposeth that there is no good thing false that which is honest, which cannot be corrupted either by the gifts of man or of Fortune; who for this cause

K k 3

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is to be prized, because he will be corrupted by no price or present. I do not suppose that this Philosophie was in that rude age, wherein as there were no Artizans, but men by vse it selfe to know that which they had need of: as before, in the Golden age, at such time as the benefits of Nature were indifferently disposed to those that would take them, before that avarice and dissolution had disassembled men, and that both the one and the other were vnted to make inroades and pillages; the men in those daies were not wise, although they did those things which the wise should doe. Assuredly there is no man that will prize or prayle any other age or estate of mankind before this, neyther if God should permit a man to frame a new World, and to giue Lawes vnto Nations, should he allow any other thing, then that which is remembered to haue beene amongst them, with whom

*The ground then none did plow, none might diuide
Land, that to him alone might then be diue.
The earth is selfe in common all did lie;
No toiling was, but things to grow did lie.*

What Nation was more happie then that kinde of men? They enioyed the nature of things in common: Shee, as their mother, furnished them with that which was requisite for them all, which was the same possession of publique riches. Why should I not repute such men to be the richest that euer were, when as amongst them all, a man could not finde one that was poore? Countesse hath made a forcible breach into things that were setled exceeding well: and whilest she desired to take somewhat apart, and to turne it to the vse of her selfe, she hath made all things other mens, and from being vnmeasurable, hath brought them into a strait, and hath brought in pouertie, and by coueting many things, hath lost all things. Although therefore she would recover and repaire that which she hath lost; although shee should adde fields vnto fields, and drive out neighbors from their lands, either by price or wrong; although she should enlarge her possessions to be as bigge as Prouinces; and terme a long journey thorow his Land, his possession: yet no enlarging of limits shall bring vs thither, from whence we haue departed. When wee haue done all, we shall haue much; whereas before that we had the whole World. The Earth it selfe was more fertile without labour, and enlarged it selfe for the vse of peoples who deuoured not one another. Whatsoeuer Nature had brought forth, it was a pleasure no lesse to haue found it out, then to shew the inuention to another: neither could there be either too much or too little for any one, where all was diuided amongst those that did agree. As yet the stronger had not layed hand vpon the weaker, as yet a couetous man did not by hiding that which he hoarded vp for him, exclude another from necessarie things. Each one cared as much for his companion as himselfe. Weapons did cease, & bands were not tainted with humane blood; they turned all their hatred vpon beasts. They whom some thicke wood had couered from the Sunne, who lived safe vnder leaues in a safe cottage, against the rigour of Winter or of raine, passed ouer pleasant nights, without sighing. Carefulnesse tofseth vs in our purple, and stirreth vs vp with most sharpe prickes; the hard ground gaue soft sleepe vnto them. Carued roofes did not hang ouer them, but they lying in the open ayre, the Starres did slide ouer them, and the notable spectacle of the nights; the world was driuen on apace, leading so great

great a worke with silence: as well by day, as by night, the prospect of this most beautifull house did lye open: one might behold the signes, declyning from the middle part of heauen, and againe, some arising from their hidden place. How could it but delight to wander amongst miracles that be so largely spread abroad? But ye be afraid of euerie cracke or thattering of your houses, and if any thing make a noise amongst your pictures, ye flie away astonished. They had not houses like vnto Cities. They dwelt in open places, exposed to the wind that gently blew vpon them on euerie side; a Rocke or a Tree was their shadow; then had they cleare Fountaines, Brookes gently falling by them of themselves, neither diuerted by any mans hand, nor drawne away by Pipes, nor inforced any waies; their fields were pleasant, and fruitfull without industrie, and in the midst thereof stood their Countrey Cabban builded after a rusticke manner. This house was according to Nature, which whoeuer inhabited, he feared not lest his house should fall on him, or he fall thorow his house: But now adayes, our houses be a great part of our feare. But although their life was most happie, and farre from deceit, yet were they not wise men, because this word hath relation to an accomplished worke. Notwithstanding, I denie not, but that they were men of an high spirit, and freshly sprung from the gods: for the world being not as yet waisted in strength, sent forth better things. But as all of them haue had a nature more powerful and addrested for labours; so their wits were not consummated in all things. For Nature giueth not vertue; it is an art to be made good. They sought not for Gold, nor Silver, nor glittering stones shining amongst the lowest dregges of the earth, yea as yet they spared dumbe creatures: so farre was it from them, that a man in those dayes in colde blood, without feare, and in way of pastime, should kill one another. Their garments as yet were not painted, as yet they were not imbroydered or tisued with gold, for the gold in those daies was not scene about the earth. What therefore? did the ignorance of things make them innocent? but there is much difference, whether one will not, or else know not how to sinne. They wanted iustice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude. This rude life had certaine things which had some resemblance of all these vertues. Vertue entereth, and is entertained in no mind, except it be instructed and taught, and brought to the highest by continuall exercise. We are borne to this, but without this, and in the best men also before thou instructest them, the matter of vertue remaineth, not vertue it selfe.

EPIST. XCI.

The dolefull and sudden burning of the Colony at Lyons: by reason of which accident, we are to bebinke of sudden things, and such as may befall a man. He setteth before our eyes the vncertainie and variableness of things: the greatest and most firme things may be diminished, changed, withdrawn, by earth-quakes, waters and fire. All mortall things are condemned to perish. Therefore neyther death nor infamie is to be feared by a man.



Vt Liberalis is now sad, because he hath received newes that the Citie of Lyons hath bene burned. This accident might moue any other man, much more, such an one who loueth his Countrey exceeding much. This is the cause that maketh him to haue recourse to his constancie and patience, which he hath fashioned and

and exercised of long time, to support those accidents which as he thought might be feared. But I wonder not, if this so vnthought of mischief, and almost vnheard of, hath not bene without feare, sith it was without example. For fire hath vexed many Cities, but hath vnterly destroyed none. For although the enemies in a Citie taken by assault, hath sometimes set the houses on fire, and that the most part hath bene burned: and although afterward it hath bene renewed againe, notwithstanding seldome doth it so deuoure all, that nothing be left to the sword. Scarce also at any time hath there bene so grievous and so pernicious an earth-quake, as to ouerthrow whole Townes. Lastly, neuer hath there any where bene so terrible a fire, that nothing remained for a second fire. One night hath laid along so many most faire workes, euerie one of which might haue made feuerall Cities to haue bene famous; and that hath fallen forth in so great peace, as could not indeed be feared in open warre. Who can beleue this? that when armes were laied apart, and peace was spread throughout the whole earth, Lyons that was poynted at in Gaule, should be so fought for. Fortune hath permitted all those, whom publicly the hath afflicted, to feare that which they were to suffer: no great thing, but hath had some time before it grew to ruine. In this there was onely one night betweene a great Citie, and none at all. To conclude, I am longer in telling thee that it hath perished, then it was in perishing. All these considerations incline the affection, and shake the inconstancie of our friend *Liberia*, who otherwise is firme and resolute in that which concerneth him. Neyther is he shaken and agrieved without a cause. Vnexpected things doe aggravate the more: Nouelic addeth weight to miseries: neyther is there any mortall man that conceiueth not more grieue for that he hath most admired. For remedie whereof, it becommeth vs to foresee all accidents whatsoever, wee ought to send our mindes before all things, and not onely to that one alone which is vsuall, but also on that which may happen. For what is it, that fortune cannot when she will, take away euen from the most flourishing? which she cannot by so much the more assault and shake, by how much it shineth the more beautifully? What is hard, or what is difficult vnto her? She encountereth not with vs daily, nor wholly after one manner. Sometimes she beateh vs with our owne hands, sometimes contented with her owne strength, shee findeth forth dangers without an author. In all times, yea euen from our pleasures, she deriueth the causes of our dolors. Warre ariseth in the midst of peace, and the meanes of securitie are changed into feare. A friend and companion becomes an aduersarie, and an enemy. The Sommer calmes will change into sodaine stormes, more violent then those of the Winter. Without an enemy, we suffer hostile things; and too great felicitie hath found forth causes of slaughter vnto it selfe, if other things fayle. Diseases set vpon the most temperate, the consumption vpon the strongest, punishment vpon the most innocent, tumult vpon the most secret. Chance chuseth some new thing, by which as it were forgetting, she reneweth her owne strength. Whatsoever long continuance of many labours, and much fauour of God hath builded vpon, one day scattereth and dissipareth it. He that saith, that one day, one houre, one minute of time sufficeth to ouerthrow the greatest Empires, hath assigned a long terme to humane calamities, considering they may come and goe likewise in a farre shorter space. There were some comfort to our weaknesse, and to our affaires, if all things were repaired with so great speed as they be finished. At this day, the reparations aduance themselves slowly, and the da-

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images fall out sodainely, nothing is firme either in priuate or publique, the ruines and confusions as well of the particulars as of publique estates, aduance themselves. Feare nearly attendeth the choyfeste pleasure; and although there are no occasions of troubles outwardly, mischieses breake forth from such places where they were least expected. These Kingdomes which stood both in ciuill and foraine warres, are ruined without any opposition. What Common-wealth could support her felicitie? All things therefore are to be thought vpon, and the minde is to be confirmed against those things that may happen. Thinke vpon exiles, torments, warres, sicknesses, and shipwrackes. Fortune may bereaue thee of thy Countrey, or make thee see the desolation thereof: she can call thee into a desert, she can make that place desolate, wherein the people is almost stifled with thronging. Let the whole condition of mans life be set before our eyes, and let vs consider in our minds (if we would not be oppressed, neither stupified with any vnusuall miseries, as if they were new) not how much happeneth oftentimes, but how much may for the most part fall out. We must wholly apprehend the inconstancie of the affaires of this World. How often haue the Cities of Asia and Achaia bene ruined by one earth-quake? How many Cities in Syria, and how much hath the earth deuoured in Macedon? How often hath this miserie afflicted Cyprus? how often hath Paphos bene buried in her owne ruines? Oftentimes haue we heard newes of the destructions of whole Cities, and wee amongst whom these rumours are ordinarily spread, how small a part are wee of all things? Let vs therefore erect our selues against aduersities, and whatsoever thing may happen, let vs know that it is not so great as is reported. A rich Citie, the ornament of all those her neighbouring Provinces who respected her, being built vpon a Hill (and that not ouer high) is burned. And time also shall consume the verie foundations of all these Cities, which now thou hearest prayled for their magnificence and riches. Seest thou not how in Achaia the foundations of famous Cities are consumed? and that nothing is extant whereby it may be knowne that in times past they haue bene. Not onely those things which are framed by hand doe perish. Not onely such things as mans Art and industrie hath planted, doth time ouerturne, but the mountaine tops moulder, and whole Regions are come to nought. Those places are covered with the Sea that stood farre off from the sight of the same. The fire hath consumed the Mountaines from the hollow whereof it flamed out. And in times past hath eaten away the highest Promontories which were a sollace to Sailers, and brought the proudest hills to humble shoares. The verie workes of nature are endamaged, and therefore ought we to suffer patiently the destruction of cities. All things that stand must fall, and an end remaineth to all things: whether it be that the winds shut in by an internal force and blast, haue shaken off the weight vnder which they be held; or the force of floods in secret, hath throwne downe those things that stand against them; or the violence of flames hath broken the ioyning together of the ground; or age, from which nothing is safe, hath by little and little overcome them: or the vnwholesomenesse of the skie hath cast our people, and situation hath corrupted deserts. It is a long thing to reckon vpon all the waies of the destinies. This one thing I know, that all the workes of mortall men are condemned by mortalitie. We liue amongst those things that perish. These and such like comforts I apply to our *Liberia*, who is inflamed with an inestimable loue to his Countrey; which peraduenture is consumed, that it might be the better

better builded vp. Oftentimes iniurie hath made place to greater fortune. Many things haue fallen that they might rise higher and greater. *Timagines* an enemy to the prosperitie of the Citie, did say, that he grieved at the firing of Rome for this one thing, because he knew that a better would rise againe, then had bene burned. In this Citie also it is verie like, that all will strive, that greater and more lasting buildings may be restored then they haue lost. I wish that they may be more long-lasting, and builded with better signes of locke for a longer age to come. For it is scarcely one hundred yeares past, since this Colony was planted there, which is scarcely the complete age of a man. This Colony being thus increased, vnder the conduct of *Plancius*, by reason of the commoditie of the place, hath reinforced it selfe, and yet notwithstanding in the space of an old mans age, she hath suffered grievous misfortunes. Let the soule be framed to vnderstanding, and patient sufferance of his condition, and let her know, that there is nothing which Fortune dare not doe. That she hath the same right against Empires, which shee hath against those that doe rule: that she can doe the same against Cities, that she doth against men. None of these things is to be fretted at. Wee haue entred into that world, wherein men liue by these Lawes: Pleaseth it? Obey. Pleaseth it not? Depart which way thou wilt. Be angrie, if any thing bee foolishly, or vniustly resolved vpon by thy selfe. But if this necessitie tieth the highest and lowest, therefore returne into fauour with Destiny, by which all things are dissolved. There is no cause that thou measure vs with Tombes, and with these Monuments, which being of vnequall bignesse, doe compasse the way about. The dust maketh all equall. We are borne vnlike, we die alike. The same I say of Cities, that of the Inhabitants of Cities. As well was Ardea taken, as Rome. That maker of mankind hath not distinguished vs by birth, nor by famousnesse of names, no longer then we be. But when we come to the end of mortall things: O ambition, saith he, depart thou; let there be the same law in all things that liue vpon the earth. Wee are equally subiect to all sorts of euils. No man is more fraile then another, no man is more certaine to liue vntill the next day, then another. *Alexander* the King of the Macedonians, began like a wretch to learne Geometrie, to the end that he might know how little the earth was, whereof he had possessed verie little. I call him miserable for this, because he was to vnderstand that he did beare a false surname. For who can begreat in so small a thing? Those lessons which he was to learne, were subtil, and were to be attained by diligent attention, but they could not enter into this head of his puffed vp with vanitie, who sent his thoughts beyond the Ocean Sea. Teach me, saith he, easie things. To whom his Master said; These things be the same, & alike difficult vnto all. Presuppse likewise, my *Lucilius*, that Nature speaketh thus vnto thee. These things whereof thou complainest, they are the same vnto all: more easie things can be given vnto none; but whoseuer will, shall make them more easie vnto himselfe. How? With patience. It is meet both that thou grieue, & thirst, and be hungrie, and waxe olde; and if longer stay amongst men befall thee, that thou be sicke, and lose somewhat, and doe perish. Notwithstanding, there is no cause that thou mayest beleue these things which make a noyse about thee. None of them are bad, none intollerable or hard. They are feared, because all men by common consent suppose them to be dreadfull: Thou fearest death as thou wouldest a false report. But what is more foolish then a man fearing words? Our *Demetrius* was accustomed elegantly to say, that the speeches of the vnskillfull

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were as much esteemed by him, as was the breaking of winde. For what difference, saith he, is there vnto me, whether that these doe make a noyse from above or from below? How great madnesse is it to be afraid, lest thou be discredited by those that haue no credit? As ye haue feared fame without cause, so likewise feare you that which dependeth thereupon, which you would neuer feare, if common report commanded you not. What losse shall a good man suffer, being bespotted with vniust reports? The sinister iudgement which men conceiue of death, should not make her distastfull in respect of vs: the feare of a common report is wicked, none of them that haue accused death, haue tried it. In the meane space, it is rashnesse to condemne that which thou knowest not. But thou knowest this, how profitable he is to many, how many shee freeeth from torments, from pouertie, from complaints, from punishments, from tediousnesse. We are not in the power of anything, sith death is in our owne power.

EPIST. XCII.

That reason ruleth in man, and that all things are to be referred to it, and that blessed life is in it when it is perfect. That externall things haue light or no weight. Also, that pleasure is of no moment, it is the good of vnreasonable creatures. And yet that externall things may be assumed, which are according to Nature; but with iudgement: and that thus then is good in them, to bee well chosen. Neuertheless also without them, that one is blessed, yet most blessed by vertue alone. These things may befall: yet being added, they doe not encrease, nor being taken away, doe decrease blessednesse: Against which no time can doe any thing. Let vs be like to God, let vs haue recourse to him.



Thinke that thou and I agree of this, that externall things are gotten for the body, and that the bodie is reuerenced for the honour of the minde, that there be seruile parts in the minde, whereby we be moued and nourished, giuen vnto vs for that principall thing. In this principall there is somewhat that is vnreasonable and reasonable. That serueth to this. This is one thing, that is not referred vnto any besides: but it carrieth all things vnto it selfe. For diuine reason hath power ouer all things, and is not of it selfe subiect to any. Our reason likewise is the like, for it proceedeth from the diuine. If we agree amongst our selues concerning this, it followeth also that we agree concerning that, that blessed life is placed in this one thing, that reason may be perfect in vs. For the onely standeth firme, and maketh head against Fortune. She being conserued, warranteth vs from all confusions. But that is the onely good, which is neuer impayred. He, I say, is blessed, whom nothing maketh lesser, he holdeth the chiefe, and dependeth not indeed vpon any thing, saue vpon himselfe: For he may fall, who is sustained by the helpe of another. If it be otherwise, those things that be not ours, shall begin to preuaile much in vs. But who will depend on Fortune, or what wife man admireth himselfe for those things that be anothers? What is blessed life? securitie and perpetuall tranquillitie. The greatnesse of the minde will giue vs this, and a firme constancie of a thing well iudged of. But how come we to this? If all veritie be thoroughly looked

looked vpon; it an order, manner, comelineſſe, and an hurtleſſe will, or that which is bountifull, and bene to reaſon, and neuer departing from it (being both louely, and to be admired) be preferred in the doing of things. Laſtly, that I may briefly write the forme vnto thee, ſuch ought the minde of a wiſe man to be, as may become a god. What can he deſire, who is in poſſeſſion of all vertues? For if things that be not honeſt, can conferre any thing to the perfection of our condition, bleſſed life ſhall be in thoſe things, without which he cannot ſubſiſt. And what is more fooliſh or more diſhoneſt, then to tie the good of a reaſonable ſoule vnto vnreaſonable things? Notwithſtanding, ſome iudge that the chiefſt good may receiue increaſe, becauſe it is not accompliſhed as long as the accidents of this life reſiſt it. For this cauſe, *Antipater*, one of the chiefſt Authors of this ſect, ſaith, that he attributeth ſomewhat, but verie little, to externall things. This, as thou ſeeſt, is not to content a mans ſelfe with the Sun, but to require further light from a pettie lampe. What moment in this cleareneſſe of the Sunne can a ſparke of fire haue? If thou art not contented with honeſtie alone, it is needfull that thou deſire that quiet ſhould be added thereunto, which the Grecians call *heſſetian*, or pleaſure. The one of theſe things how ſoever, may be receiued. For the minde is void of trouble, it freely beholdeth the vniuerſe, and nothing calleth it away from the contemplation of Nature. That other thing, namely pleaſure, is the good of a Beaſt. We adde an vnreaſonable thing to that which is reaſonable, a diſhoneſt thing to that which is honeſt. Doth the tickling of the body cauſe a happie life? Why therefore doubt ye to ſay, that a man is well, if his taſte be well? And numbred thou him, I doe not ſay, amongſt men, but amongſt mankind, whoſe chiefſt good conſiſteth of taſtes, and colours, and ſounds? Let that creature which is borne to eate onely, depart from that moſt beautifull number of liuing creatures, who are next vnto the gods, and let him be numbred with brute beaſts. The vnreaſonable part of the minde hath two parts: the one couragious, ambitious, vnbridled, placed in the affections: the other baſe, languiſhing, giuen vnto pleaſures. They haue left that vnbridled, but better, certainly more valiant and more worthie a man: and haue thought this feeble and abiection to be neceſſarie to a bleſſed life. They haue commanded reaſon to ſerue this, and haue made that which is demile and ignoble, to be the good of a moſt generous creature. Furthermore, it is mixed, and monſtrous, and framed of the diuers agreeing members of liuing creatures. For as our *Virgil* ſaith of *Scylla*:

*A womans face and Virgines breasts moſt faire
Vntill her middle-part: after ſhec bare
(Fiſh-like) a bodie wait with Dolphines tailes,
And many a woluiſh paunch with her ſhe trailes.*

Wild Beasts, fierce, horrible, and ſwift, are ioyned to this *Scylla*; but of what monſters haue theſe men compounded wiſdome? The firſt part of a man is vertue it ſelfe; the brittle and fading fleſh, which is onely apt to receiue meats, as *Poſidonius* ſaith, is annexed thereunto. That diuine vertue endeth in a mutable thing; and a ſluggiſh and decaying beaſt, is adioyned to the higher, venerable, and heavenly parts thereof. That repoſe (how quiet ſoever) gae of it ſelfe nothing indeed to the minde, but remoued impediments. Pleaſure of her owne accord, diſſolueth and molliſeth all ſtrength. How can this
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diſagreeing coniunction of bodies be made to continu; A moſt ſluggiſh thing is adioyned to that which is moſt valiant; ſcarce ſerious things to that which is moſt ſeuere, euen a diſtemperate and conſuled thing to that which is moſt holy. What therefore, ſaith hee, if good health, and quiet, if a life exempt from ſorrowes, ſhall no wayes hinder vertue, wilt thou not ſecke for thoſe things? Why ſhould I not ſecke them? But not becauſe they are good, but becauſe they be commodities according to nature, and becauſe with good iudgement I make uſe of them. What good then ſhall there be in them? This one, that they haue bene well choſen. For when I take ſuch a garment as is meet, when I walke as is requiſit; when I ſup as I ought: it is not the ſupper, or walking, or apparrell are good things, but my purpoſe in theſe of keeping a meane agreeable vnto reaſon in euerie thing. Yea now I will adde, the choiſe of neat apparrell is to be deſired by a man. For man is by nature a neat and elegant creature. Therefore neat apparrell is not a good thing by it ſelfe, but the choiſe of neat apparel; becauſe it is not good in the thing, but in the choiſe: becauſe our actions be honeſt, not thoſe things in which wee employ our ſclues. That which I haue ſpoken of apparrell, ſuppoſe that I haue ſpoken the ſame concerning the bodie. For Nature hath alſo compaſſed the minde with this, as a certaine apparrell, it is the couer thereof. But who at any time hath eſteemed his apparrell by his cheſt? A ſheath maketh the ſword to be neither good nor bad. I alſo do anſwer thee the ſame concerning the bodie: I would take indeed, if choiſe be giuen, both health and ſtrength. But my iudgement concerning them, and not they themſclues, ſhal be that which is good. A wife man is bleſſed indeed, ſaith he; yet notwithſtanding, he obaineth not that chiefſt good, except alſo that naturall inſtruments be correſpondent vnto him. Thus wretched indeed he cannot be, who hath vertue: but he is not moſt bleſſed, who is deſtitute of the benefits of Nature, as of health, and of ſoundneſſe of members. Thou graunteſt that which ſeemeth to be more incredible, that a man is not miſerable in the greateſt and continuall dolors, but rather that he is bleſſed: thou denieſt that which is more ſlight, that he is moſt bleſſed. But if vertue can be the cauſe that a man ſhould not be miſerable, more eaſily may he make him more bleſſed. For leſſe diſtance remaineth from bleſſed to moſt bleſſed, then from miſerable to bleſſed. Canot that thing which delivereth a man from his calamities, and placeth him amongſt the number of the happier ſort, accompliſh and adde the reſt vnto him, and make him intirely happy? Fainteth he on the top of the mountaine? Commodities and diſcommodities are in life; both are without vs. If a good man be not miſerable, although he be preſſed with all diſcommodities; how is he not moſt bleſſed, although he be deſtitute of ſome commodities? For euen as the burthen of diſcommodities plungeth him not into miſerie, ſo likewiſe the want of commodities draweth him not back from his perfect felicitie. But aſwel he is moſt bleſſed without commodities, as he is not miſerable by diſcommodities. Cannot his good be taken from him, if it can be diminiſhed? A little before I ſaid, that a ſmall fire helpeth not the light of the Sun. For what ſoever ſhineth without it, is hid with the cleareneſſe thereof. But certain things, ſaith he, doe alſo hinder the Sun. But the force and the light of the Sun is whole, euen amongſt oppoſit things: and although ſomewhat may interpoſe it ſelfe, which may hinder vs from the ſight of it, yet ceaſeth he not to ſhine his courſe. So often as he hath ſhined amongſt the clouds, he is neither leſſer in bodie, nor ſlower in motion, then when he ſhineth bright; for there is great difference, whether that ſomewhat do only ſtand againſt or hinder.

After the same sort, opposit things detract nothing from vertue. Shee is not lesse, but shineth lesse: It may be that we see her not so well nor so clearly, yet is she the same vnto her selfe, and after the falsation of the obscured Sunne, doth in secret exercise her force. Therefore calamities, losses, and iniuries, can doe as much against vertue, as a small cloud can doe against the Sunne. Some one there is that saith, that a wife man being sickly, is neyther miserable nor blessed. But he likewise is deceyued; for he matcheth casuall things with vertues, and attributeth so much to honest things, as to things wanting honestie. But what is more filthie, what is more vnworthie, then to compare venerable things with those that are base? For faith, iustice, pietie, fortitude, prudence, are venerable things: on the contrarie, those things be abiect and vile, which light vpon those men for the most part who are the basest, namely, a sound thigh, and arme, and teeth, and the health and strength of these. Againe, if a wise man who hath a diseased bodie, shall be accounted neither miserable nor blessed, but shall be left in the middell: his life also shall neither be to be desired nor to be fled from. But what is so absurde, as that a wife mans life should not be desired? and what is so without credit, as that there is a life which is not to be desired, or to be fled from? Then if the losses of the bodie doe not make a man miserable, they suffer him to be blessed. For those things which haue no power to transport vs into a worser estate, haue not power indeed to hinder vs from the best estate. We know, saith he, that somewhat is hote, and somewhat colde: and that luke-warme is betwixt them both. So one is blessed, and another miserable; another neyther miserable nor blessed. I will diligently discusse this similitude which is opposed against vs. If I shall put more cold into that luke-warme, it will be made colde: if I shall powre on more warme, it shall at last be made warme. But how much soeuer I shall adde to the miseries of this man, who is neyther miserable nor blessed, hee shall not bee miserable, as yee say, therefore this similitude is vnlike. Furthermore, I propose vnto thee a man neyther miserable nor blessed: I adde blindness to him, he is not miserable: I adde weakenesse, hee is not miserable: I adde continuall and grievous dolours, hee is not miserable. Hee whom so many euils translate not into a miserable life; they doe not indeede leade him from a blessed life. If a wife man, as yee say, cannot fall from being blessed, to become miserable, he cannot bee but happy. For why should he, who hath begun to slide, stay any where? That thing which suffereth him not to be rolled to the bottome, keepeth him in the toppes. But why cannot a blessed life be cut off? Indeede it cannot be lessened; and therefore vertue it selfe, by it selfe, is sufficient for it. What therefore, saith he, is not a wife man more blessed, who hath liued longer, whom no dolour hath called away: then hee who oftentimes hath wraisted with bad successe? Answer me, I pray thee: Is he better or more vertuous? If he be not, certainly he is not more blessed. It is meet that he liue more rightly, that hee may liue more blessedly: If hee cannot liue more rightly, he cannot liue more blessedly indeede. Vertue is not augmented: no more is a happy life which proceedeth from the same. For vertue is so great a good thing, that it feeleth not these small additions, such as are shortnesse of life, and dolour, and diuers discomforts of the bodie. For pleasure is not worthe to be respected by vertue. What is the chiefeit in vertue? To haue no neede of that which hereafter is to come, nor to reckon his dayes. In whatsoever time ye will, eternall good maketh absolutely perfect.

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These things seeme incredible vnto vs, and surpassing humane nature. For we measure the maiestie of vertue by our weaknesse, and we impose the name of vertue vpon our vices. But why should any man repute it for a matter incredible, that one being placed in greatest torments, should say, I am blessed? But such like speeches haue beene heard in the verie shop of pleasure: *I linc*, saith Epicvvs, *this most blessed and last day*: when on the one side, the difficultie of making water tormented him, and on the other side, an incurable dolour of an exulcerated belly tortured him. Why therefore are these things incredible with them who embrace vertue: sith they haue beene found amongst those who haue beene drowned in pleasures? These degenerate and bale minded say, that a wife man shall not be miserable, nor blessed, in greatest dolours, in greatest calamities. But this also is incredible. yea more incredible. For I see not, how vertue being cast from her owne height, likewise may not be druen into the lowest. She eyther ought to make a man blessed; or if she be druen from this, she shall not hinder a man to become miserable. He that standeth cannot be overcome: it is requisite that eyther he be overcome, or overcome. Some will say, that vertue and blessed life attendeth the immortal gods onely: I answer, that we haue a certaine shadow and similitude of those good things which wee neerly approach vnto, but cannot attaine them. But reason is common to gods and men: This is consummated in them, begun and not perfected in vs. But our vices draw vs to despayre. Touching the vnreasonable part, as one scarce constant to keepe the best things whose judgement is vncertaine and irresolute, it desireth to content the eyes and the eares, to haue good health, beaute, strength, and long life. By the means of the other partie endowed with reason, the vertuous man may excute things which are not to be repeated, as the ignorant man doth who is leazed with a certaine malice, which disposeth his spirit to euill things. Contrariwise, the actions of the wife man, are exempt from malice, although that otherwise his motion be imperfect. As yet he is not good, but is fashioned for good: But he is euill, whoseuer wanteth any thing to be good.

*But such a man whom we still constant finde,
That still hath vertue present in his minde,*

He equaleth the gods, he tendeth to heauen, he remembreth him his originall. No wicked man triueth to ascend thither, whence he had descended. But what is the cause, why thou estemest not, that there is some diuine thing in him, who is a part of God? All this world, wherein we are contained, is one, is God: and we are the fellowes and the members of him. Our minde comprehendeth much, it mounteth to heauen if vices presse it not downe. Euen as the shape of our bodies is vpright, and our face looketh towards heauen: so the soule, which may extend her selfe as much as she will, was formed by Nature, to will things equall to the gods, and so to vse her strength, and to extend her selfe into her owne space. For if she mounted on high on other wings then her owne, it were an infinite payne for her to tower vp to heauen: when she hath boldly performed this voyage for which also she hath taken her beeing, all the world and nothing are all one vnto hir; her eyes are not fixed on earthly possessions. As for Gold and Siluer, (worthe to bee hidden in that darkenesse from whence they were drawne,) shee prizeth them, not for their brightnesse, which in some fort bewitcheth the eyes of the

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ignorant, and hath withdrawne them from the contemplation of heauen, since such times as our couetousnesse began to prize and draw them from the entrailes of the earth. She knoweth that riches are in other coffers and Cabanets then those of the world; that we ought to fill our soules, and not our Treasuries or Sachels. It is the soule that ought to gouerne all things, that ought to be put in possession of the goods of Nature. Let the East and West be her limits, and let her possesse all things after the manner of the gods; let her from aboue despise rich men with their riches: of whom none is so ioyful in his own, as sorrowful at another mans. When the hath lifted vp her self into this loftinesse, she is also not a louer, but a manager of the bodie, as of a needfull burthen: neither subiecteth she her selfe to that, ouer which shee is set. Whosoever serueth the bodie is a slaue; for without mentioning other masters introduced by the ouer great care that a man hath of himselfe, his power is tedious and dissolute. Sometimes the soule dislodgeth peaceably, sometimes she departeth courageously, without care what shall become of that she leaueh behind her. But as we neglect the haire that be shauen from the beard; so that diuine soule being to depart out of the bodie, supposeth that it concerneth her in no sort what shall become of hir case or couer, (whether the fire burne it vp, or the beaust pluck it asunder, or the earth couer it) no more then the secondines pertaine to an infant new borne. As much is it to her whether it be cast for a prey to the birds, or deuoured in the Sea by Doggfishes. What is this to her? He, who during his conuersation amongst men, feareth no threats: shall he after death feare any threats of them, whom we scarce ought to feare vntill death? The hooke, saith he, shall not teare mee, nor the rending of my dead carcasse cast out to reproach, although loathsome to them that shall looke on. I request no man for a last duetie: I commend my reliques to no man. Nature it selfe hath provided that no man should be vnburied. Whom crueltie hath cast forth, the day shall burie. *Mecannas* saith eloquently:

*I care not for a Tombe or any Graue,
To burie my remains Nature will craue.*

Thou wouldest haue thought that a man of great spirit and resolution had spoken this: for he had both a great and a manly wit, except he himselfe effeminately had managed it.

EPIST. XCIII.

Concerning the death of the Philosopher METRONACTES, who died a young man. That is of small regard: also life is to be measured, not by space, but by act. Euerie good Life is that which is long: Lastly, nothing here is long.



N the Epistle wherein thou bewailedst the death of *Metronactes* the Philosopher, as though he might & ought to haue liued longer, I haue desired thy moderation, which is abundant in thee towards euery person and in euery businesse, but faileth in one thing, wherein it faileth all men. I haue found many vpright

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towards men, but none towards the gods. We daily chide *Destinie*: why was such a one taken away in the midst of his course? And why liueth such a one so long? Why extendeth he his old age in such sort that he is both grieuous to himselfe and to others? Whether, I pray thee, iudgeth thou it to be more fit, that thou obey Nature, or that Nature obey thee? Or what skilleth it how soone thou departest from a place, from whence either sooner or later thou must depart? We must not care to liue long, but to liue enough. For to liue long, thou hast need of *Destinie*, to liue sufficiently thou onely needest courage. Life is long if it be full: but she is filled, when the soule hath restored her owne good vnto her selfe, and hath translated the power of her selfe to her selfe. What doe fourescore yeares profit a man that hath spent them in idleness? This man liued not, but made an abode in life; neither lately, but long agoe did he die. He liued fourescore yeares. But we must know from what day thou makest account of his death. But he died young; yet he performed the duties of a good Citizen, of a good friend, of a good sonne: he sayled in no part: although his age were imperfect, his life was perfect. He liued fourescore yeares; yea, he liued not, but was in the world, except peradventure thou sayest him to haue liued so, as Trees are said to liue. I desire thee, my *Lucilius*, that we endeavour this, that euen as pretious things, so our life may not lie much open, but may be worth much. Let vs measure it by our actions, not by time. Wilt thou know what difference there is betweene this courageous young man, and this contemner of Fortune, who hath gone through all the degrees of humane life, and is promoted vnto the highest good, and that other ouer whom many yeares haue passed? The younger liueth euen then when he is dead, the other perished before death. So then, let vs praise and place him in the number of the happie, who hath employed his time well, how little soeuer it were. For he hath scene true light, he hath not bene one of the ordinarie sort; he liueth, and hath liued, and hath flourished. Sometime he hath clearly appeared in the calme of Fortune; sometime, as it is ordinarie, the brightnesse of his fortune hath not sparkled, but thorow the clouds of aduersitie. Why seekest thou, how long he hath liued? He liued euen vntill posteritie: he passed away, and gaue himselfe to the memorie of ages to come. I will not refuse a long life, yet will I not say, that any thing hath bene defective in my felicitie, although my yeares haue bene shortened. For I haue not appropriated my selfe vnto that day, which greedy hope hath assigned me to be my last: but I haue looked vpon euery day, as if it had bene my last. Why askest thou me, when I was borne? Am I as yet reckoned amongst those that be more young? I haue that which is mine owne. Euen as in a lesser habite of bodie, one may be a perfect man: so in a lesser measure of time, there may be a perfect life. Age is amongst externall things. It is not in my power to liue so long as I would, yet is it in my power to be a good man. Exact this of me, that I passe not the course of my life in darkness, that I measure out an vnnoble age; that I may leade a life, not that I may be violently carried through it. Wilt thou know what is the most amplest space of life? To liue so long as that a man becommeth wife: He that commeth vnto that, hath attained, not the longest, but the happiest end. Such a one may glorie, and giue thanks vnto the gods; imputing in their presence to himselfe and to nature, that he hath bene. Deferuedly shall he ascribe it: for he hath returned a better life then he hath receiued. He hath proposed vnto others the patterne of a good man: he hath shewed what an one and how great he was: if he had ad-

ded any thing, it had bene like vnto that which was past. And notwithstanding how long doe we liue? We enjoy the knowledge of all things. We know by what meanes the principall Nature sustaineth her selfe, how shee ordereth the world, by what courtes she recalleth the yeare, how she hath shut vp all things which were at any time, and hath made her selfe the end of her life. We know, that the Starres haue their proper turnes and returnes: that nothing is stable but the earth: that other things rowle and runne away with a continuall swiftnesse. We know how the Moone outshippeth the Sunne in his course, why the slower leaueth the swifter behind her: how she receiveth or loseth light: what cause bringeth on the night, what bringeth backe the day. Thither must we goe, where thou mayest behold these things more neryly: Neyther, saith the wife man, depart I more valiantly, because I iudge that the way vnto my gods is laid open vnto mee. I haue deserved to be admitted, I haue alreadie conuersed with them: and I haue sent my spirit vnto them, and they haue sent theirs vnto me. But suppose that I be taken away, and that nothing of a man remaineth after death: I haue a minde as great as euer, although I should depart into no place. Some will say, that such a one liued not so many yeares as he might haue done. A man may write a book offew Verses, that is both praise-worthie and profitable: Thou knowest that the Chronicles of *Tamulus* are in little request, and what name is giuen them; so is the life of some men long, and extendeth it selfe further then *Tamulus* Chronicles. Supposest thou him to be more happie, who is slaine in the euening of the day of his combate, then he who is slaine in the midd of the day? What, thinkest thou that any one is so desirous of life, that he had rather haue his throat cut in the place where the combatants are dispatched, then where those that are wounded to death in the Theater? No greater space doe we one goe before another. Death apprehendeth all; he that killeth, followeth him close who is killed. That is the least, which men care for most. But what pertayneth it to the purpose how long thou auoydest, that which thou canst not auoyde?

EPIST. XCIII.

A dispute, whether the Teaching or Exhorting part of Philosophie be more profitable? and whether the one can suffice without the other? ARISTO preferreth the former, and admitteth it alone: and his arguments be here. Others adioyne the other part, and shew the great vses thereof; and SENECA distinguisheth finely, wittily, and fruitfully. Read and delight.

SOME haue received that part of Philosophie alone, which giueth proper precepts to euery person, but frameth not the whole man, perswading the husband how to carrie himself towards his wife; the father how to bring vp children; the master how to gouerne seruants: and haue left the other as extrauagant and eliranged from our profit: as though any one could in part perswade, except first he had comprehended the summe of vniuersall life. But *Aristo* a Stoick, on the contrarie esteemeth this to be a light part, and which descendeth not euen vnto the breast: but that which hath not precepts, he saith, that it profiteth verie much; and that the decrees themselves of Philosophie, are the constitution of the

the chiefest good, which he that hath vnderstood and learned well, himselfe commandeth himselfe, what is to be done on either part. Euen as he who learneth to cast a Dart, taketh a fit place, and frameth his hand for the direction of those things which he throweth; when he hath gotten this force by instruction and exercise, he vseth it at whatsoeuer hee will; for he hath learned not to hit this or that, but whatsoeuer he will: so he who hath intrusted himselfe for his whole life, desireth not particularly to be admonished, hee being taught for the whole; not how to liue with a wife or with a sonne, but how he may liue well: in this also is it comprehended, how he may liue with his wife and children. *Cleanthes* iudgeth this part also to be profitable, but weake except it flowed from the whole, except one knew the very Decrees and heads of Philosophie. Therefore this place is diuided into two questions. Whether it be profitable or vnprofitable, and whether it alone can make a good man, that is, whether it be superfluous or can make all things else superfluous. They who would haue this part to be thought superfluous, say thus: If any thing that is set before the eyes, hindereth the sight, it is to be removed; but if that it be not removed he hath lost his labour, who hath giuen these instructions; thus thou shalt walke, neither shalt thou stretch out thine hand; after the same manner, when any thing blindeth the minde, and hindereth it from discerning the order of dueries, he hath nothing who delucreth precepts: thus shalt thou liue with thy father, thus with thy wife. For precepts will profit nothing, so long as error cloudeth the vnderstanding: if that be driven away, it will appeare what is requisite in euery mans vocation. Otherwise, thou teachest him what a sound man must doe, thou makest him not sound. Thou shewest to him that is poore, how to play the rich man: but how can this be done, if so be that povertie remaine? Thou shewest to him that is hungry, what he may do as a man being full: rather take away hunger, which is fastned in his entrailles. The same will I say vnto thee concerning all vices; the things themselves are to be removed away; wee are not to command that which cannot be done, whilst they doe remaine. Except thou shalt expell false opinions, that we be troubled withall; neither will a couetous man heare how he must vse money, nor a fearefull man how he may contemne dangers. It is requisite that thou make him know that money is neither good nor bad: that thou shew vnto him that rich men are most miserable: that thou cause, that whatsoeuer euery man feareth is not so dreadfull, as Fame relateth it him to vnderstand: no not dolour nor death: that oftentimes there is a great comfort in death, which of necessitie euery man must vndergoe, which euery one must be partaker of: that the remedie of griefe is a constant resolution of the spirit, which maketh her burthen the lighter, the more constantly she beareth it. That the best condition of griefe is, that a man so tormented, cannot be made more great, and he that is great cannot be tormented. That all things are to be valiantly received, which the necessitie of the world imposeth on vs. When thou hast brought him vnto the sight of his owne condition, and that he shall know that a blessed life is, not that which is according to pleasure, but according to nature: when he shall altogether loue vertue, the onely good of a man, and shall flie from dishonestie as that which is onely bad; hee shall know that all other things, namely, riches, honors, health, strength, empire, be in the middle part, & are neither to be numbred amongst the good, nor reckoned amongst the euill. He shall need no instructor to say vnto him, walke thus, sup after this manner; this becommeth a man, that a woman; this a married man, that a bachelor.

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For these things which they so diligently prescribe, they themselves cannot doe. These things doth the Schoollmaster teach his Scholler, the Grand-mother her nephew; and the most cholericke master of the World, argues that a man must not be angry. If thou enter into the Schooles, thou shalt finde that children are taught all that for their Lesson, which Philosophers boast of with such lustie lookes. Finally, whether wilt thou propose such things as are manifest, or such as are doubtfull? Those things that are euident need not to be taught, and he that teacheth such things as are doubtfull, is hardly beleued. It is therefore a superfluous thing to teach. This learne thus: If thou proposest things that are obscure and ambiguous, thou must confirme them by proofes. If thou wilt prove them, those things by which thou proveest are more auailable, and are sufficient enough of themselves. Thus vse thy friend, thus thy fellow Citizen, thus thy companion. Why? Because it is iust. All these things the common place as touching iustice, will furnish me with. There finde I that equirie is a thing to be desired of it selfe, that feare cannot compell vs thereunto; and that for gaine we will not respect it: briefly, that he is not iust and vpright who approneth any thing in this vertue, but the vertue it selfe. When as I haue perluaded my selfe of these things, and learned it perfectly, what doe these precepts profit me, which instruct the learned man? To giue precepts to a wife man, is a superfluous traual, to an ignorant man it sufficeth not. For he must heare not only what is taught him, but why it is taught him: that is to say, whether they be necessarie to him that hath true opinions as touching goods and euils, or to him that hath not: hee that hath them not, will be no waies profited by thee, for a common report contrary to thy admonitions hath filled and possessed his eares. He that hath an exact iudgement of that he ought to sie and follow, knoweth that which he ought to doe, although thou be silent. All this part of Philosophie therefore may be cut off. There are in vs two euils, which make vs commit others. Eyther in our mindes is there a malice contracted by euil opinions; or although it be not occupied with falsities, yet is it inclined vnto error, and is quickly corrupted by some vaine appearaunce, which draweth him thither whither he should not pretend. It behoueth vs therefore either to cure the sicke minde, and to deliuer it from vices, or if as yet it be not infected, but inclined vnto euill, to preuent it. The decrees of Philosophie doe both the one and the other. And therefore all that other kind of teaching is vnprofitable. Furthermore, if we giue instructions to euery particular, we should neuer make an end. For we must instruct the Vsurer one way, the Husbandman another way, the Merchant thus, him that affecteth the friendship of Princes, otherwise: thus, those that should loue their equals: that way, such as affect their inferiours. In matrimonie, they must teach how a man must liue with a wife, whom he married a Maid; how with her that had a husband before; how with a rich, how with a poore one. Thinkest thou there is no difference betwix a barren and a fruitfull woman, betweene an olde, and a young Maiden, betwix a Mother, & a Step-dame? We cannot comprehend all kindes; and yet euerie one of them requireth severall lessons and aduertisements. But the lawes of Philosophie are short, and containe and write all things. Adde hereunto that a wife mans precepts ought to be limited and certaine; if they are found to be infinite, they are out of the limits of Philosophie, wisdom knoweth what the bounds of all things should be. This part therefore which proposeth things in particular ought to be remoued, because that what thee promisseth to performe to a few, thee cannot performe to all.

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Contrariwise wisdom embraceth and containeth all men. There is little difference betweene publike madnesse, and that which the Physicians describe, but that the particular is possessed with a certaine sicknesse, the publike is besotted with false opinions: the one hath drawne the causes of his furie from the indisposition of the body, the other from the infirmities of the minde. If a man should giue Precepts to a furious man, and teach him how to speake, how to walke out, how to behaue himselfe in publike, how in priuate, he should be more mad, then the mad man he teacheth. Hee must purge the melancholy humour, and the cause of furie must be removed. The like must bee done in this other furie of the minde; it must be discusled and driuen away, otherwise all aduertisement will be to no end. These things are spoken by *Aristen*. To whom we will answer in particular. First to that where he saith, that if any thing hindereth the eye and letteth the sight, it ought to be removed: I confesse that he hath no need of Precepts to make him see, but of Medicines to purge his sight, and the meanes to driue away that which blemisheth the same. For by nature we see, and he that taketh away the obstacles, hee returneth the eye to his sight. But nature teacheth not a particular duty to euery one. Secondly, he that is cured of his suffusion, cannot as soone as hee hath recovered his sight, giue sight to other men likewise. He that is rid of malice may recure also. The eye needeth neither exhortation nor counsell to vnderstand the properties of colours, it will distinguish white from blacke without any teacher. Contrariwise, the minde needeth many Precepts to discerne what is to bee done in life. Albeit the Physician not onely cureth the infirme eye, but counselleth also. Thou must not (saith he) expose thy weake eye-sight suddenly to the open aire and brighter light; first from an obscure place seeke out a shade, then be more bolde, and by little and little accustome thy selfe to endure the cleare light. Thou must not studie after meat; keepe thy selfe quiet where thine eyes are great and swollen. Auoid the winde and force of colde, lest it beate vpon thy face; and such like, which were no lesse profitable then the medicines were. In brieue, Physick annexeth counsels to remedies. Error, saith he, is the cause of sin, whereof counsell acquitteth vs not, neither conuinceth false opinions of good & euil things. I grant that precepts suffice not of themselves to driue a peruerser opinion out of the vnderstanding: but it followeth not, that being annexed to others, they should be vnprofitable. First of all, they refresh the memorie. Secondly, by their meanes, those things which in general seemed confused, being diuided into parts, are more diligently considered. Haply thou after this maner supposest consolations and exhortations superfluous, but they are not; consequently not admonitions. It is a folly (saith *Aristen*) to command a sick man such a thing as he should doe in his health, whereas his health is to be restored vnto him, without which all his Precepts are vaine. But haue not both the sick and whole certaine things common to them both, whereof they ought to be admonished, as not to eat ouer-greedily, nor trauell excessively? Both poore and rich haue certaine common Precepts. Cure Auarice (saith he) and thou shalt haue nothing wherein thou shalt admonish eyther the poore or rich: if the couetousnesse both of the one and of the other be abated. Is it a different thing not to desire money, and to know well to vse it? The couetous haue no measure in their desires, they that are not couetous know not how to make vse of money as they ought. Take away the errors (saith he) the precepts are superfluous. It is false: for supposest that Auarice be moderated, Dissolution restrained, Rashnesse bridled, Idleness a-

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wakened: although the vices are driven away, yet ought wee to learne that which wee ought to doe and how. The admonitions serue to no vse, being applied to enormous vices. I answer, that Philosophie healeth not incurable Diseases, yet is it ministred to some for remedie, to other some for mitigation. Not all the whole power of Philosophie, although she intend all her forces to this end, can roote out an indurate and inueterate plague out of our mindes: and yet these remedierh some euils, though these cureth not all. What profiteth, saith hee, to shew that which is discovered? Greatly, for sometimes although we know a thing, yet we regard it not. Admonition teacheth not, but it awakeneth and setteth the memorie, and preuenteth forgetfulness. We take little heed of many things, which passe before our eyes. To admonish is a kind of exhortation. Oftentimes our mind pretendeth not to comprehend that which is apparent: we ought therefore to refresh the memorie with the knowledge of things best knowne. In this place it shall not be amisse to repeat the notable saying of CALVVS against VARIIVS, *You know there hath bin biding, and all men know that you know it.* Thou knowest that we ought to entertain friendship religiously, but thou dost it not. Thou knowest him to be a wicked man, that requireth his Wife should be honest, and himselfe hunteth after other mens Wiues. Thou knowest that as he ought not to acquaint her selfe with an Adulterer, so thou shouldst not haue to doe with a Strumpet, and yet thou vlcst to prostitute. For this cause oftentimes oughtest thou to call thy dutie to memorie, for thy memorie must not be distracted, but at hand and before thine eyes. All whole some things ought to be oftentimes remembred, and renewed, to the end that besides the knowledge thereof, wee may haue them readie to assit vs. Besides, that which is already well comprehended, is vnderstood & remembred far better. If those things (saith he) be doubtful which thou teachest, thou oughtest to adde prooffe vnto them, consequently therefore the Precepts are vnprofitable. I answer, that the authoritie of him that admonisheth, sufficeth without any prooffe of his saying. As the Answers of the Lawyers are of force, although they yeeld no reason of their counsell. Moreover, Precepts haue a great weight in themselves, especially if we intermixe them with poeie, or that in prose they be shut vp together in a few, but graue words. As those of CATOVS, *Buy not that which thou needest, but that which is necessarie. That which thou hast no need of is deare of a Farthing.* And these other Sentences proceeding from Oracles or other excellent men: *Spare time, Know thy selfe.* Wouldst thou aske the cause thereof; if a man should repeat these these Sentences? *Forgetfulness is the remedie of injuries. Fortune fauoreth the audacious. The idle man hinders himselfe.* These Sentences seeke no Aduocate, they touch the affections and profit, because Nature vnfoldeth Vertue in them. Our minds contayne all the seeds of Vertue, and these seeds trustie by meanes of admonitions, no otherwise then a sparkle being assited with a light blast, becommeth a great flame. Vertue is awakened, when she is either touched or shaken. Furthermore, there are certaine things, which buried in our vnderstanding, beginne to shew their worth, when they are quickened by admonitions. There are other sorts of things which lye here and there, which a dull vnderstanding and vnexercised cannot recollect. It behooueth therefore to gather them into one, and to ioyne them together, to the end they be more forcible, and raise the minde the more. Or if Precepts haue no power, we must exterminate all institution, and bee contented with Nature her selfe. They that hold this opinion, consider not that there are some that haue a stir-

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ring and noble spirit, others a dull and heauie. In brieft, that all are not equally, and of one ingenuitie. The power of the minde is nourished by Precepts, and annexeth new perfwasions to those that are innate, & correcteth those that are depraued. If any man (saith he) hath not the true Decrees, what shall admonitions profit him who is drowned in vices? Truly this, that he may be deliuered of them. For the naturall disposition is not extinguished in him, but obscured and oppressed. In pursuite whereof the endeuoreth to raise her selfe, and to resist euill. As loone as she is succoured and assisted by Precepts, she receiueh her forces, provided that this contagion of sinne, which hath so long time infected her, hath not wholly mortified her. For then the whole Discipline of Philosophie vniting all her forces, cannot restore her. For what difference is there betweene the Decrees and Precepts of Philosophie, but that the one are generall, the other particular? Both of them command; the Decrees are generall, the Precepts particular. If any one (saith hee) hath iust and honest Decrees, such a one is admonished in vaine; not so. For this man, although he know that which he ought to doe, yet seeth hee not exactly all the parts of his dutie. For we are not only hindered by our affections, from executing that which is good, but for want of a knowledge how to finde out that which is requisite in euery thing. Sometimes we haue a minde well composed, but heauie & vnaddressed to find out the tract of the Offices of our life, which is discovered vnto vs by Admonitions. Drive away (saith he) the false opinions, as touching goods and euils, settle the true in stead of the false, and then wil Admonition be profitable. Assuredly the mind is gouerned by such means, but not by this means onely. For although it be by arguments gathered, what are good, & what are euill, notwithstanding Precepts haue their parts, & both Prudence and Iustice consist in offices, and offices are disposed by Precepts. Furthermore the iudgement that we haue of goods and euils, is confirmed by the execution of Offices, whereunto we are guided by Precepts. For they agree together, neither may those go before, but these will follow after, and keepe their ranke; whence it appeareth that the Generall march before. Precepts, saith he, are infinite. It is false. For they are not infinite in things that are great and necessary, but their differences according to time, place, and persons are small. But to these likewise are generall Precepts giuen. There is no man (saith he) that cureth madnesse by Precepts, and consequently not malice. There is a difference. For in curing a mad man of his madnes, he is restored to his health. If we haue excluded false opinions, we presently apprehend not that which wee ought to do; and were it so, yet our Admonition would confirme the right apprehension and iudgement we haue of goods and euils. This likewise is false, that Precepts no way profit mad men. For as they profit not alwayes, so further they the cure. Both threatnings and chastizements haue restrained madde men: I speake now of those madde men whose wits are altered, but not taken from them. The Lawes, replyeth he, cause vs not to doe that which we ought. And what other thing are they, but Precepts intermixed with threatnings? First of all they perswade not, because they menace; but Precepts constraine not, but perswade. Secondly, Lawes deterre vs from doing euill: Precepts exhort euery one to doe his dutie. Adde hereunto, that Lawes are profitable to good manners, provided, that Precepts be vnited to their Commandements. In this thing differ I from *Posidonius*: I allow not the Principles that are set in the beginning of *Platoes* Lawes. For a Law should bee short, to the end that the ignorant might apprehend it more easily, as ift were an Oracle. Let it command,

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not dispute. Nothing seemeth more impertinent and foolish to me, then a Law garnished with a Preface. Admonish, tell mee what thou wouldst haue mee doe; I listen not to thee to learne, but to obey. The Lawes are profitable; so see we that Common-weales, which haue had euill Ordinances, haue had worse manners. But Lawes profit not all men; no more doth Philosophie, and yet it ceaseth not to be profitable and powerfull in forming mens minds. And what other thing is Philosophie but the Law of our life? But let vs presuppose that the Lawes are vnprofitable, it followeth not therefore that admonitions are vnecessarie: otherwise we should say that consolations, exhortations, dissuasions, reprehensions and prayes, serued to no purpose. These are sorts of admonitions, and by their meanes the spirit attayneth his perfection. There is nothing that more reueleth our vnderstandings with Vertue, nor retyreth them more from an euill custome, and confirmeth them in goodnesse, then good mens conuersation. For by little and little it descendeth and distilleth into the heart, and to bee often scene and heard, standeth in stead of precepts: vndoubtedly the onely meeting with Wisemen doth great good; and thou mayest learne somewhat of a vertuous man, euen then when he is silent. I cannot so well tell thee how it profiteth, as I haue certainly found that it profited mee. Some small creatures (as *Phaedon* saith) when they sting are not felt, so small and readie is their sting to giue the pricke, but the tweling is discovered although there appeare no wound in the same. The like will befall thee in thy conuersation with Wise men, thou shalt not perceiue when or how he profiteth thee, but thou shalt find the profit. Whereto (saith hee) tendeth all this? Good Precepts and Admonitions, oft-times reiterated, will profit thee as much as good examples. *Pythagoras* saith, that they who entred into a Temple, or that saw neere vnto them any Image of the Gods, or heard the voyce of some Oracle, changed their minds and thoughts. Who dare denie, but that the most Ideots of the World are powerfully stricken with some precepts? As for example by these which ensue, which are short but sententious, and of great weight; namely, *Nothing too much. The greedie minde is neuer satisfied with gaine. Such measure as thou metest, the same shall bee mett to thee.* These things heare we with strong apprehension, neither may any man doubt or dispute vpon them. Why? Because truth perswadeth without any assistance of reason: if the respect wee beare vnto any man bridleth our spirits, and represseth our vices, why should not admonition doe the like? If correction maketh men ashamed, what should hinder the same effect in good admonition, although it were accompanied but with simple precepts? But what admonition is more powerfull, and pierceth deeper, then that which fortifieth his Commandements with good reasons, that allegeth why a man should doe this or that, and what good may befall a man by his obedience? If commandement and authoritie serue, so doth admonition; but authoritie is of great vse, and consequently admonition. Vertue is diuided into two parts, into contemplation of truth, and into action. Institution teacheth contemplation, admonition action. A iust action both exerciseth and sheweth Vertue. But if hee that perswadeth profiteth him that is to act, he likewise will profit that admonisheth. If therefore vpright action bee necessary to Vertue, and admonition sheweth what iust actions be, it followeth that admonition is necessary. There are two things which greatly fortifie the minde, assurance of the truth, and confidence. Admonition produceth both these. For there is credit giuen to the same, and when she is beleued, the mind conceiueth high hopes, and is filled with

with confidence: admonition therefore is not superfluous. *Marcus Agrippa*, a man of great vnderstanding, and onely happy to the publike good, amongst all those that were rayed by Ciuil warres, was wont to auow, that he was very much indebted to this sentence; *For by Concord small things increase, by Discord the greatest are ruined.* This, saith he, made me become a good Brother, & sure Friend. If such Sentences familiarly entertained in the minde doe forme the same, why should not this part of Philosophie which consisteth of such like Sentences, doe the like? A part of Vertue consisteth in Discipline, another in Action. Thou must learne, and that which thou hast learned thou must confirme by action: which if it be so, not onely Decrees of Wisemen are profitable, but also the Precepts, which restrayn & oblige our affections as it were with an Edict. Philosophie, saith he, is diuided into these, into Science and the habit of the minde. For he that hath comprehended any thing, and knoweth that which he ought to doe and auoyd, is not yet wise, except his spirit be transformed into those things which he hath learned. The third part, consisting in Precepts, is composed of the two precedent, both of decrees and of habit, and consequently superfluous to make Vertue complete, whereas they two are sufficient. By this reckoning then consolation is vnecessary, for this also consisteth of both; neyther exhortation, perswasion, neyther argumentation. For she taketh her originall from the habit of a composed and strong minde. But although these parts proceed from that habitude of the minde, the best habit of the minde is both of the one, and of the other. Furthermore, all that which thou sayest respecteth a perfect man, & such an one as hath attayned the summe of humane felicitie. But to this a man attayneth very slowly, meane while wee must shew an vnperfect man, yet such an one as is toward the way which he is to hold in his actions. It may be that Wisdome may adresse her selfe without admonition, considering shee hath already led the spirit so onward that he cannot be moved but to the right way. But as touching those that are more feeble, they had need of a Conductor that may say vnto them, I thou shalt shun this, thou shalt doe this. Besides, if he expect the time, wherein of himselfe he may know that which is best to be done, he shall in the meane space erre, and erring shall be hindred from attayning to that whereby hee may bee contented with himselfe. He must therefore be gouerned till hee begin to bee able to gouerne himselfe. Children are taught to forme their Letters, their fingers are held, and their hand directed and led, to teach them to fashion and counterfeit Letters, then are they commanded to follow such and such Examples, and by them to reforme their Writing. So is our minde strengthened if it bee instructed by proposing some Example vnto it which he may follow. These are the things whereby it is approued that this part of Philosophie is not superfluous. Furthermore it is demanded whether she alone sufficeth to make a Wiseman. Wee will answer this question at another time: for the present, omitting those Arguments, doth it not appeare vnto vs that we had need of some Aduocate, who may giue vs instructions contrary to the precepts of the people? A man cannot speake any thing that toucheth vs not. They that will vs good, hurt vs; and they also that curse vs: for the imprecation of those impretheeth in vs false feares, and the loue of others spoyleth vs, in desiring our prosperitie, because it driueth vs to goods that are forreine, wandering, and vncertaine, whereas we might draw felicitie from our selues. I say that we are not permitted to follow the right way. Our Parents and Seruants draw vs vnto euill. No man erreth to himselfe onely, but spreadeth his folly amongst his Neighbours, and learneth

of theirs likewise. And therefore the vices of the common sort are in every private man, because the people amongst whom hee conuerseth hath giuen them him, and in making others bad he becometh bad himself, he hath learned the worse, and afterwards teacheth the same; and when that which each one knew to be most wicked was gathered and put together, that great heape of iniquitie was made and discovered. Let there be therefore some guide that may pull thee by the eare, driue thee from the bruite of Cities, and reclayne thee from the flatteries of the common sort. For thou abusest thy selfe if thou thinkest that vices are borne with vs; they steale vpon vs, and were ingested into vs. Let vs therefore repressethose opinions which buzze about our eares by frequent admonitions. Nature neyther yeth nor obligeth vs to any vice: theeth hath ingendered vs entyre and free: nothing that might incite our auarice hath theeth placed in open sight, but hath put Gold and Silver vnder our feet to bee kicked and trod vpon, or whatsoeuer it befor which we are kicked and trod vpon. Shee hath addrested our faces towards Heauen, and would that we should behold whatsoeuer shee hath made, cyther magnificent or wonderfull in the World, the rising and settings of the Starres, the sudden course and motion of the Heauens, which by day make vs see the goods of the Earth, and by night those of the Heauens. The slow motion of the Starres, if they be compared with the whole; the swift, if thou imagine how great way they make without euer staying; then the Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone, opposed the one against the other: moreover, diuers other things worthy admiration, whether they succeed by order, or breake forth being moued by their causes; as the Pillars of fire in the night, the flames streaming from the opening Heauen without Thunder and Lightning; the Pillars, Beames, and other diuers inflamed Impressions in the Ayre: Nature disposeth all these things about vs. As touching Gold, Silver and Iron, which by reason of both these hath deprivd vs of peace, shee hath hid them, as if they had bene badly committed vnto vs. But we haue brought them to light, to the end wee might fight for them: wee casting the weighty Earth from off them, haue digged them vp, to be the onely causes and instruments of our dangers. Wee haue trusted our miseries vnto fortune, neyther are we affamed that they are in the greatest estimation with vs, which were most deeply buried in the bosome of the Earth. Wilt thou see how fallacious the brightnesse is, that blemisheth and bewitcheth thine eyes? There is nothing more abiect, nor more obscure then these as long as they are buried in their mould. Why not? when as they are drawne out of the darknesse of the largest & longest Mines, there is nothing more deformed then they are, whilst they are separated from their excrements, and drawne from their veins. Briefly, regard awhile those that trauell in the Mine, by whose hands this sterill & informed kind of Earth is purged, & you shall see how they are befouled with smoke. But these do more defile the minds then the bodies, & ther is more soile in those that possesse the, then in those that refine the. It is necessary therefore to be admonished, & to haue some Counsellor of good vnderstanding, that in so great confusion and tumult of fallities, may truly speak vnto vs: what shall hee speake? Those words and wholsome counsels, which may open our eares, being desired by so many ambitious cries, and say, Thou hast no cause to enuy these whom the people termeth great and happy men. There is no cause that a vaine applause should rause from thee the settled habitude and health of thy soule. There is no reason that this great Lord, so gaily attended and clad in purple, should driue thee fiō the height of thy peace. Thou hast no more cause

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to iudge him more happy, to whom every man giues place, then him whom the Sergeant enforceth to giue way. If thou wilt exercise a power that may be profitable vnto thee, and hurt no man, driue vice from thee. Many there are that set fire on Cities, that leuell huge Fortresses with the ground, which so many hundred yeares were held impregnable, that raise Plat-formes as high as Castles, who by Engines of batterie ouerturn maruailous high wals, who cause Armies to march before them, that neerly pursue their flying Enemies, who couered with the blood of conquered Nations, haue gotten Countries as farre as the bounds of the Ocean; but these hauing defeated their Enemies, haue themselves bin overcome by their owne desires. No man might make head against their armies, no more then they knew how to resist their ambition and cruelties. Euen then when they seemed to pursue others, they were pursued themselves. The cursed desire of spoiling other mens countries afflicted vnhappy Alexander, & sent him to Countries vnkown. Dost thou think him a man of vnderstanding, or in his right wits, who began to ruinate Greece, where first he was brought vp and instructed, & did afterwards pillage all that which every one possessed & esteemed best? Hee imposed a yoke on Sparta, and silence to Athens. And not content with the spoyle of many Cities, (either subdued or bought by Philips his Father,) he scattered them from one place to another, made warre vpon all the World without remitting ought of his wonred cruelty, imitating herein the savage beasts, who bite more then hunger enforceth them to. Furthermore, he ioyned diuers Kingdomes in one, he made himselfe dreadfull to the Greeks and Persians, he subdued the free Nations that were vnder Darius his Dominion; yet would he beyond the Ocean, and the Sunne, being displeased that Hercules and Bacchus Pillars should confine his Victories. Hee addresth himselfe to inforce Nature; he will not march, neyther will he stay in a place, resembling those fardels which are cast from the top to the ground, which cease not to tumble down vntil they fall to the bottom. Neyther did Vertue nor Reason counsell Pompey to enterprize his forreine and ciuill warres, but a disordinate loue of flattering Greatnesse droue him now into Spaine against Sertorius, then to make warre against the Pirats, and to assure the Seas. These were his pretexts to maintayne his authoritie, which drew him into Africa, into the North, into Armenia, and through all the corners of Asia against Mithridates. It was an immeasurable desire of Greatnesse, being in his own opinion not great enough. What thing thrust Caesar vpon his owne and his Countries ruine? Glorie and Ambition, and an immeasurable desire of eminencie about others: for hee could not endure that one should be before him, when as his Common-wealth endured two Masters. Thinkst thou that Marius who was once Consul (for one Consulate hee receiued, the other fixe hee bribed or enforced) was egged on by vertue to hew the Cimbrians and Theutons in pieces, to follow Ingurth thorow the Deserts of Africa, and to expose himselfe to so many perils? Marius conducted the Armie, but Ambition conducted Marius. These men, whilst they shooke all others, were shaken themselves after the manner of Whirle-windes, which before they winde in those things they force vp, are themselves tossed; and therefore turne they with greater furie, because they haue no hold of themselves: by which means these men, after they haue cruelly tormented others, doe feele in themselves this pernicious furie, wherewith they haue offended other men. Thinke not that any man may become happy by another mans misfortune. All these examples propofed both to our eyes and eares, ought to bee remembered, and our hearts full filled

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with quill opinions, ought to be clesed. Where the place is void there must we lodge Vertue, which rooteth out pleasing lyes; which separateth vs from the people (to whom we giue ouer-much credit) and confirmeth vs in sincere and good opinions. For this is wisdom, to be conuerted into Nature, and to be restored thither whence publike error hath expelled vs. It is a great part of health, to haue forsaken the counsellors of folly, and to haue farre-fled from this company of people which corrupt one another. To know that this is true, consider how euery man liueth after one sort in publike, after another in private. Solitude of it selfe, neither teacheth vs simplicitie or innocence; the Country maketh vs not more frugall or temperate, but when there is no bodie that may behold and giue testimonie, vices retyre themselves. For their good lyeth in this to bee beheld and seene. Who would put on a Purple Robe if no man should see him? Who being couched vnder the shadow of some rustic tree, hath mustred all the people by his dissolutenesse to himselfe alone? No man is braue in secret, no not in the presence of two or three of his Familiars, but according to the number and qualitie of those that behold him, maketh he shew of his vanities. So then if any one, either know or admire vs, that is the spur that pricketh on to discouer all these things, on which we are mad and besotted. Take away the shew, thou shalt abolish Couetousnesse. Ambition, Dissolutenesse and Pride will haue themselves seene. Wilt thou recouer them? Hide them. If therefore wee are lodged in the midst of Cities, let vs keepe some good Counsellor about vs: who opposing himselfe against those that praise great Possessions, prizeth a rich man very little, & that measureth his goods by their vse: against those who make reckoning of nothing but credit and humane greatnesse, let him approue and commend that honest repose which the study of good Letters giueth; and let him esteeme nothing so much as a conscience that hath forsaken all transitorie things, to ground himselfe vpon the reall good? Let him shew that all they who are commonly called happy, tremble, and are dismayed in that high degree so much enuyed, and haue a far other opinion of themselves then the people hath. For those things that are raysed, and highly prized in other mens eyes, in their iudgements are slipperie, steepy, and vncertaine. For this cause they are heartlesse and fearefull as often as they looke into this keepe Mountaine of mightinesse, whereupon they are mounted. Then suspect they those things they desired, and their felicitie which hath bene so odious vnto others, is more hateful to themselves: Then praye they a peaceable and retyred life: authoritie is distastefull vnto them, they seeke to be discharged of their prosperitie; then shalt thou see them play the Philosophers for feare, and take good counsell from their aduersitie. For as if prosperitie and a good minde were appointed contraries, we are most wise in our miseries; contrariwise prosperitie bereaueth vs of our iudgement.

EPIST.

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It adhereth or dependeth of the former, and the question is, Whether the Exhortatorie part of Philosophie may alone suffice? Whenas especially he hath shewed so many and so cleere vices thereof. He denyeth, setteth downe, and refelleth the Arguments which are vrged. Therefore he prayseth the Doctrinall part, and sheweth that Precepts flow from that Fountaine, and that life is contained therein. He intermixeth worthy things, and by the way maketh an excursion against Ryot, Lust, and unlawfull affectation of Honours. The whole Epistle is excellent and fruitfull.

THOU requirest me to represent that which I had remitted till another time, and that I should write vnto thee, If that part of Philosophie which consisteth in precepts (which the *Greekes* call *μεγαλην*, we preceptiue) bee sufficient to make a man perfectly wise. I know thou wilt take it in good part, if I deny the same, and for that cause rather doe I renew my promise, and will not suffer that my word so expressly and solemnly engaged should be broken. Hereafter aske me nothing which thou wilt not obtayne, for sometimes wee instantly require that, which wee would refuse if it were offered vnto vs. This, whether it bee lightnesse or familiaritie, is to bee punished with a facilitie of promising: wee seeme to will many things which we would not. A certaine Reciter brought a great History written in a small hand, & straitly fouled, and hauing read ouer a great part thereof: *I will giue ouer* (saith he) *if you will*. To this, it is answered with a loud voyce, *Read on, Read on*, by those who would willingly that hee should presently hold his peace. Oftentimes we will one thing, and with another, and to the Gods themselves wee speake not truth; but the Godseyther heare vs not, or haue mercie vpon vs. But I setting apart all fauour will redeeme my selfe, and will cloy thee with a long Epistle, which if thou reade vnwillingly, say that thou thy selfe art the cause, and number thy selfe amongst those whom a Wife continually tormenteth to get her selfe some new Gowne daily: amongst those that haue no ioy of the goods they haue gotten with great labour: amongst those whom Honour torments, being gotten by all indutrie and labour, and the rest who are partakers of their owne evils. But leauing this Preface, I come to the point. A blessed life (say they) consisteth of iust actions, whereunto we are led by precepts; consequently precepts are sufficient to make the life happy. Yet precepts do not alwayes leade a man to iust actions, but when as the minde is capable and conformable to instructions. Sometimes they are proposed in vaine, to wit, when the vnderstanding is besieged with false opinions. Again, although they doe right, yet know they not that they doe right. For no man can performe that which hee ought euery way, nor vnderstand when he ought to doe a thing, nor how much, nor with whom, nor how, if from the beginning he hath not bene addressed and fashioned exactly in all reason. By meanes whereof he cannot with his whole minde constantly and willingly endeavour vnto Vertue, but shall be doubtfull & looke backe. If an honest action (say they) proceedeth from precepts, precepts shall sufficiently suffice to make the life happy; but the one is true, consequently, therefore so is the other. To these wee answer, that honest actions proceed not onely from precepts and particular instructions, but also from Maximes

and generall rules. If other Arts (saith he) are content with precepts, wisdom also will be contented, which is the art of life, but hee maketh him a plot that instructeth him thus. Seere after this manner, strike sayle after this fashion, take the benefit of a winde thus, resist a contrarie that way, and make vse of such a meane to warrantize thee from a crosse winde. Precepts likewise confirme other sorts of Artifics. Cannot therefore Philosophers teach others to live; cannot they doe the like? All these Arts are employed about the instruments of life, not about the whole life, and therefore many things hinder and let them externally, such as are Hope, Covetousnesse, and Feare. But Wisdom the Mistress of life cannot be hindered by any thing from continuing her exercise, for the present impediments, and tempereth obstacles. Wilt thou know wherein they differ in condition? In Mechanique Arts it is more excusable to sin for want of aduice, then casually, and in wisdom it is a great fault to sinne willingly. That which I say is so. The Grammarian is not alhamed of a Solecisme, if he make it willingly, but he blusheth if he doe it without taking heed. If the Physician foreseeth not that his Patient begins to weare away, hee committeth more error in his art, then if hee perceived the defect, and pretended not to know it. But in the art of good life, more shamefull is their fault, who offend willingly. Adde herunto that the most kind of Arts, yea of them all the most liberrall haue not only their precepts, but decrees, as Physick hath. There is therefore one Sect of Hippocrates, another of Asclepiades, another of Themison. Besides, no contemplatiue Art is without her Decrees, which the Greekes call *Nyphara*, wee precepts: propositions and foundations, which you shall find in Geometry and Astronomie. But Philosophie is both contemplatiue and actiue, she speculateth and setteth hand to the worke. For thou errest, if thou thinkest that the only promisseth terrestriall actions, these aspireth more high. I search (saith he) the whole World, neither contayne I my selfe inclosed in the company of mortall men, to the onely end to perswade or dissuade. Great matters, such as are about your reach call and inuite mee.

*For first I will disclose and let thee know
The secrets of the Heavns and higher Powers,
Whence Nature formes, and whence she makes things grow,
Whence they encrease, and spread their seeds and flowers,
Ile count thee all their Offspring and their ends,
And what in each thing Nature most intends.*

As *Lucretius* saith. It followeth therefore that being contemplatiue, these hath her Decrees. In effect no man shall euer performe that which he ought, but he that hath comprehended the reason whereby in euery thing hee may performe her Decrees in all Offices; which he shall not obserue who hath receiued but meer precepts. Those things that are distributed by parcels are feeble in themselves, and if I may so say, without root. Those are Decrees which defend vs, which maintayne our security and tranquillitie, which comprehend at once all life and all nature. The same difference is there betwene the Decrees and precepts of Philosophie, as there is betwene Letters and whole clauses. The one depend vpon the other, Decrees also are the cause of precepts and of all things. The ancient wisdom, saith he, onely taught nought else, but what was to be done, and to be esteemed. And then were men faire better; after learned men began to flourish, good men were scant. For that simple and open truth

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is changed into an obscure and subtile science, and wee are taught how to dispute, not how to live. Without doubt, that ancient wisdom, as you say, was rude and simple in the beginning; no lesse then other arts which haue been polished by succession of time. But at that time also the present remedies were not necessarie, wickednes was not grown to that height, neither had she spread her selfe so largely euery where; simple remedies were sufficient for simple vices. But now the more strange the mischiefs are which assault vs, the more solide should our resist & defences be. Physick in times past was but the knowledge of a few Simples, whereby a flux of blood might be staied, and wounds by little and little might be healed. Afterwards, these attained to this raritie of medicines: neither is it to be wondered at, that in those daies she had so little to doe, sure then men had more strong bodies, and were contented with easie and simple diet, and not corrupted by art and pleasure. Which diet, as it began to be sought, not to take away, but to prouoke hunger; and a thousand sorts of sauces were inuented, whereby the appetite might be awakened. Those meats which sustained such men as were hungry, are become as many burthens to full bellies. From thence proceeded palenesse, and the trembling of the nerves, being drowned in wine; and a more miserable leuensie caused rather by crudities, then by hunger. From this excelsse hath proceeded the weaknes and stumbling of the feet, and such a kinde of gate as drunken men vse. Thence grew the water betwixt the filme and flesh, thence was the belly distended, whilst it was accustomed to receive more then it could containe. Thence came the black Lindes, the discoloured face, and the consumption of such as rotted inwardly. Thence crooked fingers, by reason of the stiffness of the ioynts, hence the Apoplexie, hence the Palley: Why should I reckon vp the swimming and turning of the head, the torments both of the eyes and eares, and the gnawings of the inflamed brayne; and all the passages of our bodies, whereby we are purged, affected with inward vlcers? Besides an innumerable sort of Feuers, the one violent and sudden, the other long and lingering, the other beginning with much horror and shaking of the members; why should I rip vp other innumerable diseases, the iust plagues of intemperance? Free were they from those evils, who as yet were not weakened by these delicacies, who governed and ministered vnto themselves. They hardened their bodies with industry and true labour, either wearied with running, or hunting, or plowing of their lands; & their meat was such as could not please any but such as were hungry. There was therefore no need of so great a multitude of Physicians, neither of so many instruments and boxes. Their health being entertained by a simple cause, was simple also: Many dishes haue bred many sicknesses. Behold how many things gormandize the ruine both of Land and Sea, intermixeth together, to the end they might afterwards be swallowed by one greedy gullet! It cannot be, but that things so diuers should strine one with another, and after they are swallowed downe, should hardly be digested, by reason that the one is a hinderance to the other. It is no maruell, if of meats so different, such confused and violent sicknesses are engendered, nor that the humors being driven by contrary passages, should redound as they doe. See here the cause why we haue so many different sorts of sicknesses, as of meats. The greatest of the Physicians, and the Founder of the Science, saith, that women are neither bauld nor sicke of the growt, yet they at this day are both destitute of haire, and lame in their feet. The nature of women is not changed, but the life. For whereas they haue equalled men in their licentiousnes, they haue likewise had an equal part

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in their maladies. They watch no lesse, they drinke no lesse, and challenge their husbands in bathing and drunkenness. Both the one and the other haueing, as it were, by force filled their panches, yeeld it vp again by their mouths, and in vomiting returne backe againe all the wine they haue swallowed. The women as well as the men gnaw vpon the Ice to coole their ouer-hot stomachs. But in lust they surpass the males, being borne to suffer. The gods and goddesses confound them, who haue peruerced the order of habitation both with male and female. Wonder not therefore, though the greatest amongst Physitians and Naturalists was deceived in this, that at this time there are so many bauld and gowty women. By excess they haue lost the benefit of their sex, and because they haue shaken off the habit of women, they are condemned to endure the sicknesses of men. The ancient Physitians knew not what it was to prescribe their patients to feed often, and to replenish their vaines that were emptied, with wine: they knew neither how to cup nor to scarifie, nor to bathe and sweat those that had been long time sicke; they knew not how by binding the legs and armes, to reuke the hidden heat to the outward parts, which was stayed in the center. There was no need to looke about for many kinds of remedies, when as there were but few sorts of sicknesses. But now to what number and height are infirmities growne? This is the vsury which we pay for so much pleasure as we haue wrongfully and inordinately desired. Maruellest thou to see so many sicknesses? Number me the Cookes. All studie is giuen ouer. The professors of liberall sciences are without auditors, their sieges void, and their schollers gone. Solitude dwelleth in the Schooles of Rhetoricians, and Philosophers. Contrariwise, how many famous Kitchens are there: how many yong men fill vp the fires of such as are prodigall and dissolute? I speake not of the troupes of poore yong children, who at the shutting vp of a feast attend to suffer other villanie in the Chambers. I ouerslip the troupes of those that haue bene abused contrarie to Nature, distinguished by Nations and colours, so as on the one side, all they of the same height are raunged, and they whose beards begin to bud, and such as are haired alike, to the end that he who hath the straight and long haire, should not bee mixed amongst those that are curled. I ouerpasse the troopes of Passlers, and attendants who serue in supper when the signe is giuen them. Good God, how many men are busied about one belly! Thinkest thou that these mushrooms, a sort of pleasant poison, although they hurt not vpon the present, doe not secretly worke and wrong at last? I thinkest thou that this snow, which they vse to refresh and coole themselves with in Sommer, hardeneth not their Liuers, and the vsauoury meat of Oysters that are fattened with mud, engender they not viscous and clammy humors? Belieuest thou not that the sauce which is composed of Mackerels and other sort of Fish that costs so deere, doth not with his drying saltnesse burne the entrails? Iudgest thou that these rotten iuyces which are swallowed downe hote, can without harme be digested in the stomacke? How filthy and pestilent belches? what loathing of themselves, whilest they digest their old furses? Know thou, that whatsoever they take rotteth, but diggesth not. I remember that in times past *Æsop's* dish was much spoken of, wherein this sweet-lipped fellow running vnto his owne ruin, gathered all that was either rare or daintie from the tables of great men: there were diuers sorts of shel fish handsomly chewed and ready to swallow, atwart whereof were enlaced Creuises, and aboue them dressed Barbels, cut in pieces and ferred from their finnes and bones. It loatheth them to feed on euerie dish apart;

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all sauces are mixt in one, and at supper-time that is done, that should be done after collation time. Now must I expect to haue the minced meats serued in so small, as if they had bene chewed. What difference is there betwene taking away the scales and bones, or to haue a Cooke to execute the office of our teeth? It is too tedious a thing to disguise all sorts of meats; for once we must make a hochpot: why should I put any hand into a dish that had but one kind of daintie? Let me haue many come together. Let the ornaments of many dishes be vnited and ioyned together. Let them forthwith know, who say that this prodigality at mens Tables is done to make them to be talked of and esteemed, that these are not publique, but excesses done in secret. Let those things that were wont to be seuerally dressed, be serued in, in one broth. It is all one, as if Oysters, and Sea-crabs, Muskels and Mulletts be mixed together. The meat of those that vomit should not be more confused. But as these meats and sauces are confounded the one with the other; so likewise of such confused excesses, diuers compounded, inexplicable, different, and manifold sicknesses doe arise, against which Physique hath begun to arme her selfe with many remedies and obseruations. The same say I of Philosophie; it was in times past more simple, amongst those whose finnes were not so enormous, but more easie and slight to be cured. Against so great corruption of manners all things are to be attempted. And would to God this plague at last might be so overcome: we play the mad-men, not only in priuate but in publique: Doe we repress priuate murders? What shall I say of warres and the glorious sinne of destroyed countries? Neyther auarice nor cruelty knew any measure; and these things as long as they are done by stealth, and by priuate men are lesse hurtfull and monstrous. By the ordinances of the Senate, and Edicts of the people, those hainous offences which are condemned in priuate men, are permitted vnto all, and committed in sight of euery man. We praise a publique crime, which we would punish with death had it been committed secretly. Are not men alhamed, that by nature are the mildest, to take pleasure in shedding their neighbours blood, to make warre, and leaue this exercise to their children? whereas euen the dumbe and sauage beasts haue peace amongst themselves. Against so potent and generall a fury, Philosophy was made more effectually, and assumed so much power vnto her selfe, as they had gathered against whom she is addressed. It was an easie matter to chide and reprove those that were giuen ouer to Wine, and besotted with delicacy and dainties; for there needed no great force to reduce the minde to frugality, from whence by little and little she had reuolted.

*Now neede we worke by force and violence,
And then by Art and great experience.*

Pleasure is sought for on euery side. No vice containeth it selfe in it selfe. Dissolution runs headlong into auarice, honesty is forgotten: there is nothing filthy if it be prised or pleasing. A man, a sacred thing; a man is now murdered in iest. And whereas it was impiety to teach a man to giue and receiue wounds, now expose we him in publique both naked and disarmed, supposing that his death would be a pleasing spectacle to content an assembly. So then in this peruerfite and corruption of manners, there needeth some medicine more cager then was accustomed, to dissipate these inueterate evils. We must propose *Maxims* & rules, that the perswasion of fallities too greatly entertained, may

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be wholly extinguished. To these if we annex precepts, consolations, exhortations, they may preuaile, being scarce powerfull enough of themselves. If we will let them free that are bound, and draw them from those evils wherewith they are now entangled, let them learne what euill is, and what good is. Let them know that all things change their name but onely vertue, and now become euill, and now good. As the first bond of a Souldier, is to remember himselfe of the oath he hath taken, to loue his ensigne and *Rendez vous*; and to resolue himselfe neuer to forsake the same: so that after this, all the rest are easily commanded and obtained at his hands who hath solemnly obliged his faith: so also, must thou lay the first foundations in those whom thou pretendest to conduēt vnto happy life, and to plant vertue in their hearts. Let them be seized with a zealous superstition thereof, let them loue her, let them desire to liue with her, not to liue without her. What then? Are there not some that without any subtil insinuation, haue become honest, and haue attained to great perfection, whilst they onely submitted themselves to bare precepts? I confesse no lesse. But they had a happie and apprehending spirit, which in a moment apprehended that which is proper for his instruction. For euen as the immortall gods haue learned no vertue, whereas by being and nature they are all good; so some of noble nature comprehend those things which are taught them, and as soone as vertue is shewed vnto them, they embrace her. Whence grew these mindes so greedily catching after vertue, and so fruitfull of themselves? But from those that are dull and hard of vnderstanding, or are long time besieged with euill customes, the rust of their mindes must be rubbed off. Euen as we easily draw those vnto perfection, who are inclined to good; so on the other side, the meanes to redresse the feeble, and to dispossesse them of their euill opinions, is to propole vnto them the rules and *Maximes* of Philosophie, which are marueilous necessarie, as thou shalt perceiue by that which ensueth. We haue certaine inclinations which make vs heaue in some affaires, and light and rash in others: neyther may this rashnesse be repressed, nor that slownesse awakened, except their causes be cut off, such as are false admiration and feined feare. As long as these haue vs in their possession, thou mayest say, This must thou doe for thy father, this for thy children, this for thy friends, this for thy guests; but auarice will restraine him that would attempt so good a course. He shall know that he ought to fight for his country, but feare shall dissuade him. He shall know that he must labour for his friends to the vttermost, but pleasures shall withdraw him. He shall know that it is a most hainous kind of iniurie towards a wife to entertaine a harlot, yet shall lust compell him to the contrary. It will therefore profite nothing to giue precepts, except thou first take away all things that are contrary to them: no more then it will profite to haue laid weapons in sight, and to haue set them neerer, except his hands be vnbound that vseth them. To giue a meanes vnto the minde to apprehend the precepts which we giue, we must giue it libertie. Let vs suppose that a man doth that which he ought not; he will not doe it continually, he will not doe it equally, for he knoweth not wherefore he doth it. By aduenture or by custome some things will goe well, but a man shall not haue a rule in hand, to know the same whereunto he may trust that they are rightly done, which he hath done. He will not promise to continue good that is casually good. Againe, precepts may haply instruct thee to doe that which thou oughtest, but not in that sort as thou oughtest; and if they performe not this, they bring thee not to vertue. He shall doe that which he is aduised to do:

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I grant it. But that is little, because the praise consisteth not in the deed, but in the manner how it is done. What is more odious then a sumptuous Supper, whereupon a man spendeth a Knights liuing? What is more worthy of censure then if a man (as these gluttons say) bestow this vpon himselfe and his *Genius*? and yet haue there beene some persons, both very sober and temperate, that in such extraordinary banquets haue spent the summe of fteentie hie thousand crownes. If for gormandise sake a man lauisheth in this expence, it is hateful; if it be to honor any great and noble assembly, it may be borne withall, for it is no excess, but a solemne expence. The Emperour *Tiberius* hauing received a Barbell of a wonderfull greyness: (shall I set downe the weight to awake gourmands?) for it is said that it weighed more then foure pounds and a halfe) commanded it to be carried to the market and sold, saying to those that kept him company at that time; *My friends, I am much deceived, but either Apicius, or P. OCTAVIUS will buy this Barbell.* But there fell out farre more then he expected, for they set the Barbell to becried, and it was sold to him that offered most. *Ostianus* bare it away, and was highly prised amongst his adherents, because he had bought a Barbell which the Emperour had sold, and *Apicius* could not buy it for two hundred crowns, or thereabouts. It was a shame for *Ostianus* to disburse so much money, not for him that bought it to lend it to *Tiberius*, although I would not excuse him. He admired the thing which he thought *Cæsar* worthie of. A man sits by his friend that is sicke: I allow it; but if he do it in hope to be his heire, he is a Vulture, he expecteth carrion. The same things are both honest and dishonest: but it importeth to know wherefore, or how. But all things will be done honestly, if we addicte our selues therunto, and iudge it with the dependances thereof, to be the onely good of humane life, the rest are good but for a short time. We must therefore imprint in our heart a lesson that extendeth it selfe to the whole life: this is that which I call a decree. Such as this perswasion is, such shall those things be which shall be eyther done or thought. And such as these shall be, such shall be the life. It is but a small matter for him that would rule the whole, to giue counsaile that it should be distributed into parts. *M. EVRIPUS* in his booke he intituled *de rebus*, giueth many precepts both to father and mother, children and brothers, which no man shall performe as he ought, except he haue some rule whereunto he may haue relation. Let vs propole vnto our selues a scope or soueraigne good, at which we ayme, & to which we adresse all our thoughts and life, as the mariners ought to shape their course vnder the aspect of some certaine Starre. Life without a limit is extrauagant: if this limit must be propoled, the rules that shew vs the same, begin to be necessarie. Thou wilt confesse this, as I suppose, that there is nothing more shamefull, then to see a man that is doubtfull, irresolute, fearefull, that now sets forward, and then slides backward. This will befall vs in all things, if we doe not rent away that which imprisoneth and restraineth our vnderstandings, & that hindereth them from stirring at their pleasure. It is a vial thing to teach the maner how to serue the gods. We forbid men to light lamps on the Sabbath dayes, because the Gods haue no want of light, and men take no pleasure in smoke. We forbid men from doing their reuerences and salutations in the morning, and permit no man to sit at the Temple gates; for humane ambition is baited and caught by these offices. He that knoweth God, serueth and honoureth him. We forbid men to bring sheets & bathing-combs to *Iupiter*, or to hold a glasse before *Iuno*. God seeketh no Ministers. Why not? He ministreth to mankind. Each where is he readie and adressed to helpe all men.

men. Although he heare, how he ought to behaue himselfe in sacrifices, and estrange himselfe from curious and troublefome superstitions; yet would all this be nothing to his perfection, except he haue conceiued in his vnderstanding a God, such as he ought to apprehend him, namely, such an one as hath all things, that giueeth all things, and bestoweth his benefits *gratia*. But who inciteth the gods to doe all these goods for men? Their nature. He erreth, whoeuer thinketh that they will doe hurt. They cannot, neither can they receiue or doe iniurie. For to hurt, and to be hurt, are things conioynt, and haue relation the one vnto the other. That foueraigne and faire Nature aboue all hath exempted those men from dangers, which are not dangerous. Moreover, the first seruice due vnto the gods, is to beleue that they are; next, to acknowledge their maiestie and bountie, without which their maiestie were nothing. To know that they are those that gouerne the world, who temper all things as their owne, who haue all men vnder their protection, and are sometimes curious of priuate men. These neyther doe, nor suffer euill, although they chastise, repress, and afflict, and punish likewise some men at sometime, vnder appearance of euill. Wilt thou haue the gods fauourable vnto thee? Be a good man. He honoreth them sufficiently that imitateth them. Here followeth another question, how we ought to vse and serue men. What doe we? What precepts giue we? To shed no humane blood? How small a matter is it not to hurt him, whom thou oughtest to profit? Truly it is worthie much praye for one man to be kind vnto another. Shall we command him to succour the shipwrecked, to bring the wanderer into his way, to diuide his bread with the hungry? What need I to specifie all that which it behoueth him to doe or flie, when as in three words I will propose a forme of humane offices? All this world, in which all diuine and humane things are inclosed, is but one: we are the members and parcells of this great bodie. Nature hath created vs akin, in forming vs of the same Elements, and in the same enclosure. Shee hath planted mutuall loue in our hearts, and made vs sociable. She it is that hath composed iustice and equitie, and by her ordinance it is a more miserable thing to offer, then to suffer iniurie. By her command are his hands addressed, that helpeth and comforteth another. Let vs haue this Verse in our hearts, and in our mouthes:

*I am a Man, and thinke this true to bee,
That nothing humane is estranged from mee.*

Let vs possesse this common good, that we are born. Human society resembleth a vault of stone, which would fall except the stones resisted one another; so that by this meanes it is sustained. After gods and men, let vs behold how we ought to vse these things: vnprofitable should our Precepts be, if first of all we knew not what opinion we ought to haue of euery thing, as of pouerty, riches, glory, ignominie, our Country and banishment. Let vs esteeme euerie one of them without respect of common apprehension, and let vs examine what they be, not what they are called. Let vs passe ouer to vertues. Some one would require that we should prize prudence, that we should respect valour, that we should loue temperance, and that (if it might be) we should ioyne our selues vnto iustice more strictly, then vnto the rest. But this would be to no purpose, if we be ignorant what vertue is, whether there be one or many, if they be separated or vnited; if he that possesseth one of them hath all, and how the one differeth from

from the other. It is not needfull now for a Smith to enquire what the beginning and vse of his Art is, nor for a letter to examine what the art of dancing is. All these occupations know themselves, they want nothing, because they appertaine not to the whole life. But Vertue is the science both of others and of her selfe; we must learne of her, to the end we may vnderstand what we ought to will. If she will be not good, the action which proceedeth from the same shall neuer be. Furthermore, the will shall be peruerse, if the habitude of the spirit be not vpriight, because that from that the will hath his being; and this habit of mind shall not be in the best state, if it comprehendeth not all the rules of life (considering the iudgement which a man ought to haue of euerie thing) and shut them all within the circle of truth. The contentment of the spirit is a good that befalleth no man, except those that are endowed with a certayne and vnmoueable iudgement. The rest of men slip, fall, and sometimes or other rise againe, and doe but float betwixt that which they haue omitted, and that which they desired. The cause of this tossing and shaking is, because hauing builded vpon common report, which is a wondrous and vncertain manner of liuing, they are assured and confident in nothing. If thou wilt alwaies haue the same will, thou must will those things that are true. There is no way to attaine truth without Maximes; for they containe life, good and euill, honest and dishonest things, iust and vniust, pious and impious, vertue and the vses of vertue, the possession of things commodious, exaltation and dignity, health, force, forme, and sagacitie of the senses; all these require such a one as can iudge of them, and knoweth at what price they ought to be taxed. For thou abusest thy selfe, and thinkest that some things are of greater value then they be; and the more art thou deceived, in prising riches, credit, and power, (as many other of thy ranke doe) which are not to be accounted worth any thing. Thou shalt not know this, if thou respectest not rule, whereby these things are estimated amongst themselves. Euen as leaues cannot flourish by themselves, but require a bough whereunto they may cleaue, and from whence they may draw iuyce and nourishment: so these precepts decay and vanish, if they be alone, they must be affixed and grounded vpon Maximes. Besides, they vnderstand not who take away decrees, that they are confirmed by that verie meanes, whereby they are extinguished? For what say they? That life is sufficiently addressed by precepts: and that the decrees and principall rules of wisdom are superfluous. But this which they say is a Decree as true, as if I should now say that we ought to giue ouer precepts, and onely rely vpon Maximes; in denying the vse of precepts, I should recommend the same by this precept of mine. Some things there are that content themselves with a simple admonition of Philosophie, other some that would be proued: and some there are, that are so confused, that hardly and without great search a man cannot vnderstand their true sence: if proofes be necessarie, so are decrees likewise, which gather the truth by arguments. Some matters are easie, other some are obscure. Those are easie and open, which are comprehended by sence and memorie, and those obscure which are not subiect thereunto. But Reason contenteth not her selfe with things that are manifest. The greatest and most beautifull part thereof, is grounded on that which is hidden. Those things that are hidden require proofe, proofe is not without decrees; decrees therefore are necessarie. The perswasion and apprehension of certaine things, without which all our thoughts are vncertaine and without stay, is that which perfecteth the common sence, and maketh it accomplished. Whence it followeth that decrees are

necessarie, which giue vnto the mind an inflexible iudgement. In briebe, when we exhort any man to esteeme his friend as much as himselfe, let him thinke that his enemy may be made his friends, and let him encrease more and more the friendship he beareth vnto the one, and moderate his hatred towards the other; we adde therunto, that it is iust and honest. But this honestie and equitie is comprised in the reason of our decrees or rules. It is therefore necessarie, without the which the other cannot be. But let vs ioine the generall rules and precepts together, for both without the roote the boughs are vnprofitable, and the rootes themselves are ayded by those branches they haue produced. No man can be ignorant what profit the hands haue in them, for they manifestly helpe. That heart whereby the hands liue, from whence they take their forces, by which they are moued, lyeth hidden. The same can I say of precepts; they are open, but the decrees of wisdom are hidden. As there are none but such as professe, that know the mysteries of sacred things: so likewise in Philosophie, the secrets of the same are not discovered, but to such persons as are admitted and received into her Sanctuarie: but precepts and such other institutions are knowne euen vnto those who are prophane. *Posidonius* iudgeth, that not onely instruction (for nothing prohibiteth vs to vse this word) but also perswasion, consolation, and exhortation are necessarie. To these he addeth the inquisition of causes, which why should we not be bold to call *Ætiologic*, as well as the Grammarians, who in their owne right terme themselves the maintainers and keepers of the Latine tongue, I see no cause. He saith, that the description of euery vertue will be necessarie. This doth *Posidonius* call *Ætiologia*, the Grecians *αἰτιολογία*, which expresseth the signes and notes of euery vertue and vice, whereby those things that are alike may be discerned the one fro the other. This hath the same force as the proposition of precepts. For he that giueth precepts, saith, Thou shalt doe thus, if thou wilt be temperate. He who describeth, saith, The temperate man is he that doth these things, and abstaineth from those. Askest thou me what the difference is? The one giueth precepts of vertue, the other example. I confesse that these descriptions, and to vse the words of the Publicans, *σημειώσεις*, that is to say, marks, proceed from vse. Let vs propose laudable things, and we shall find such as will follow them. Thinkest thou that it is profitable to haue instructions giuen thee how to know a generous horse, lest thou be deceived, and thou buy a sluggish and a lade? How much more profitable is this, to know the markes of an excellent minde, whereby thou mayest be able to apply them to thy selfe?

Virg. 3. Georg.

The goodly Colt bred from a noble race,
Begins to grow amidst the spacious Fields,
And proudly o'er Hill and Dale doth pace,
His force vnto no threatening torrent yields:
The Seas unknowne he swimmes, and neuer fears
The threatening Brookes: his force and courage proud,
To further kindes encrease is daily bent,
No sooner tempts his eare the Trumpet loud,
Or clattering armes some future warre present:
But straight he startles, beating of the ground
With hornie Hoofe, his Eares are prickt upright,
He shakes his ioints, he doth cornet and bound,
He snorts and puffs, with some his bit is white.

Our

Our *Virgil*, vnder the similitude of a Horse, describeth a man of great minde. For mine owne part, I would not giue any other portraiture of a great personage. If I should represent *Cato* dreadlesse, and assured amongst the noices of ciuill warres, being the first that charged and skirmished with the companies alreadie approaching the Alpes, and running before the ruine of the Common-weale, I would assigne him no other countenance, no other habit. Truly no man could engage himselfe further then he, who at one time made head against *Cesar* and *Pompey*, and defied them both, and shewed that the Common-weale had some partakers. For it is a small matter to say of *Cato*,

Nor rumors false doe him affright.

Why? because he cared not for euident and true conspiracies. Did he not in despite of ten Legions entertained and mulstered from France, and from other forren troupes, intermixed with the Romans, speake freely, and exhort his citizens to maintaine their libertie, and to trye all means, yea to hazard death it selfe, rather then to lose their libertie; it being more honest for them to fall into seruitude by constraint, then by their owne wills to go vnto it? How great vigor and spirit was there in him, what confidence when the rest of the Common-weale was confused? He knoweth that the question is not of his estate; that it concerneth not him, that the question is not whether *Cato* be free, but whether he be amongst free men. Thence groweth it that he disdaineth dangers and drawne swords. In admiration of the inuincible constancie of this person, confirmed in his constancie amidst the ruines of his Country, I will say in imitation of *Virgil*, that *Cato* had

A mightie minde, high, stout, and generous.

It shall doe well, not onely to expresse who they are, that haue beene accustomed to be good men, and to represent some counterfeit of them, but also to recount and particularly set downe that last and valourous wound of *Cato*, through the which libertie it selfe lost her life. Likewise the wisdom of *Lalio*, and the good accord betwixt him & his friend *Scipio*; the braue actions both publike & particular of *Marcus Cato*, surnamed *Censor*; the Couches of *Tubero* made of plaine wood, set in open view, couered with Goats skines, and the vessels of earth wherein they were serued at the Table, who banquetted before the Chappell of *Iupiter*: What other thing was this, but to consecrate poertie before the Capitol? Had I no other action of *Tuberos*, but this, to ranke him in the number of the *Catoes*; thinke you this to be a small matter? This was no banquet, but a Censure. O how little know these ambitious men what this censure is, and how it ought to be desired? In that day the Roman people beheld many rich and sumptuous moueables, but admired none but the utensils of this one man. All their gold and siluer hath beene broken and melted a thousand times, but *Tuberos* vessels of earth shall endure for euer.

N n 2

EPIST.

EPIST. XCVI.

Against complainers, and that all things should come from Fate, and God. Why therefore are wee displeased? Let vs obey them, or rather assent vnto them.

Hence proceed these despites and plaints? Knowest thou not that in all the euils of this life, there is but one euill, which is when thou art displeased, and complainest? If thou aske mine aduice, I thinke there is not any miserie in a man, except he thinke that there is something miserable in the nature of things. I endure not my selfe that day wherein I can suffer nothing. Am I sicke? It is a part of my destinie. Is my Familie afflicted with infirmities? Doth vsurie offend mee, my house cracke ouer mee? Am I assaulted by dangers, wounds, trauailes, and feares? This happeneth ordinarily, this is a small matter, this should be done, these are not casual, they are decreed. If thou thinke mee to be a true man, when I discover freely vnto thee what I thinke, know that in all accidents which seeme aduerser and hard, I am so formed. I obey not God forcibly, but freely, I follow him with a free heart, and not enforced. Nothing shall euer befall me, that I will entertaine sorrowfully, or with sadde countenance, I will pay no tribute vnwillingly. All those things which wee grieve at, for which we feare, are the tribute of life: Neyther hope thou (my *Lucilius*) neyther demanda thou an exemption or immunitie. A payne of the bladder hath tormented thee. This banquet hath little pleasure in it; these are continuall passions. I will come more neerer, thou hast beene put in feare of thy life. But knowest thou not that in desiring to be olde, thou desirest such incommidities as are ordinarie in a long life; as in a long way we finde dust, dyrt, and raine? But I would liue, and feele no discommoditie, whatsoeuer. So effeminate a speech becommeth not a man. Consider how thou wilt entertaine this vow of mine, which I protest with a great and generous minde, neuer let the gods and goddesses permit, that prosperitie make thee a wanton. Aske thy selfe, if (by permission of any god) thou mightest haue thy choyce, which of these two thou wouldest accept of, eyther to liue in a Shambles, or in an Armie. But our life (my *Lucilius*) is but a warfare. They therefore who are tossed, that mount and descend from rocks and high places, that execute dangerous Commissions, ought to be reputed valiant men, and chieft in the Armie. But they, who whilest their companions trauaile, repose themselves at their; pleasures in all delights, are effeminate and nothing worthy, who liue at pleasure to doe wrong vnto other men, and to meet with it themselves one day.

EPIST.

EPIST. XCVII.

That both now and in times past were euill men: he deduceth example from the iudgements of *CLODIVS*, which he corrupted by bribes and adulteries. After this, of the force of conscience, and that by her offences are condemned, and also punished by an internall whip and gnaw.

Thou abusest thy selfe, my *Lucilius*, if thou thinkest that dissolute-
ness, and neglect of good manners, and other vices which euery
man reprobeth in the age wherein he liueth, are the imperfections
of our age. It is not the time but the men that are to be blamed
for this. No age hath been free from vice; and if thou beginnest
to estimate the liberty and loosenesse of euery time, I am ashamed to say it, ne-
uer did the world offend more openly then before *Cato*. Can any man beleue,
that mony was stirring in that iudgement, wherein *Clodius* was accused for that
adultery which he had secretly committed with *Cæsars* wife, violating the cere-
monies of that sacrifice, which was saide to be made for the people, from the
sight whereof all men are so much exempted (for onely women are admitted to
attend the same) that the verie pictures of male Beasts were covered likewise?
But mony was giuen to the Iudges, and (that which is more villanous then all
therest) there were some that exacted in way of salarie, the licence to violate
Matrons and yong Noblemen. More sinne was there committed in absolving
then acting the crime. He that was guilty of adultery, diuided adulteries; ney-
ther was he secured of his life, before such time, as he had made his Iudges like
vnto himselfe. These things were done in that iudgement, wherein *Cato* (if
nought else) gaue in testimonie in the cause: I will set downe *Ciceroes* very
words, because the thing exceedeth all beleefe; *He sents for those persons that*
were required at his hands, he promised, he intreated, he gaue. But now, O good
Gods, what wickednesse? Some of the Iudges in ouerplus of their paines, lay with
and passed the night with certaine women, and yong Noblemen that were brought
vnto them. I haue no minde to enquire how much mony they received. There
was more in that which succeeded. Wilt thou haue the wife of that seuerer
*felow *Cato*? or of such an one as is rich, that is to say, *Crassus*? thou shalt lie with*
her. When thou hast committed the adultery, condemne the crime. That faire
lasse which thou desirest shall come vnto thee: I promise thee that she shall ac-
company thee this night, neither wil I delay thee; I wil perform my word within
four & twenty houres. It is more to distribute adulteries, then to comit them.
That is to giue summons to all the matrons, this to delude them. These Iudges
*of *Clodius* required a guard at the Senates hands, whereof they had no neede*
except in condemning the faulty, yet was it granted vnto the. By means wher-
*of, after that they had absolved *Clodius* they were wittily scoffed at by *CATV-**
**LVs*; To what intent, said he, required you a guard at our hands? Was it for feare lest*
your money should be taken from you? Yet amidst all these iells, and before the
sentence was giuen, the Adulterer remained vnpunished: during the proceesse
this bawde maintained himselfe, committing (to the end he might warrantize
himselfe from punishment) a more greater wickednesse then the former, for
which he should haue beene condemned. Beleueest thou that any age was
more corrupted then that, wherein lust could neyther be repressed by pietie,
nor by iustice? vnder which in the extraordinary inquirie made by decrees of

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the Senate, there was more great villanie committed, then that which was then in question. The inquiry was, whether after an adulterie any man might liue securely in Rome? And it appeared that he could not be secure without adultery. This was done between *Pompey* and *Cesar*, *Cicero* and *Cato*; that *Cato*, I meane, who sitting by to behold the games, the common people durst not demand that the common Iports called *Florales* should be giuen them, wherein common and naked trumpets were publicly presented. Thinkest thou that men haue beene more seuer to behold, then to giue sentence? Such excesses haue and will be committed, and the libertie and licentiousnesse of Cities (neuer by it selfe) but by good lawes and sharpe punishments shall be extinguisht. Thou art not therefore to beleue that in these dayes onely, the lawes haue little credit, and licentiousnesse much. The yonger sort in this time are not so disordered as in times past, when he that was guilty denied the adultery before the Iudges, & the Iudges cōfessed their own before him that was faulty; when as in regard of the cause that was to be adiudged, whoredomes and villanies were committed: when *Clodius* being wel befriended for those Palliardises that made him guiltie, in stead of allegations, furnished them with Harlots to iustifie for him. Can any man beleue this? He that was condemned in one adultery was absolved by many. Every time will afford vs such as *Clodius*, but not such as *Cato*. All of vs are pliable to the worst, because therein we shal neither want a guide or companion; and were it we should faile them, the matter of it selfe goeth ouer-forward without companion: the way vnto vices is not onely readie but headlong. But the greatest euil that I see, and that maketh men vnurable is, that Artsmen and such as are learned are ashamed if they happen to erre in the exercise of their Arts & professions, where contrariwise a wicked man taketh pleasure in his sinnes. The Pilot reioyceth not if his Ship be ouerturned, the phyitian is sad if his patient die, the orator is pensiu if for want of good pleading his clyent lose the cause; but contrariwise, all men take pleasure in their sinnes. This man reioyceth in his Adulterie, especially when he hath compassed the same with great labour: another taketh pleasure in his deceit and theft: it is not the sin that displeaseth him, but the punishment he hath had for committing it. See here the fruit of euill custome: Otherwise, to let thee know, that in consciences (yea, even those that are most corrupted) there remaineth some sense of goodnes, and that shame consisteth not in the concealing, but the neglect of those that doe euill; there is not one that dissembleth and conereth it not: and if he chance to obtayne that which he pretendeth, yet would he not be called a whoremonger or thiefe, although he had both committed Adulterie and Theft. But a good conscience will appeare and be seene. Wickednesse is afraid of darkenesse it selfe. In my minde therefore *Epicurus* hath spoken very fitly: *A man that is guilty may hide himselfe, but he cannot beleue that he is hidden.* Or if thou thinkest that this sence may be better explicated by these meanes; *It therefore profiteth not those that sin to lie hidden: for although they haue the meanes to hide themselves, yet haue they no assurance.* So it is, iniquities may be concealed, but not assured. I suppose that this is not repugnant to our sect if it be thus explicated. Why? Because the first and greatest punishment of wicked men, is that they haue committed wickednesse; neyther is there any hainous crime, though neuer so much bolstered out by humane prosperitie or countenanced and defended by fortune, that remains unpunished, because the punishment of wickednesse is in the wickednesse it selfe. Meane while, she and her punishment are seconded and attended by another chastisement,

ment, that is to say, with affright and continuall feare, accompanied with a distrust of her owne securitie. Why should I deliuer impietie from this punishment? Why should I not leaue her alwayes in suspense. Let vs dissent from *Epicurus* in this, where he saith nothing is iust by Nature, and that crimes are to be auoyded, because the feare may not be eschued. Herein let vs agree with him, that an euill Conscience scourgeth these hainous faults, and that there is a terrible torture, being pressed and beaten continually with perpetuall care, because she cannot put trust in those that would make her beleue that shee is in repose. For this is the Argument of *Epicurus*, that by Nature wee abhorre from wickednesse, because there is no man how much soeuer he be secured that feareth not. Fortune deliuereth many men from punishment, no man from feare. Why? because there is a certaine hatred infixt in our hearts against that thing which Nature condemneth. And therefore it is why those who hide themselves are neuer assured in their lurking places, because their Conscience reprooueth them, and discloseth themselves to themselves. But the propertie of such as are guiltie, is to tremble. It would be ill for vs, because that diuers enormities escape the Law and Magistrate, and the written punishments, if these naturall and grieuous punishments did not instantly pay the wicked, and if feare had not taken place and succeeded Repentance.

EPIST. XCVIII.

That we ought onely to trust internall goods, and that the rest come and goe. That this is to be meditated vpon, and that all things ought to be considered and esteemed as transitorie. The minde therefore is to be prepared to the losse of such things, and to be confirmed in patience. Why not? Other men haue suffered the like. Follow thou their Example, nay more, bee thou the Example of thy selfe. Assuredly this is one amongst his good and profitable Epistles.

Neuer beleue thou that any man is happy, whose felicity is in suspense. He buildeth vpon vncertainties, that reioyceth in casualties; for the ioy that hath entred will quickly flect away. But that which proceedeth from it selfe is both faithfull and firme, and increaseth, and profecuteth euen vnto the end. The rest, which the common sort admire, are good for a time. What then? May not they serue and giue pleasure? Who denyeth it? But so as they depend on vs, not we on them. All whatsoeuer Fortune beholdeth, becometh fruitful and pleasant in this sort, if he that possesseth them bee Master of himselfe likewise, and is not subiect to that which bee hath. For they are deceived, my *Lucilius*, that thinke that Fortune giueth vs cyther any thing that is good or euill. Shee giueth vs the matter of goods and euils, and the beginnings of things, which shall eyther haue a happy or vnhappy issue with vs. For the minde is stronger then any Fortune; he conducteth his affaires, cyther right or wrong, he is himselfe the cause of his contented or miserable life. An euill man conuerteth all things to the worst, yea, euen those things which happen with appearance of great good. An vpriight and good Conscience correcteth the infirmities of Fortune, and mollifieth those things which are hard and vnward by her knowledge how to suffer, and the same man most gratefully and modestly entertayneth prosperity, and constantly and courageously aduersity, who although

though he be prudent, although he doth all things with an exact iudgement, although he attempt nothing about his strength, yet that entire good which is settled and exempted from the threats of Fortune doth not befall him, except he be assured against whatfoever is vncertain. Whether it be thou wilt observe others (for the iudgement is most free in other mens affaires) or whether leauing partialitie apart, thou wilt behold thy selfe, thou shalt both thinke and coniecture this, that no one of these goods which are desired and pryzed is profitable, except thou arme thy selfe against lightnesse, and those things that depend on casualtie, except that oft and without complaint thou speake thus in every one of thy losses: *It is the pleasure of the Gods that it should goe otherwise.* Or rather that I may report a speech more strong and iust, whereby thy minde may bee more enabled, say thus when as any thing hath falne out otherwise then thou thoughtest: *The Gods send better.* Being thus composed, nothing shall be casual: and so shall he be composed, if he shall but imagine what the varietie of humane affaires may be, before he feele them: if he so possesse his children, his Wife and Patrimonie, as if hee should not alwayes haue them, and as if hee should not bee more miserable for this cause, if hee should bee forced to lose them. Wretched is that minde that is tormented with that which is to succeed, and before miseries is hee miserable who is carefull, that those things wherein he taketh delight should continue with him to his end: for he shall neuer be in quiet, and in expectation of the future; he shall lose the present which he might enjoy. But the griefe of the thing that is lost, and the feare of that which is to be lost, are both equall. Neyther therefore doe I command thee to be negligent. But decline thou from those things that are to be feared, and forsee all that which prudence may foresee: consider and preuent that thing which may offend thee, long time before it happen. To this effect thy confidence will serue thee greatly, and thy certaine resolution to support all accidents. He can beware of Fortune that can suffer Fortune: vndoubtedly he neuer stormeth in his tranquillity. It is a misery and extreme folly to be alwayes in feare; what folly is this to goe before a mans euill? In brieue, to let thee know that in a word, which I intend to describe vnto thee, these busie-bodies, and tormenters of themselves are as intemperate in their miseries as they were before them. He griueth more then hee needeth, that griueth before hee needeth, for by the same infirmitie he estimateth not his griefe, whereby he expecteth it not; with the same intemperance he sayneth to himselfe perpetuall felicity, he imagineth that all these things that haue befallen him, should not only endure but encrease, and forgetting that all humane things are both tossed and changed, while hee promisseth himselfe onely an assured estate in his casualties. I finde then that *Metrodorus* spake very fitly, when in a Letter he lent vnto his Sister to comfort her in the death of her Sonne, which was a Childe of great hope, hee said that all the goods of mortall men are mortall. Of these goods speaketh he which men so much affect and flocke after; for the true good perissheth not, Wisdom and Vertue are certaine and eternall, these onely are the immortall goods that haue befallen mortall men. But men are so vnhappy, and so farre forgetfull whither they goe, whither euey day draweth them vnto, that they wonder if they lose any thing, being assured one day to lose all. Whatfoever it be that thou art called Master of, know that it is not thine, although thou possesse it. Thou art infirme and mortall, there is nothing then in this World that is firme and immortall for thee. It is as necessarie our goods should perish as bee lost, and if wee take heed

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it is a great comfort to lose those goods with a settled and resolute mind, which must perissh. What remedie then shall wee find out against these losses? This, that we may keepe in memorie such things as are lost, neither suffer the fruit of them, which we haue gotten by them, to perissh with them. To haue may bee taken from vs; to haue had, neuer. Most ingratefull is he, who when he hath lost, oweth nothing for that hee hath receiued. Casualty taketh our substance from vs, but leaueth the vse and fruit thereof with vs, which we lose by the iniquity of our desire. Say vnto thy selfe Of these things that seeme so terrible, no thing is inuincible. Many there are that haue overcome each one of them, *Mutius* the Fire, *Regulus* the Crosse, *Socrates* Poyson, *Rutilius* Banishment, *Cato* Death, enforced by his owne Sword. Let vs likewise get some victorie: moreouer, those things which allure and entice the common sort, vnder appearance of beauty and happinesse, haue many and oftentimes bin contemned. *Fabricius* being chiefe of the Army, reiected riches, and being Censor condemned them. *Tabero* iudged pouertie to be worthy both of himselfe and the Capitol, when as vying Earthen Pots in his publike Supper, he shewed that man ought to content himselfe with that, wherewith the gods diddayned not to bee sometimes serued. *Sextius* the Father, a man fit to gouerne the affaires of a Commonweale, refused all honourable Offices, and would not accept the dignitie of a Senatour, which *Julius Caesar* had presented him; knowing well that whatfoever may be giuen, may be taken away. Let vs likewise doe some of these things valiantly. Let vs ranke our selues as Exemplar men among the rest. Why are we faint-hearted? Why despayre we? Whatfoever might bee done, can bee done. Let vs now purge our minds, and follow Nature, for he that erreth and frayeth from her must of force, desire, and feare, and be a Slave to casualties. We may returne into the way, we haue libertie to recover our confidence. Let vs be restored, that we may endure grieues, in what manner loeuer they assaile our bodies, and say vnto Fortune, *Thou hast to deale with a man, search out some other, a man whom thou mayest overcome.* By these sayings and such like, the force of that vicer is appeased, whereof I desire eyther ease or recure, or recure, or strength to support & wax old with the same. But I am secure of him, the question is of our losse, whereby a worthy old man is taken from vs. For hee is full of life, who desireth that nothing should be added vnto him for his owne cause, but for theirs to whom he is profitable. He doth liberally, because hee liueth. Another ere this had finished all these troubles: this man thinketh it as foule a thing to shunne death, as to seeke after death. What then, shall hee not forsake it, if he be perswaded thereunto? Why should he not forsake it? If no man now hath any further vse of him, if he haue no businesse but to wait vpon paine. This (my *Lucilius*) is to play the Philosopher in effect, and to be exercised in the truth, to see what minde a prudent man hath against Death, against Dolor, when the one approacheth, the other prestheth him. That which is to bee done, isto be learned of him that doth it. Hitherto we haue debated by Arguments, whether any man may resist paine, or Death likewise may humble great minds, when it assaileth them. What need many words? The thing discouereth it selfe, let vs trauell thereunto: neyther doth Death make him more stronger against paine, neyther paine confirme him against Death, hee armeth himselfe against both; neither hope of Death maketh him endure his miserie more patiently, neyther dyeth he willingly thorow the tediousnesse of paine; he endureth the one, he respecteth the other.

EPIST.

EPIST. XCIX.

A Consolatorie Epistle vpon the death of his Sonne, vndoubtedly both Wise and Eloquent.

IHaue sent thee that Epistle which I wrote vnto *Marnius*, when as he had lost his little Sonne, and was said to be ouer-passionate and grieved for his losse: wherein I haue not obserued my vsuall custom, neither thought I it fit to handle him gently, when as he was more worthy of reproofe then consolation. For to him that is afflicted and vnable to support a great wound, some little way must be giuen. Let him satisfie him selfe, or at least-wise vpon the first brunt powre out teares abundantly. They that giue libertie to themselves to sorrow and lament, let them forth-with be chastised, and taught, that there are some follies euen in teares. Dost thou expect consolations? receiue reproofes. Dost thou endure thy Sonnes death so offeminately? What wouldst thou do haddest thou lost thy friend? Thy young Infant of vncertaine hope, and very little, is departed: a handfull of time is lost. We seeke out occasions to lament, wee exclaime, although vniustly against Fortune, as though she would nor afford vs iust causes of complaint. Truly I supposed that thou wert already animated sufficiently against solid and great euils, and consequently against shaddowes and appearences of miseries, for which men mourne for custome sake. Hadst thou lost thy friend, (which is the greatest losse of all others,) thou shouldst endeavour to reioyce more because thou hadst him, then to mourne for that thou hast lost him. But many there are that reckon not what courtesies they haue receiued & comfort they haue conceiued by their friends. Amongst other miseries sorrow hath this, that it is not only superfluous, but vngratefull also. Hauing therefore enioyed so good a friend, hast thou lost thy time? So many yeares, so great a vnity, such familiar society in studie: are all these vanished without effect? Dost thou bury thy friendship with thy friend? Wherefore mourest thou if his presence hath bene so profitable vnto thee? Beleue this, that the greater part of those whom we haue loued remayneth with vs, although casualtie hath taken them from vs. The time already passed is ours, neyther is there any thing more securely lodged, then that which hath bin. We are vngratefull in regard of those things we haue receiued vnder hope of that to come; as if that which is to come (if so be it proue successfull vnto vs) should not quickly passe into that which is past. Too straitly limiteth he the fruits of humane life, who onely reioyceth in those things that are present. Both those things that are to come, and those things that are past, doe delight; the one with expectation, the other in memory: but that which is to come is in suspence, and may not be done; as touching that which is past, it is vnpossible but that it hath bene. What madnesse is it then, to leaue that which is most certaine? Let vs content our selues with that we haue, provided that wee haue not drawne with a hollow vnderstanding, which letteth that passe which he hath already apprehended. There are infinite Examples of those, who without teares haue interred their young Children, who vpon their returne from the Funerals, haue entred the Senate-houle, or entertaigned some publicke Office, and suddenly occupied themselves about other businesse, and that vpon good occasion. For first of all it is lost time to grieve, if sorrow profit nothing. Secondly, it is an vniust thing to com-
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plaine of that which hath befallne one, and must befall all those that are to follow after. Moreouer, it is a folly to with, or to lament, when there is so little difference betwene death and him that lamenteth the same. For the which cause we ought to haue the more repose in our hearts, because we shall follow them whom we haue lost. Behold with what swiftnesse time posteth away: thinke vpon this short Race on which we runne so swiftly. Consider this great company of Mankind, which tendeth to the same end, conuersing and liuing together, distinguished by small spaces, euen then when they seeme most greatest. He whom thou thinkest dead, is but gone before. But what madnesse is it to bewaile him that went before thee, when as thou thy selfe must trauell the same journey after him? Dost a man bewaile that thing which he knew should happen? Or if he thought that man should not dye, he deceiued himselfe. Some man bewaileth a thing which he said could not chuse but be done? Who soeuer bewaileth the death of any man, bewaileth that he was a man. All men are tyed to one condition, he that hapned to be borne, must dye: By spaces wee are distinguished, by death equalled. That which hapneth betwene our first and last day, is diuers and vncertaine. If thou estimate the troubles, it is ouer long for a Child: if the swiftnesse, it is too short for an old man. There is nothing that is not incertaine and deceiueable, and more light then the wind. All things are tossed, and are transferred into their contrary by the power of Fortune, and in so great inconstancie of humane affaires, there is nothing certaine to any man but his death. Yet all men complaine of that wherein no man is deceiued. But he dyed a Child. I say not yet that, he is better dealt withall that is dead. Let vs passe ouer to him that is old, how short is the time wherein he hath out-stripped an Infant? Propose vnto thy selfe this great extent of yeares, and comprehend all the Ages that are past, then make comparison with that which we call mans life, with that infinitie of yeares; and then shalt thou see how little a thing all that is which we desire, and extend. Consider how much teares, cares, death so oftentimes wished for, before it comes, sicknesses, feares, foolish Infancie, wanton yoth, and vnprofitable yeares do possesse, and deuour the portions of our life; we lose the hallow in sleeping. Let vs adde hereunto trauels, sorrowes, and perils, and thou shalt see that in the most longest life which a man can obserue, that which is called liuing, is the smallest portion of the same. But who will not grant thee this, that hee is in better state that may quickly turne to dust, whose journey is at an end before he be wearie? Life is neyther good nor euill, it is the place of good and euill. So hath he lost nothing but the die, which is more certaine to our harme then good. He might haue become both modest and prudent, he might haue bene formed by thy care and instruction to be more vertuous; but (that which may most iustly be feared) he might haue bene made like to the most part of men. Marke me those young Gentlemen of great Houses, who by their Intemperance are brought to that miserie that they are become Fencers. Consider those others, who lewdly defile both their owne and others bodies, which ouer-slip not a day wherein they are not drunke, or defamed for some other notable Infamie. Then shalt thou see that there was more to be feared then hoped for. For which cause thou oughtest not summon to thy selfe these causes of sorrow, nor in vexing thy selfe heape vp in commodities, and of light and slight ones, as they be, to make them vn-sufferable. I counsell thee to resist thy sorrow, and to vrge it, neyther haue I so bad an opinion of thee, that thou wouldst call to ayde all thy Vertue against those difficulties which present themselves. This is no true griefe, but a slight-
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touching, thou makest it true griefe: vndoubtedly Philosphie hath done thee great seruice, if thou bewylest with a resolute heart a Child better knowne vnto his Nurse then to his Father. Well then, will I haue thee seized of a heart of Iron? and is it my mind that thou shouldest looke vp chereily in the Funerals of thy Sonne? and will I not suffer thee to let thy minde relent a little? By no means. For this were Inhumanitie, not Vertue, to behold the dead with the same eye that wee doe the liuing, and not to bee moued when as the one is thus separated from the other. Behold what it is which I forbid. There are things which in a manner are out of our power. Teares fall from the eyes of certayne men that would fayne contayne them, and these teares thus shedde doe lighten the heart: what is there to bee done in such a case? Let vs suffer them to fall, but let vs not command them. Let them drop as long as affection commandeth them to flow, but not as much as custome and other mens Example doth require. But let vs adde nothing vnto sorrow, neyther let vs augment it by other mens Examples. This ostentation of sorrow exacteth more then the sorrow it selfe. How few are sorrowfull to themselves? If they suppose that men heare them, they cry out more earnestly; but being by themselves, they are quiet, and as soone as any other salueth them, then recomenceth they their sorrow, then beat they their head with their hands, which they might haue done more freely when no man forbid them; then will they themselves dead, then toss they vpon their pallets: when the beholder is gone, the sorrow ceaseth. In this affaire as in others, wee are wonne by an euill custome, we follow the Example of our Neighbours, and compose our selues by their Example, and not by that which best becommeth vs. Wee neglect Nature, and addit our selues to the falshions of the common people, which are both ignorant and corrupt, and who in this as in all other things is inconstant of inconstant. If they see any man confident in his calamitie, they call him impious and brutish: if they see another dismayd, that respecteth nothing but his bodie, they terme him a weake and an effeminate man. All things therefore are to be reduced within the list of Reason. But there is no one more greater folly then to get Fame by affected sadnesse, and to approue it by teares, which I consider in two kinds in regard of a Wiseman, the one issuing of themselves, the others permitted to flow. I will shew thee what difference there is: As soone as we heare the newes of our deceased friend, when as wee behold his body, ready to be transported to the fire from our embraces, naturall necessitie extorteth teares, and the spirit being impelled by the stroke of sorrow, euen as it liketh the whole body, so sucketh it, and expelleth from the eyes the teares that are at hand. These teares are extorted as they fall, and flow against our wils. Some other there are which we giue way to, when as any man maketh mention of those whom they haue lost. In this heauinesse there is found some sweetnesse, when we remember our selues of their pleasant Discourse, of their agreeable conuersation, of their charitable Pietie, then do our eyes open and powre forth teares, as it were in ioy. To these we giue allowance, by these we are ouercome. Reitrayne not therefore, neyther giue liberty to thy teares, by reason of those that assit thee, or attend vpon thee; be it that eyther they are dried vp, or drop downe, there is no shame in them, provided that they be not fayned. Let them flow of themselves, and they may flow in men temperate and well composed. Oftentimes they haue flowed without any preiudice to a Wifemans authority, with so much temperance, that they neyther wanted humanity, nor were disallowed in dignity. It is lawfull, say I, to obey Nature without the blemish of grauitie.

uitie. I haue seene men that were venerable in the Funerals of their children, in whose lookes their loue was testified towards their dead children, without any vaine ostentation of grieuing. There was not any thing which testified not a simple and naturall affection. There is a certain *decorum* euen in sorrow, which ought to be obserued by a Wiseman. And as in other things, so likewise in teares there is somewhat that is sufficient: vniuersall men, as in their ioyes, so keep they no measure in their sorrows. Accommodate thy selfe peaceably vnto necessity. What incredible matter or noueltie hath falne out? How many men are there, whose Funerals haue bene celebrated, whose bodies haue bene embalmed and embowelled, and who weepeth for them? As oftentimes as thou shalt remember that thy dead Childe was an Infant, thinke also that hee was a mortall creature, to whom nothing certain was promised, whom Fortune was not obliged to bring vp to old age, but to forsake then when it best liked her. But speake of him oftentimes, and celebrate his memory as much as thou canst, which oftentimes will be refreshed in thee, if it may salute thee without bitterness. For no man willingly conuerfeth with a sorrowfull man, much lesse with sorrow. If thou remember any speeches of his, if thou hast during his Infancie, heard any lesse of his to thy contentment, repeate them often, and constantly affirme that he might haue fulfilled those hopes which thy fatherly minde had conceiued of him. It is the act of an vnaturall minde to forget a mans friends, and to burie their memories with their bodies, and to weepe for them abundantly, and to remember them slenderly. So Birds and Beasts loue their young ones with a violent & enraged affection, but with the losse of them it is wholly extinguished. This becommeth not a Wiseman: let him continue his remembrance, forbear his mourning. This doe I no wayes allow of, which *Metrodorus* sayth, that there is a certaine ioy that is alled to sorrow, and that this should be affected at this time. I haue set downe *Metrodorus* owne wordes, of which I doubt not what censure thou wilt yeeld; for what is more absurd then in sorrow to affect pleasure, nay more, by sorrow and teares to seek that which may comfort? These are they that obiect against vs our too much rigour, and defame our precepts for their hardnesse, because wee say that sorrow is eyther not to bee admitted into the minde, or quickly to bee expelled out of it. But whether of these two is more incredible and inhumane, either not to feele any sorrow for the losse of our friend, or to search pleasure in sorrow? But that which we teach is honest, when as our affection hath powred forth any teares, and (if I may so speake it) hath skummed them, that wee ought not to abandon our selues wholly vnto sorrow. What sayest thou? That we mixe pleasure and sorrow together. So still we our children by giuing them bread, to pacifie wee our Infants by powring in Milke. Touching thy selfe at such time as thy sonne burneth, or thy friend expireth, thou canst not permit thy pleasure to cease, but wilt tickle and flatter sorrow it selfe: whether of both is more fitting, eyther to heale the soule of all griefe, or to mix griefe and ioy together, I say not onely to mixe, but to take occasion of pleasure out of his sorrow. So farre is it that sorrow is accompanied with any pleasure, as *Metrodorus* thinketh. This is lawfull for vs to say, but vnlawfull for you: you acknowledge but one good, which is pleasure, and one euill, which is paine. What alliance may there bee betwene good and euill? But suppose there be; euen now especially must wee finde the same, and now it is that we must see whether paine be eniured with any ioy or pleasure. Certayne remedies there are, which applied to some parts of the body are wholsome, but by reason of their losse of somnesse, and indecency cannot

be applyed to others, and that which in one place may profit without touch of modestie, is dishonest in another part where the wound most appeareth. Art thou not ashamed to heale sorrow with pleasure? This wound must be handled with more leuerty: rather proue that the dead can feele no euill; for it hee were sensible, hee should not be dead. Nothing, say I, hurteth him that is nothing. He liueth if hee bee hurt. Whether thinkest thou him to bee in bad case who is no man, or him that as yet is some body? But in as much as he is not any more, there is not any torment that may offend him; for who can feele that that is not? neither in as much as he is, can he be endamaged; for he is deliuered from the greatest danger, which is death, by being no more. This likewise let vs say to him that bewyleth and wanteth his childe, rauished from him in his young years. If thou make a comparison of the shortnesse of all mens liues, with the length of time which is past since the beginning of the World, both young and old shall find themselves equall. For both the one and the other of vs possesse as little as nothing of that length and extent of time. A little is yet something, but our life and nothing are almost all one, notwithstanding wee stretch it out as much as we may, such is our follies. I haue written these things to thee, not because thou shouldst attend from mee a remedie, which cometh too late; for I suppose that thou hast told thy selfe all that which is contained in my Letters. But that I might chastize that little delay, wherein thou hast departed from thy selfe, and in conclusion might exhort thee to armethy selfe hereafter against aduersities, and to foresee all fortunes assaults, not as they might, but as they ought suddenly to afflict thee.

EPIST. C.

His iudgement of PAPIRVS FABIANVS the Philosopher, and of his Writings.

THOU writest to mee that thou hast very diligently read ouer those Bookes of *Fabianus Papius*, intituled of things *Cinill*, but that they answered not thine expectation. And afterwards, forgetting thy selfe that the question was of a Philosopher, thou accuseth his composition. But put case it be so as thou sayest, that in stead of well couching his words, he saith all that cometh to memory: first of all, this discourse hath his grace, and it the proper ornament of a stile little faultie: for I thinke there is a great difference whether it escapeth or floweth. Now in this also which I am to speake, there is a great difference: *Fabianus* seemeth not to mee to speake much, but to speake to the purpose. To speake truth, his stile is fluent, but not inforced, although it be currant enough. Hee confesseth openly, and letteth vs see that it is not an affected and laboured stile, but such a one as a man may know it was *Fabianus* writing. Hee pretended not to confront his discourse, but to reforme manners: he laboured not to tickle the eare, but to teach and instruct the minde. Furthermore, at such time as hee discoursed, thou shouldest not haue leasure to consider the parts of his discourse, so much would the summary of the whole rauish and detainee thee. And ordinarily that which is pleasing to vs, being pronounced *Vina voce* readily and presently, is not so pleasing vnto vs, being couched in writing. But this also is a great matter, to settle and occupie the sight vpon a Booke, although a diligent contemplation might find out matter worthy reprehension.

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If thou aske my opinion, more great is he that rauisheth our iudgement then he that deserueth it. Such an one is more assured, and if I erre nor, may more boldly promise his Writings perpetuities. A laboured discourse becomes not a Philosopher. What shall become of a generous and resolute heart? when shall he make proofe of himselfe, if he be afraid of words? *Fabianus* was not negligent in his Discourse, but secure. Thou shalt finde nothing in him that is base and impertinent. The words are chosen but not affected, neither couched according to the custome of this time, or disordered. They are words that haue their weight, that haue an honest and magnificent sense, although they bee ordinary and vulgar; they are neither contrayned nor doubtful in a sentence, but graue and profound. We shall neyther see any thing that is curtailed & shortened, nor any structure vnfit, nothing that is not polished, as the eloquence of this time requireth. Examine this discourse euery way, and when thou hast beheld it on euery side, thou shalt find no streights empty. Although it haue no Marble of diuers colours, nor diuiding or currents of waters running thorow chambers, nor little clossets of sparing and abstinence, nor whatsoeuer else disolutesse nor contenting herselfe with a simple and conuenient decency, hath inuented and mixed together, yet is the house well builded. Let vs now speake of structure and composition, for all men are not of accord here. Some of harsh will haue it smooth, some are so much affected to rashnes and austeritie, that if a clause doe happily end in a pleasing cadence, they purposely dissipate the same, and interrupt the clauses expressly, lest they should be answerable to expectation. Reade *Cicero*, his composition is one, hee obserueth his foot, his speech is polished, smooth and not effeminate. Contrariwise, *Asinius Pollio*'s discourse is vneuen and skipping, and such as will leaue thee when thou least expectest it. To conclude, in *Cicero* all things end, in *Pollio* they fall, except a few which are tyed to one certayne kind of custome and example. Besides, in thine opinion thou sayest, that all things in his discourse are humble and scarce vpright, of which vice in my iudgement he is freed: for they are not humble but pleasing, and are formed in an equall and composed manner, not tyed together but vnited; they want this Rhetoricall vigour, and those points, and sudden darterd Sentences. But examine the whole body, although it be not farded, it is honest and well fashioned. His speech hath no grace: bring mee one whom thou mayest preferre before *Fabianus*. If thou producest *Cicero*, who hath almost written as many bookes in Philosophie as *Fabianus*, I will giue place; yet is not that presently little that is lesse then the greatest. Say that it is *Asinius Pollio*. I will yeeld; but to returne thee an answer: To be after these two, is too very high when the question is of Eloquence. Name mee *Linus*, besides these, for he also hath written Dialogues, which a man may as well call Philosophicall as Historicall: other Bookes likewise, wherein hee treateth expressly of Philosophie; to him likewise will I giue place, yet consider how many he exceedeth, who is overcome by three, & they the three most eloquent. But he performeth not all his speech, is not strong, although elate, it is not violent nor hedlong, although abundant in words; it is not perspicuous but pure. Thou desirest a sharp declamation against vices, a confident discourse against dangers, a bold speech against aduersity, an inuective against ambition. I will haue wickednesse chidden, lust traduced, impatience bridled. Let the termes of an Oratour bee singing, of a tragike Poet stately, of a Comick familiar & plaine. Wilt thou haue him countenance a small matter with wordes? Hee addicted himselfe to the greatnesse of things, and buildeth not on Eloquence, but

makes it follow after him, as the shadow doth the bodie. Vndoubtedly all his words shall not be well placed and exactly couched together; neither in every clause shall there bee a part that may quicken and awaken men. I dare promise that diuers periods shall escape him to no purpose, and that sometimes his Discourse shall slip away without mouing, but in all places his words shall be agreeable, neyther shall there be any pause that will be displeasing. In a word, he will make thee know that he beleueed whatsoever he wrote. Thou shalt see that his intention was to make thee know what he approued, and not to flatter thee: he demandeth nothing but thy good, and searcheth for nought else but to see thee endowed with a good Conscience. It is not applause which he desireth. I doubt not but his Writings are such, and though I remember not their intents in general, yet haue I before mine eyes some passages of the same; not in that I haue read them ouer lately, but for that I haue seene them in times past, and long since. At such time as I heard him, his words in my iudgement were such, not swelling but full and naturall, which might allure a young and well disposed man to Vertue, and giue him hope to attayne the true end; which manner of teaching in my opinion, is more effectuell then any other, for that of another kind maketh the Auditors to lose their hearts, and taketh away their hope, and impresseth no other desire in them, but to imitate and follow the same. In brife, *Fabianus* abounded in words without the commendation of every particular clause; but all his Discourse in generall was exquisite and magnificent.

EPIST. CL.

Of the sudden death of one of his acquaintance; and by occasion, that wee are to trust or promise nothing to our selues. That all things are vncertaine, and therefore good life is not to be deferred, neyther long life to be desired: in conclusion, he controlleth MECAENAS his absurd vow.

Every day, every houre sheweth vs how vaine and nought worth we be, and by some new Argument admonisheth vs that are forgetfull of our frailty, when as it compelleth vs (who meditate vpon eternitie) to looke backe vnto death. Askest thou me what this induction meaneth? Thou knowest *Cornelius Senecio* a Roman Knight, a man both rich, liberal, and courteous, who from a slender estate in the beginning, had rayshed his Fortunes, and had attayned the speedie meanes alreadie to compass the rest. For dignitie doth more easily increase then begin. And he that is poore hath much labour to disburthen himselfe of necessity before he become rich. This *Senecio* aspired vnto Riches, whereunto there were two very effectuell meanes that conducted him, that is to say, the knowledge of getting, and the means of keeping, the one whereof is sufficient to make a man rich. This man being wonderfully frugall, and no lesse careful of his Patrimony then of his bodie, when as according to his custome he had seene me in the morning, when as from morning to night hee had sitten by his friend that was grievously sicke, and lay desperate without hope; after he had supped merrily, was seized with a sudden sickness, that is to say, with the *Squinancy*, which strangled him, and set his soule at libertie. Hee departed therefore within a few houres after he had performed all the Offices of an able

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and healthfull man. He that traded with his Money both by Sea and Land, that had publike profits also, and left no kind of profit vnought after, in the verie height of his successfull Fortunes, when as Money rained on euery side into his Coffers, was taken out of this life.

*Now MAELIBEVS grafts thy Peares againe,
And plants thy Vines vpon the pleasant Plaine.*

How fond a thing is it to promise our selues long life, whereas wee are scarcely Lords and Masters of to morrow? O how mad are they that feed on sayned hopes, and long Enterprises? I will buy, I will build, I will lend, I will recouer my debts, I will haue such and such estates; and then when I am fully satisfied, I will passe my full and weary age in repose and quiet. But trust me, all things are vncertaine, yea euen vnto those that thinke themselves most assured. No man ought to promise himselfe any thing of that which is to come. That also which we haue surest hold-fast of, slippeth through our fingers, and casualtie cuts that very cord in sunder whereon we haue greatest hold-fast. There is a prefixed ordinance in the reuolutions of the World, although they are maruellously obscured. But what concerneth it me, whether that be certaine to nature, which is vncertaine to me? We purpose and intend great voyages by Sea, wherein we shall see many forreine parts, and resolute not to returne againe into our Countrey of a long time: we must to the Wars, and be richly recompenced after wee haue passed thorow all the degrees of Armes, and haue had Commissions and honourable charges, more and more, the one after the other; when as in the mean while death standeth by our sides, & because we neuer cast our eyes on that which is ours, but only vpon that which is anothers, from time to time the examples of our frailtie appeare vnto vs, whereon wee neuer thinke, but at such time as they lay before our eyes. But what is more foolish then to wonder to see that done in any day, which may be done in every day? It is a thing most assured, that the scope of our life is limited by the inexorable necessitie of destinie, but no man knoweth how neere it is. Let vs therefore so dispose our minds, as if this present time were our last houre. Let vs deferre nothing. Let vs daily make euen with life. It is the greatest error in life, that it is alwayes imperfect, & that some part thereof likewise is deferred. He that hath euery day layd the last hand on his life, needeth no time. But from this indigence proceedeth feare, and a desire of the future, deuouring and eating our mindes. There is nothing more miserable then the doubt of things to come. The soule that debateth what it is that remaineth, or of what kinde: is agitated with an inexplicable feare. How shall we auoyd this perplexitie? By this one meanes, if we prolong not our life in vaine Discourse, but gather it into it selfe. For he to whom the present time is vnprofitable, cannot haue any repose, in regard of the future. But whereas whatsoever is due by me vnto my selfe, is restored to my selfe; whereas the confirmed minde knoweth that there is no difference betwene a day and an age: hee beholdeth, as it were, from an high Tower, all the dayes and affaires that hereafter are to come, and with much laughter thinketh on the sequell of time. For what should the varietie and mutabilitie of Fortunes trouble thee, if thou be assured against incertainties? Make haste therefore (my *Lucilius*) to liue, and thinke euery seuerall day, a seuerall life. Who soeuer ordereth himselfe thus, hee that maketh euery day his whole life, is secure. They that liue in hope, haue neuer any time of rest, they are al-

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wayes desiring and cowering: and the apprehension of death (which is a thing most miserable, and which maketh all things most miserable) neuer forsaketh them. From thence proceeded that dishonest will of *Maccenas*, who contented himselfe to be weak, deformed, and tormented with grievous and sharpe sicknesses, provided he might prolong his life amidst the masse of these miseries.

*Make me weak in thigh and hand,
Make my feet infirme to stand,
Shake my teeth, and make them crack,
Stoope my shoulders, bend my back;
So my life remayne, I care not,
Threaten torture, come and spare not.*

This is to with an extreme miserie, if it should haue happened, and the length of the punishment is desired, as if it were some life. I should repute him a contemptible fellow, if he would liue vntill such time as he were tyed to the Gallies. Yet this man saith, weaken me, provided that my soule may remayne in my crased and vnprofitable bodie: disfigure mee, if this counterfeit and monstrous body of mine may lengthen my life some dayes. Torture and crucifie me, if so be by that meanes I may liue. It is a strange matter in him to hide his wounds thus, and to be content to remayne hanged and stretched vpon a Gibbet, vpon condition that death, which is the end of all punishment, and the soueraine remedie against all euils, should be deferred in his behalfe. See heere a wondrous thing, I would haue a soule to dye without dying. What wouldst thou with for, *O Maccenas*, but that the gods should haue pittie on thee? Whereto rendeth this Verse, proceeding from an effeminate minde? What meaneth this couenant inuented by senslesse and madde feare? And to what purpose is this shameful begging of loathsome life. Thinke you that *Virgil* euer recited this Verse vnto him,

To leaue this life, is it a thing so wretched?

He wisheth the worst of euils, and those things that are most grievous to be suffered, hee desireth to be grievously tortured and hanged vp: and why, or for what recompence? for looth, for a longer life. But what is this mans life? to dye long. Is there any man found, who had rather parch himselfe vp amidst tortures, and to lose one member after another, and to die so oftentimes amidst defluxions, as to dye at one time? Was there euer any man that had rather wish to lye couched all at his length vpon a miserable bed languishing, deformed, crooked both before and behind, that besides his violent sicknesses, had other more mortall, that desireth to retayne a soule, being tortured and rent in pieces by so many torments? Say now that the necessitie of death is not a great gift of Nature. Many as yet are readie to vow farre worse, yea euen to betray their friends that they may liue longer, and to deliuer their children to be deflowred with their owne hands, that they might prolong their life, being guiltie of so much wickednesse. We must shake off this desire of life, and learne this, that it skils not when thou sufferest any thing, which thou must suffer sometimes: that all in all is to liue well, without taking care how long, and that oftentimes also this well liuing consisteth in a life which is not long.

EPIST.

EPIST. CII.

He speaketh somewhat of the immortality of the soule, and then annexeth a question, Whether renoune doth vs any good after death. First he disputeth slenderly and Scholastically, then about the end more effectually, and leadeth our mindes to God and celestiall things. He approacheth that this our body is our burthen and cower, that it ought to be despised and shaken off, when God and Time summon vs therunto.



Ven as hee is troublesome that awaketh another man, that is seized with some pleasant dreames, although it be fayned, for hee taketh away the pleasure, yea such notwithstanding as hath the effect of truth. So thy Epistle hath done me iniury, for it hath recalled me from a thought and meditation, into which I was sufficiently entred to the purpose, and had ingaged my selfe further, had I not by this meanes beene disturbed. I tooke pleasure to debate vpon the eternitie of soules, nay more, I was fully resolved therein. For I easily beleened the opinions of great men, rather promising then approving so grateful a matter. I gaue my selfe ouer to this so great hope, and now grow hatefull vnto my selfe, and now contemned the relikes of my broken yeares, being ready to be transferred into that immeasurable time, and possession of that infinite eternitie, when as suddenly I was awakened by thy Letter, which made mee dimisse so sweete a dreame, which hereafter I will reuiue and redeeme againe, as soone as I haue fastidied thy expectation. Thou sayest that in my former Letter I did not sufficiently answer that question, whether in I laboured to proue that which they of our Sect doe approue, that the *per se*, which a man obtayneth after death is a great good. That I haue not answered that question which is opposed against vs. Of goods that are distant (say they) there is none good; but this is a thing distant and farre off. That which thou propolest (my *Lucilius*) is a part of the question, yet such a part as ought to be debated vpon in another place: and therefore I neyther would touch that, neyther other things that were dependent thereupon. For some Morall questions as thou knowest are intermixed with the Naturall. And therefore I entreated onely of that part which wholly concerneth manners. That is to say, whether it be a foolish and superfluous thing to transport our thoughts beyond the latter end of this life, whether our goods perish with vs, and nothing remaineth of his, who is nothing; whether we shall feele any fruit of that which shall be (whatsoever it may be) before we may enjoy it. But all these questions pertaine vnto manners, and therefore are they ranked in their proper place. But those things which are spoken by the Logicians against this opinion, are to be seuered, and therefore are they set apart. But now, since thou requirest at this time a reason of all, I will examine that which they say, and afterwards answer their objections. If I propose not something first, a man cannot vnderstand the Resutations. What is it that I would foretell? That there are some continued bodies, as a man: some compound, as a ship, a house, and all other things whose diuers parts are vnited together in one. Some likewise that consist of distant parts, whose members are as yet separate, as an Army, a People, a Senate. For they of whom this body is composed, are vnited together either by Law or duty, but by Nature they are distinct, and each one seuerall. What is it likewise that now I will foretell? That we suppose that nothing is good, which is composed of things distant. For one good

good must be maintained and governed by one spirit, and that there is but one principall of one good. This is approued by it selfe, if thou require it to be proued, and in the mean while it was to be set downe, to the end it might be the ground of our discourse. Thou wilt say, You other Stoicks maintaine that no good is composed of things distant. But this glorie whereof we entreat, is a fauourable opinion of good men. For as a good fame is not one mans words, neither infamy one mans mis-report: so is it not praise to please one good man, many famous and worthy men must consent herein to make it glorie. But this consisteth in diuers mens iudgements, and namely those that are distant, therefore it is not good; glorie (saith he) is a commendation given by good men to a good man: commendation is a speech, a speech is a voice that signifieth something. But the voice, although it be a good mans voice, is not goodnesse. For whatsoever a good man doth, is not alwaies good. For he clappeth his hands and hisseth. But neither will any man say that his clapping or hissing is good, although he applaud and admire all whatsoever is his, no more then he wil do his sneeling or coughing. Therefore glory is not good. In a word, tell vs whether this good concerneth the praiser, or him that is praised? If the prayser, it is as much as if thou shouldst say, that another mans good health is mine; but to praise those that are worthy is an honest action: therefore this good concerneth the praiser, from whom this action commeth, not from vs that are praised. But this is that which is in question. I answer briefly to these obiections. First, the question is at this day, whether any good may be composed of those things that are distant; and both parties haue their reasons. Secondly, praise desireth not many suffrages: for it may be contented with one good mans iudgement, who onely is a competent Iudge, to say that all they who resemble him are good. What then (saith he) shal fame depend vpon the estimate of one man, and infamy be tied to the mis-report of another man? Glory also (saith he) as I vnderstand, is spread more largely. For it requireth the consent of many men. The condition of these, and of this are different. Why? Because if a good man haue a good opinion of me, I am in the same estate that I should be, when as all good men should haue like thought of mee. For if all of them knew me, they would iumpe in the opinion of this one man. They haue but one and the same iudgement, and they that cannot differ, doe necessarily agree in their opinions. Therefore, that which one thinketh importeth as much, as if all of them had spoken, because they cannot be of any other opinion. The opinion of one man (saith he) sufficeth not to giue glory and renowne vnto another. To this I answer, that herein the opinion of one auaileth as much as of all, for if euery one of them be demanded, they will answer alike. In this place the iudgements of those that disagree are diuers, the affections different. Thou shalt finde all things in this world doubtful, light, and suspected. Thinkest thou that all mens mindes are alike? Vndoubtedly the same man is not of the same opinion alwaies. Truth is pleasing to the good, and this truth neither changeth his vigor or color. Amongst the wicked there are falsities wherein they accord, but there is nothing but inconstancie, repugnancie, and discord in a lye. But praise (saith hee) is but a voice spread in the ayre, and that a word meriteth not the name of good; whereas they say that praise is the commendation of good men, deliuered by good men; they refer it not to the words, but to the sentence. For although a good man hold his peace, & yet iudgeth any man worthy of commendation, by this is he commended. Besides, there is a difference betwixt these two words, *Praise* & *Praising*, which requireth explication. Deliuering a

funerall

funerall Oration, we vse not this word praise but praying, which consisteth in words. But saying that some one is worthy of praise, we vnderstand by this word the iust iudgements of men, rather then their speeches. So then praye shal be the right opinion of him who without speaking, prieth in himselfe any good man. Furthermore, as I haue said, praise hath relation to the thought, not vnto the words, which expresse the praise which is conceived inwardly, and vttered to the knowledge of many men. He praiseth who iudgeth that he ought to praise, when, as the Tragique Poet saith, *It is a magnificent thing to be prayed by a praise-worthy man*: he meaneth, that this praise-worthy man is worthy of praise. And when another Poet of the same time saith, that praye nourisheth arts, he speaketh not of a flatterie which corrupteth arts. For there is nothing that hath so much soiled eloquence, and all other studies addicted to the eare, as the applause of the people. Fame would be published and bruited, praye would not, for the respecteth not words, but contenteth her selfe with iudgement; she is accomplished, not only amongst those that are silent, but likewise amongst those that oppose themselves against her. Now will I declare what difference there is betweene praise and glory; Glory consisteth on many mens iudgements, Praise on good mens. To whom returneth the good of praise, saith he, either to him that is praised, or to the praiser? Both to the one and to the other. It is a great good for me to be praised, for Nature hath created me a louer of all men: I reioyce that I haue done well, and one of my contentments is to haue met with men which take pleasure in those vertuous acts which I might haue done. That many are thus disposed, is a good which they enjoy; but I haue my part in it also, being of that mind that I thinke other mens good to be mine, especially those men to whom I am the cause of this good which proceeds from vertue. But euery occasion of vertue is good, which they could not enjoy if I were not vertuous. So then, a true praise is a common good, both to him that praiseth, and him that is praised, as certainly as a iust sentence is the good and honor both of the Iudge and the partie who obtaineth profit by the cause. Doubtest thou that iustice is not a good both to the debtor and creditor? It is iustice and equitie to praise a man that meriteth praise, and consequently is a common good, both to him that praiseth, and him that is praised: we haue sufficiently answered these cauilers. But this should not be our purpose to fow subtilties, and to draw Philologic from her maiestic into these streights: how farre better is it to go the open and direct way, then to find out by pathes and lose our selues therein, and be constrained to returne back, to our great trouble and preiudice? For these disputations are nought else but the palmities of men that would cunningly beguile one another. Rather tell me how natural a thing it is to extend the mind to infinitie. A great and generous thing is mans mind, it endureth not to be circumscribed by any limits, but those which are common to him with God. First of all, he acknowledgeth not himselfe to be naturally bred in any region or land whatsoever, as in *Ephesus* or *Alexandria*, or in any other country of the greatest extent, or most peopled. All whatsoever is inuironed by the compasse of heauen is his country, that is to say, his round, composed of Seas and Lands mixed together, within which the extent of the ayre separateth and vnitheth things celestiall and terrestriall, in which so many gods disposed in due order are intente to execute their commissions: secondly, he endureth not to be circumscribed by yeres: all yeres (saith he) are mine, no age is locked vp to great wits, there is no time thorow which humane thought hath not pierced. When that day which must make a separation be-

twixt

twixt the bodie and soule thus vniued, shall come, I will leaue this bodie where I found it, and will restore my selfe vnto the gods; neyther am I now without them, but in such sort, as I feele my selfe detained in this heauy and earthly prison. By these delays of mortall life we make an entrance to that better and longer life. Euen as our mothers wombe containeth vs nine moneths, and prepereth vs not to remaine therein alwaies, but for another place for which it seemeth we strue both hand and foot, as soone as we are readie to breathe and liue in the aire; so by the meanes of this space of time, which is betwixt our infancy and age, we aspire vnto another birth of nature. Another originall, another estate of things attendeth vs. We cannot as yet suffer the heauen, but by means of this great extent which is betweene them and vs: for which cause beholde thou with a setled eye that determined houre, which is not the last vnto the soule, but onely to the body. Whatsoeuer goods of this world thou beholdest about thee, looke on them as if they were the baggage & moueables of an Inne. We must passe further; nature leaueth vs as naked at the issue of this world, as we were vpon the entry: thou hast brought nothing with thee, neyther shalt thou carry away any thing with thee; nay more, thou must leaue in the world a great part of that which thou hast brought with thee. Thou shalt be spoiled of that skin that inclosed thee, and the last cloth that couered thee; thou shalt leaue thy flesh and bloud, which is disperfed thorow thy whole bodie; thy bones and nerues shall be taken from thee, which were the supporters of so many fraile and fleeting things. This day which thou fearest so much, and which thou callest thy last, is the birth-day of an eternitie. Lay aside thy burthen. Why delayest thou? Is it so long since that thou forsookest a body, that is to say thy mothers womb where thou wert hidden, to enter into this world? Why struest thou, and dallest thou? Thy mother when thou wert borne laboured hardly to be deliuered of thee. Thou sighest, thou weapest, and this is that which the infant doth as soone as he is borne. But then wert thou to be pardoned, because as then thou wert but new born, & without the knowledge of any thing. Being issued from this hote and soft couch of thy mothers entrailes, thou hast breathed a more freer ayre; then feeling thy selfe touched with a hand somewhat more hard, thou that wert soft and tender, couldest not endure it without crying: and it is not to be wondered at that thou remainedst astonishd and daunted amongst so many things, which were vnseene before, considering that thou neither haddest knowledge nor apprehension of any thing. Let it not be a new thing now vnto thee to be separated fro that, whereof before time thou hast been some portion: acquit thy selfe willingly of these members which are now superfluous, and lay aside this bodie, wherein thou hast inhabited so long time. It shall be cut in pieces, deuoured and brought to nothing. Why art thou grieued? So goes the world. The causes which in-folde the Infants in their Mothers wombe shall be broken and rotten. Why louest thou earthly goods, as if they were thine? These are but the folds that wrap thee in. A day will come that will vnfold them, and will draw thee out of the companie of this villanous and stinking wombe. Fly now out of this world with a forward courage, estrange thy selfe from all things; yea, of those things that be necessarie. That done, meditate on somewhat more high and sublime. One day the secrets of nature shall be discouered vnto thee, this obscuritie shall be cleared, and a shining light shall reflect vpon thee on euery side. Thinke with thy selfe how great this brightness is of so many celestiall bodies, which mixe their lights together. So faire a cleare shall neuer be obscured by any

any darkeneile: the heauen shall be as glorious in one part as in another. Day and night are the reuolutions of the regions of the aire. Thou wilt confesse that thou hast liued in darkeneile, whenas thou shalt freely see the whole light, which now thou beholdest obscurely thorow these narrow circles of thine eyes, and from a farre, yet not without astonishment. What wilt thou say of the diuine light, when thou shalt see it in his place? Such a thought as this will not suffer our soules to gather rust or dyrt, it hindereth vs eyther from humbling our hearts too low, or raising them too high. See maintaineth that the gods are witnesses of all things, and will that we be approued by them, that we depend on their will, that we haue the day of eternitie alwaies before our eyes. Who soeuer hath any apprehension hereof in his soule, he hath no feare of armies, the Trumpet amazeth him nothing, there is no threat that may make him feare. He that expecteth death, can be without feare? whereas the other (who esteemeth that the soule remaineth and subsisteth during his abode in the prison of the bodie, in departing from which she is dissipate) ceaseth not to demean himselfe in such sort, that after his death he pretendeth to serue those that suruiue in some other sort: for although he be taken from our sight, yet

*The mans great vertue, and his countrys glorie,
And wondrous valour, come to memorie.*

Thinke how much good examples profit vs, and thou shalt finde that the memorie of worthy personages is no lesse profitable for vs then their presence.

EPIST. CIII.

The malice and treasons of men amongst themselves; yet doe not thou so, but lay them apart; and be thou courteous and willing to doe good vnto all men.

Why regardest thou on euerie side those things that may befall thee, and haply may not chance vnto thee? I meane fire or ruine, and other inconueniences which happen vnto vs, but lay not in waite for vs. Rather consider and auoyde thou the dangers which attend and surprize vs. These casualties are rare, although they be grievous, to suffer shipwrack, to be ouerturned out of a Coach. But from a man daily a man expecteth the most danger, prepare thy selfe against this euill, and contemplate it with open eyes. For there is no euill more frequent, more obstinate, neyther any one more flattering. The tempest threatneth before it riseth: the houses crack before they fall: the smoke foretellet that the fire is a kindling. But the mischief that a man doth is sudden, and the neerer the euill is, the more secretly is it hidden. Thou art deceiued if thou trust thy looks that meet thee: they haue the faces of men, but the hearts of sauage beasts, but that the first assault of beasts is most violent, which they cannot auoyde: for nothing but necessitie moueth them to hurt; either by hunger or feare they are enforced to fight, but a man taketh pleasure to destroy a man. But thinke thou so, that the danger is by a man, to the end thou mayest thinke what the office of a man is. Consider the one, to the end thou be not offended; and the other, to the end thou offend not. Reioyce at euery mans profit, and bee sorrie for their harmes, and bethinke thy selfe what thou oughtest to performe, and what to auoyd.

void. By living thus, what gettest thou? Thou maiest alwaies auoid that men do thee no outrage, but thou canst not chuse but be deceived by them. Especially endeavour thy selfe to take thy retreat to Philosophie, she will defend thee in her bosome. In her Sanctuarie either shalt thou be safe, or safer. Men iostle not one another, except they walke in the same way. But of all things beware to boast of thy Philosophie. Many men by too proudly boasting, and vainly vaning thereof, haue perished. Let it suffice thee that she spoileth thee of thy vices, that she reprocheth not other men of theirs, that she abhorreth not from publique manners, that she behaue her selfe modestly, without causing men thinke of her, that she condemne all that which she doth nor her selfe. A man may be wife without making shew thereof, and without enuying any man.

EPIST. CIIII.

Of his sicknesse and the cure, and the charity his wife had of him. That he had changed his abode for recreation sake, and hereupon an excellent discourse upon trauaile. That it is not prestiable of it selfe, except it be made so by the minde. Let that be amended, and the affections cut off, and that then enerie station and estate will be pleasing. That there is likewise another kinde of trauaile, to haue recourse vnto ancient and great men, to behold them in our thoughts, and to imitate them. This rooteth out vices, that planteth vertues, and to this inniteth he L. CIIII.

Fled into my Grange at Nomentanum: but why thinkest thou? to shun the Citie? Not the feuer which began to leaze vpon me. And now alreadie she had laid hold on me. Forthwith therefore I commanded my Coach to be made readie, although my wife *Paulina* were against it: My Phylitian hauing touched my pulse, and finding the arterie beating incertainly and contrary to nature, said, that it was the beginning of a feuer. Yet notwithstanding I resolved my selfe to let forward; remembre me of a speech of *Gallio*, my Lord and Master, who being in Achaia, and feeling himselfe surprisid with a feuer, forthwith embarked himselfe, crying out that this sickness of his proceeded from the aire of the countrie, and not from his bodie. This told I to my *Paulina*, who recommended my health vnto me. For whereas I know that her soule is translated and liueth in mine, for her content sake I begin to haue a care of my health. But although that old age hath fortified me against diuers difficulties, yet at this present begin I to lose this benefit of age. I thought that in this old man there was a young man, that was ouer much tendered. So then, because I cannot require that my wife should loue me more entirely then she doth, thee hath begged so much at my hands, that now I cherish my selfe more tenderly then I otherwise did. For we must giue way vnto honest affections, and sometimes also, if vrgent causes require it, our soule in honor of our friends is to be recalled, though it be to our torment, and retained betwix our teeth, because a vertuous man is bound to liue, not as long as he liketh, but as long as he must. He that without respect of his wife and friends, laboureth for nought else but to end his life, and demandeth death, is ouer delicate. Let the soule haue this commandement ouer her selfe, (when the profit of those, to whom she is obliged, requireth the same) to shunne death, not onely for her owne cause, but likewise when she is

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vpon the point to dislodge and leaue the body, to reenter againe, to the end she may be enabled to doe her friends seruice. It is the argument of a great mind to returne vnto life for another mans good, as diuers great personages haue many times done. And this also esteeme I to be a great humanity, to maintaine old age more intently (the fairest fruit whereof consisteth in maintenance of her health, and in liuing more orderly then she was accustomed) if thou knew that to be a thing either pleasant, profitable, or wished for of any of thy friends. Moreouer, there is a great ioy and profit therein. For what greater contentment may there be, then to be so dearly beloved by a mans Wife, that for that cause thou shouldst become more louing to thy selfe? My *Paulina* therefore cannot onely impute her feare vnto me, but mine also. Demandest thou therefore what successe my determination had in going into the country? As soone as I had gotten out of the foggie aire of Rome, and from the stinke of the smoakie chimneys thereof, which being stirred, powre forth whatsoeuer pestilent vapours they held inclosed in them; I felt an alteration of my disposition. How much, thinkest thou, was my strength increased, when I came vnto my Grange? No sooner entred I the Meads, but I began to rush vpon my meat with a strong appetite. Thus therefore for the present haue I recovered my selfe: this leanenesse of body, which hath no securitie of health, and which begetteth to decline, is vanished from me, and I begin to studie diligently. The place yeelds little furtherance therunto, if the mind be not assisstant to it selfe; for if he list, amidst all affaires and troubles he may haue a place of retirement. But he that maketh choice of the place, and idletly it vainly, shall euery where find a nooke wherein to restraine himselfe. For it is reported, that *Socrates* (hearing a certaine man complain, that he had lost his time in traueilling heere and there) returned this answer: Not without cause hath this befallen thee, for thou trauelledst with thy selfe. O how happy would diuers men be, if they could wander from themselves! But they are the first that sollicite, corrupt, and terrifie themselves. What availeth it to passe the Seas, and to change Citie? If thou wilt flee these things wherewith thou art vrged, thou needest not be in another place, but become another man. Put case thou wert come to Athens, or to Rhodes, chuse what Citie thou pleasest; what skilleth it what manners they haue? Thou shalt carry thither thine owne. Thinkest thou, that riches make men happie? Pouertie (yea, the appearance and presumption thereof, which is a lamentable opinion) shall incessantly torture thee. For although thou possessest much, yet because another man hath more, thou shalt seeme vnto thy selfe by so much the poorer, by how much the other is more rich. Supposest thou that honours are good? It shall grieve thee that such a man is made Consul, & that such a one hath twice enioyed the Office, it shall vex thee when thou shalt find in the publique registers any mans name oftner then thine owne. So great shall the furie of thy ambition be, that if any one shall outstrip thee, thou wilt not thinke that any marcheth behind thee. Wilt thou suppose death to be an extreme euill? When as there is nothing euill in it, but the feare which is before it; not onely the dangers, but the suspicions will terrifie thee. Thou shalt incessantly be tormented with dreames and shadows. For what shall it profit thee, that thou hast escaped so many Cities of Greece, and made thy way by flight thorow the midst of those enemies? Peace it selfe shall afflict thee. Thou shalt no wayes trust those things that are most assured, as soone as thy minde shall be shaken. For as soone as she hath gotten a custome to entertaine improuident feare, thou art no more disposed to entertaine any

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repose or contentment in thy selfe. For the shunneest not, but flyest from the stroke; but if we turne our backs to afflictions, they haue greater hold-fast on vs. Thou wilt iudge it a grieuous euill to lose any of those friends thou hast loued, whereas meane while it is as great folly to bewaile them, as to weepe because the leaues of thy faire shadowing trees, which adorne thy house, are fallen and shaken to the ground. As much flourisheth the one, as the other which delighteth thee. Death will shake downe the one to day, the other to morrow. But as we suffer patiently the fall and losse of the leaues of our trees, because they will spring againe: so oughtest thou to endure the losse of thy friends, whom thou conceitest to be the ioyes of thy life, because they shal be restored, although they be not now borne. But they shall not be such as they were whilst they remained in this world. Neither shalt thou thy selfe be the same. E-very day, euery houre changeth thee; but in others the nourishment appeareth more easily: here it lyeth hidden, because it is not done openly. Some are carried away; but wee our felues are secretly stolne away. Wilt thou thinke of none of these things? Wilt thou apply no remedies to these wounds, but send vnto thy selfe the causes of thy cares, by hoping something, and despairing other? If thou beest wise, mixe the one with the other, neither hope thou without desperation, neither despair without hope. What can trauell profit any man of it selfe? It tempereth not pleasures, it bridleth not desires, it pacifieth not displeasures, it breaketh not the vntamed assaults of loue. To conclude, it disburtheneth the minde of no euill, neither giueth iudgement, nor shaketh off error, but detaineth the minde for a short time, and entertaineth it with noueltie of things, as we see children stand at gaze, when they behold any thing which they haue not scene. To conclude, this going and coming doth no more but make the inconstant thought more light and stirring, which in the height of his euill prouoketh and altereth it selfe in such sort, that they who most earnestly trauelled into any Countrey, depart from thence more hastily, and after the manner of skipping birds, flie thence more swiftly, then they came thither. Trauell will giue thee knowledge of Nations, will shew thee the new formes of Mountaines, the spacious and vnaccustomed Plaines, the Valleys watered with running Ri- uers: some Floud that hath a certaine notable proprietie, as Nilus, which increaseth in Summer; or Tygris, which loseth it selfe, then hauing made a long circuit vnder the earth, reentreteth his Channell, and reneweth his swift and spacious course as before; or how *Mæander* (the exercise and play of all Poets) maketh an infinite Windlasse of Turnes and Returnes, that oftentimes discharging her selfe from her owne Channell, breaceth along the bedde of her neighbour flouds, and so returneth. But such voyages will neyther make thee more healthie, or more wise. We must conuerser amongst Studies, and amongst the authors of Wisdome, that we may learne that which we desire to know, and seeke out that which is as yet vnfound. By this meanes mult the minde be redeemed from miserable seruitude, and set at libertie. As long as thou shalt be ignorant of that which thou shouldest flie or follow, of that which is necessarie and superfluous, of that which is iust and honest, this may not be said a trauaile, but an error. This turmoyle will comfort thee nothing, for thou wanderest accompanied by thy affections, and thy euils follow thee. Would to God they might follow thee, and were further off from thee: now thou bearest them on thy backe, thou ledest them not. For which cause, they euerie way weigh thee downe, and feare thee with equall incommo-
dities. The sick man

must

must seeke out for a good medicine, not for a new country. Hath any one broken his legge, or put a member out of ioynt? He gets not to his Couch, he embarkes not in his Ship, but calleth for a Physician, to the end he may write that which was broken, and set the ioynt in his place that was dislocated. To what end then thinkest thou, that by changing thy country, thou mayest heale thy bruised and broken mind in so many places? This euill is more great, then to be cured by being carried hither and thither. Trauell neither maketh a Physician nor an Orator. There is neither Art nor Science that is learned by changing place in this sort. What then, is not wisdome (which is the greatest treasure of all others) learned in trauels? Trust me, there is no iourney that may retire thee apart from thy desires, thy displeasures, and thy feares; or if there were any, all mankind by troupes would trauell and flocke thither. So long will these euils presse thee and macerate thee, whilst thou wanderest by land and sea, as long as thou bearest the causes of thine euils in thee. Wonderest thou at this, that thy flight profiteth thee nothing? Why man, the things thou flyest are with thee. Mend thy selfe therefore, shake off thy burthens, and at least wile containe thy desires within compasse. Root all wickednesse out of thy mind: if thou wilt haue thy trauels delightfull, heale thy companion. Auarice will cling vnto thee, as long as thou liuest with a couetous and base companion. Pride will cleaue vnto thee, as long as thou conuersest with a proud man. Thou wilt neuer lay aside thy crueltie in a Hang-mans company. The fellowship of adulterers will enkindle thy lusts. If thou wilt be discharged of vices, thou must retire thy selfe as farre off from all euill examples. Auarice, dissolution, crueltie, fraud (such enemies that approaching thee, will wound thee grievously) are within thee. Acquaint thy selfe with the better sort, liue with such as *Cato*, *Lælius*, and *Tiberius* were: and if thou take a liking to liue among the Grecians, conuerse with *Socrates* and with *Zeno*; the one will teach thee how to die, if it be needfull, the other, how to die before it be needfull. Liue with *Chrysippus* & *Poisonius*: These will teach thee the knowledge of diuine and humane things. These will command thee to put in practise that which thou hast learned, and not to content thy selfe with a polished tongue, which tickleth the eares of the hearers, but to fortifie thy heart, and to confirme it, to confront casualtie. For the on-ly port of this troubled and turbulent life, is to contemne those things that may happen, to remaine resolute, to oppose a naked bosome against all the darts of aduersitie, without playing the coward, or seeking starting holes. Nature hath created vs valiant: and as to some creatures she hath giuen a fierce, to some a subtil, to other some a fearefull; so hath she giuen vs a glorious and high spirit, that seeketh where he may liue most honestly, nor most securely: resembling the World, which in as much as humane abilitie will giue him leaue, he followeth and counterfeitereth. Hee seeketh nothing but prayse, and desireth to be scene. Hee is the Lord of all things, and aboue all things. Hee therefore submitteeth himselfe to nothing, nothing seemeth heauie vnto him, nothing that may make a man sloupe.

Trauaile and death are vgly to behold.

Nothing so, if a man might behold them clearly, and breake thorow the darkenesse. Many things that haue bene esteemed dreadfull by night, haue proued trifles and iesting sports by day.

Trauaile and Death are ugly to behold.

Worthily wrote our *Virgil*, he saith, that they were not terrible indeed, but in semblance, that is, they seeme so to be, but are not. What is there, say I, in these so dreadfull, as same hath reported them? What is there I pray thee (my *Lucilius*) that a man should feare either labour or death? Yet meet I with those men, that thinke all that impossible which they cannot doe, and say, that wee speake greater matters then humane nature may sustaine or effect. But how farre better opinion haue I of them? They also can doe these things, but they will not. To conclude, whom haue euer these precepts failed, that haue dained to make vse of them? who found them not more easie in action, then in infraction? It is not because they are difficult, that we dare not; but because we dare not, they are difficult. Yet if you require an example, behold *Socrates*, that most patient man, tossed in so many dangers; invincible in pouertie, which his domestique burthens made more grievous and cumbersome; invincible in those labours he suffred in warre, and wherewith at home he was dayly exercised; whether you respect his Wife, fierce in manners, and froward in tongue; or his rebellious and disobedient Children, more like their mother then their father. So for the most part he either was in warre, or in tyrannie, or in libertie, more cruell then warres or tyrannies. Seven and twentie yeeres he bare Armes; and hauing layd them aside, he saw his Citie enthralled vnder thirtie Tyrants, of which, the most part of them were his enemies. The last of these is his condemnation, vrged against him for most haynous crimes. The violating of Religion is objected against him, and the corruption of youth, which he was said to enforce against the Gods, against Parents, and his Common-weale. After all this, his Prison, and Poyson. So farre were these things from mouing *Socrates* minde, that they neuer moued his countenance. He maintained that his wonderfull and singular prayle vntill his dying day. No man saw *Socrates* eyther more merry or more sad, he continued equall in so great inequality of fortune. Wilt thou haue another example? Take me that *Cato* of Vtica, with whom Fortune dealt more cruelly, and more obdutely. Against which, whilst in all places he had made head, and last of all, in his death; yet approued he, that a confident and valiant man may liue and die in spite of Fortune. All his lifetime was spent in ciuill warre. And although thou say, that this man, no lesse then *Socrates*, spent his life in seruitude; except a man may haply thinke, that *Cneus Pompey*, and *Cesar*, and *Craffus*, were confederates to maintaine libertie. There was no man that euer saw *Cato* changed, in a Common-weale so oftentimes changed; in all occurrences he shewed himselfe one. In his Pretorship, in his Repulse, in his Accusation, in his Province, in his Speeches in the Armie, in his Death: finally, in that garboyle of the Common-weale, when as on the one side *Cesar* had trusted his fortunes to ten valiant Legions, on that side to the forces of so many forraigne Nations, and *Pompey* to his owne forces; when some enclined vnto *Cesar*, other some vnto *Pompey*: *Cato* only maintained and leui'd Armes for common libertie. If thou wouldest imagine in thy mind the Image of that time, thou shalt see on the one side the people with listning care hearkening after nothing but noueltie; on the other side, the Senatours and Knights, and what sooner was either holy and chosen in the Citie: two onely left in the middelt, the Common-weale and *Cato*. Thou wilt wonder, say, if thou shalt obserue.

ATRIDES

*ATRIDES graue, and PRIAMVS the old,
And Troians greatest feare, ACHILLES bold.*

For he condemneth both, and disarmeth both; and this is his opinion of both. he saith, that if *Cesar* preuaile, he will die; if *Pompey*, he will be banished. What had he to feare, which had decreed that against himselfe, eyther if he hapned to be eyther conquerour, or conquered, which might haue beene decreed by his most bitter enemies? he died therefore by his owne decree. Seest thou that men can suffer labours? He led his Army on foot thorow the miditt of the deserts of Africa. Seest thou that they may endure thirst? Leading the remainder of his conquered Armie along the desert hills, without any baggage, he suffered the want of drinke, being foulered in his armor, and as often as occasion offered him water, he was the last that drunke. Seest thou that honour and authoritie may be contemned? The same day he was repulsd from the Office he stood for, the same day played he at the Ball in the Market-place. Seest thou that great mens power may not be feared? He opposed himselfe against *Pompey* and *Cesar* at one time; the one of which no man durst offend, except it were to win the fauor of the other. Seest thou that death may be as well contemned as banishment? He both pronounced exile and death against himselfe, & in the Interim warre. Wee may then haue the same resolution against all accidents, provided, that we take a pleasure to discharge our necks of the yoke. First of all therefore pleasures are to be despised, for they weaken, disable, & demand much, and much is to be required at Fortunes hands. After these, riches are to be despised, which are the recompences of seruitude. Let gold and siluer, and what else soeuer loadeth happie houses, be left: Libertie is not bought for nothing; if thou highly prize her, thou must mis-prize and neglect all the rest.

EPIST. CV.

Short and profitable Precepts, tending to securitie. Reade them, and make vse of them.

THOU shalt know of me what those things are which thou art to obserue, to the end thou mayest liue more secure: yet so haere these Precepts I aduise thee, as if I should counsaile thee how to maintaine thy good health in the bad aire of *Adriaticum*. Consider what things they be that prouoke one man to seeke another mans ruine, and thou shalt finde, that they are Hope, Enuy, Hatred, Feare, and Contempt; of all these, Contempt is the lightest, in so much, as many haue lyeen hidden therein, for the safegard of their liues. Whom soeuer a man contemnerh, he kicketh at him, but passeth by him. No man purposely hurteth a contemned person, no man diligently. Euen he that is prostrate on the earth in a Conflict, is ouerslipped, where he that standeth is assaulted. Thou shalt frustrate the hope of the wicked, if thou hast nothing that may prouoke another mans wicked desire, if thou possesse nothing that is worthy the hauing. For those things that are of the greatest price, are most desired, although they be least knowne. So therefore shalt thou flie enuy, if thou makest no shew, if thou boast not of thy fortunes, if thou knowest how to enioy them to thy selfe. But as

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touching the hatred which proceedeth from offence, thou shalt avoid it thus, by prouoking no man without cause, from whence common sense will defend thee; for this hath bene dangerous to many. Some men haue had hatred, but not an enemy. The means not to be feared, shall be to liue in a meane and humble condition, when as men shall know that thou art such an one, whom they may offend without perill. Let thy reconciliation be both easie and certaine. But to be feared, is as dangerous at home as abroad; by thy seruants, as by thy children. There is no man that hath not power enough to hurt. Adde hereunto, that he who is feared, feareth. No man could be terrible securely. Contempt remaineth, the meanes whereof is in his power that is contemned, who is contemned because he would, not because he ought. The incommodie hereof, both good Arts doe discusse, and the friendships of those who are powerfull with any mighty man, to whom it shall be expedient for thee to apply thy selfe, not to entangle thy selfe with them, for feare lest the remedie cost thee more then the danger would. Yet nothing shall more profit thee, then to be quiet, and to conferre the least with many, the most with thy selfe. There is a certaine charming discourse, which creepeth into a mans bosome, and flattereth, and no other wise then drunkennesse, or loue, betrayeth secrets. Let no man conceale that which he hath heard, neither let any man speake as much as he hath heard: he that will not conceale the matter, will reueale the author. Euery one hath a friend, to whom he trusteth as much as is trusted to himselfe. To content himselfe with ones cares, & to set a watch before his lips, he shall adresse himselfe to the people; so that which now was a secret, becommeth to be a rumour. It is a great part of securitie to doe nothing wickedly. Cholericke and reuengfull men leade a confused and troublesome life; they feare as much as they hurt: neither at any time are they in quiet, for they feare, and are doubtfull when they haue done it. Their conscience suffereth them to doe nought else, and compelleth them oft-times to looke backe vnto themselves. Whosoever expecteth the stroke, is chastised enough; and whosoever hath deserved punishment, expecteth it. There is something in an euill conscience, that may settle it awhile, but nothing that may secure it. For he thinketh, that although he be not discovered, he may be discovered; and midst his dreames he is moued: and when as any other mans wickednesse speaketh, hee thinketh of his owne; hee thinketh it neuer sufficiently defaced, or fully covered. A wicked man hath sometimes had the fortune to hide himselfe, but neuer had he assurance in his hiding.

EPIST. CVL

An idle Question, taken out of CHRYSTIANS, Whether Good be a body. In the conclusion, somewhat against subtilties.



Little too late I answer thy Letters, not because I am troubled with much businesse: for beware thou accept not this excuse, I am at leysure, and all they that will, are at leysure. Affaires follow no man, but men embrace them, and thinke businesse to be an argument of felicity. What therefore was the cause that I did not presently write backe vnto thee, and answer thy question? It was a matter incident to my discourse; for thou knowest that I am determined to treat of Morall

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Philosophy, and to decide all those questions that depend thereupon. I therefore doubted whether I should deferre thee, or giue thee an extraordinary satisfaction, before I come vnto the place where this question should be handled. But I thought it a point of more humanitie, to delay him no longer, who was sent from so farre: by meanes whereof, I will extract this out of the sequell of those things that depend one vpon another; and if any shall occur of this nature, I will willingly send them thee, although thou requirest them not. Askest thou me what these be? Such things, as the science thereof, is more pleasing then profitable; as that is which thou bringest in question, Whether we call that Good which is a body? I answer, that it is a body, for it aceth. That which aceth, is a body; Good agitatech the minde, and in a manner formeth and containeth it: so then, the goods of the body are a body, and the goods of the soule are a body, and therefore the soule is a body. It must needs be, that the good of a man is a body, considering that a man is corporall. I am abused; if those things which nourish the body, and keepe it, and restore it to health, be not bodies. It followeth then, that the good of a man is a body. I thinke thou wilt make no question of this, that Affections are bodies, such as is Choler, Loue, and Sadnesse, (left in this place I should be enforced to intermixe those things, whereof thou makest no question.) If thou doubtst, consider if they change not the countenance, if they bend not the brow, if they smooth not the face, or prouoke not blushing, or enforce not palenesse: What then? I thinke thou, that so manifest notes are imprinted in the body, without a body? If Affections be bodies, and the sicknesses of the mind, such as are Auarice and Cruelty, such as are obdurate and incurable euils, Malice, and all the kinds thereof, as Malignitie, Enuy, Pride, shall be bodies likewise, and consequently good: first, because they are contrary vnto these; againe, because they produce in thee the same effects. Seest thou not what vigour fortitude giueth to the eyes? how great intention, prudence? how much modestie and quiet, reuerence? what contentment, ioy? what rigour, seueritie? what remission, mirth? They are therefore bodies, which change the habite and colour of bodies, which exercise their dominion in them. Was it euer doubted, but that meanes whereby a body is touched, is a body? *For nothing can touch and be touched, except it be a body,* as the Poet *Lucretius* saith. But all these things whereof I haue spoken, would not change a body, except they touched the same; therefore they are bodies. I likewise say, that that part of vs which is so powerfull, that it pulseth, constraineth, stayeth, and commandeth, is a body. What therefore? doth not feare retrayne vs? doth not boldnesse enforce vs? doth not fortitude harden and giue force? doth not moderation bridle and retraineth? doth not ioy extoll? doth not sadnesse dismay? To conclude, whatsoeuer we doe, we doe it either by the command of malice, or vertue. That which commandeth the body, is a body; that which haddeth force vnto the body, is a body: the good of the body, is a bodily good; the good of a man, is the good of the body, and therefore is it corporall. Because as thou wilt it me I haue satisfied thy desire, now will I say that vnto my selfe, which I see thou wilt say vnto me: We play at Tables, our subtilty is spent on trifles. These make not men good, but learned. There is more plainenesse and simplicitie in true science. We need little learning, to haue a good conscience. But as we in all other things are lauish in superfluities, so are we in Philosophy, and abuse it with babble. Euen as we are traualled with intemperance in all things, so are we in good letters; we learne not to liue, but to dispute.

EPIST.

EPIST. CVII.

He comforteth LVCILLIVS, and animateth him upon the flight of his seruants. That these and such like are incident vnto life, and therefore not to be reputed as sudden. Suffer that therefore which thou dost not amend. A good and wise Epistle.

WHat is become of thy wisdom? Where is thy subtiltie in conceiving things? Where is thy magnanimity? Art thou travelled with such trifles? Thy seruants thought, that thy Occupations were the occasions of their flight. If thy friends should deceiue thee, (for let them haue that name which *Epicurus* gaue vnto them, and be so called) what damage should it thou receiue? Thou wantest them, who both interrupted thy good actions, and made thee troublesome vnto others. There is no nouelty or vnexpected euent herein. It is as ridiculous a thing to be offended herat, as to complaine, that thou art either wet with water, or sprinkled with dirt as thou wakest in the streets. The same is our condition in this life, as if we were in a Bath, amongst a multitude of people, or in a great high-way; some things will be intermitted, some things will befall. It is no delicate thing to liue. Thou art entred into a long way, wherein perforce thou must slip, thou must iustle, thou must fall, thou must be wearied, and thou must exclaime, O death! that is, thou liest. In one place thou shalt leaue thy companion, in another thou shalt burie him, in another thou shalt feare him; with such like inconueniences we must performe and tread this troublesome iourney. Will he haue me die? Let our mindes be prepared against all accidents, let them know that they are come hither,

*Where sorrowes and reuengefull cares doe sleepe,
Where sicknesse pale, and wearie age doe keepe.*

In the companie of these, must life be led; thou canst not escape these. Thou mayest contemne them; and thou shalt contemne them, if thou oftentimes be thinke thee on that which is to come, and suppose it present. Whoeuer hath of a long time prepared himselfe vnto any thing, he performeth the same with greater courage; and if he hath premeditated any aduersities, he maketh head against them afterwards. Contrariwise, the man which is vnprepared, starteth backe for feare, vpon the least danger that presenteth it selfe. Let vs take order that nothing may befall vs, which may moue vs to say, I had not thought it. And because that nouelties are most distastfull, such continuall thought will bring to passe, that thou shalt not be apprentice to any aduersitie. Haue thy seruants forsaken thee? They haue robbed one, accused another, killed this man, betrayed that, trampled vnder their feet & poysoned that man, and borne false witness against another. All those mischiefs which thou canst call to memory, haue befallne diuers, and will hereafter happen. The arrowes that are shot against vs, are diuers, and great in number. Some are sticking in vs, other some are darted at vs, and approach vs neerely, and other some there are which are shot at our neighbours, which doe no lesse grieve vs, then if they were leuelled against our selues. Let vs not wonder at any accident whatsoever, we are borne thereunto, there is no man that hath occasion to complaine himselfe, because that all men haue their parts, yea their equall portion: for if any man hath escaped from an

an inconuenience, he might haue felt it. But an ordinance is equall vnto all those to whom it is proposed, although all men make not vse thereof. Let vs commaund our Soule to continue in her entire, and let vs pay those tributes which wee owe vnto Nature, without murmure. The Winter bringeth on Frosts, wee be cold; the Summer bringeth heats with her, wee shall sweat for heat: the intemperature of the ayre tryeth our bodies; we shall be sicke. We shall meete in one place with a sauage Beast, or a Roarer, worse then all Beasts whatsoeuer: the one shall be drowned, the other brought to alhes. We cannot alter this condition of things. That which we may, is to haue a resolute heart, and worthy of a good man, by means whereof we endure all accidents constantly, and content our selues with the order of Nature, which in this present government causeth those reuolutions which thou now obseruest. After raine comes faire weather, after stormes and tempests succeed calmes and faire seasons. The winds blow the one after the other. We see one part of the Heavens, and the other is hidden from vs. The world is composed of contrarie elements. Let vs apply our Soules vnto this Law, let her follow and obey the same: let him thinke, that all that which happeneth, must happen. Let her beware in any sort to taske Nature: it is good for thee to endure that which thou canst not amend, and to follow that great God without murmure or complaint, by whose prouidence all things come to passe. The Souldier is not good that vnwillingly followeth his Captaine. And therefore let vs obey her readily and willingly, without intercepting the course of so faire a life, as mans life is, in which is interlaced all the euill which we suffer: and in conclusion, let vs speake vnto God, by whose ordinance and direction all this round Orbe is gouerned, in the same termes as our *Cleanthes* doth in elegant Verse, which I wil presume to translate into our Tongue, in imitation of *Cicero*, that thrice eloquent Orator. If they please thee, it shall content me; if they distaste thee, know that herein I am conformable vnto *Cicero*. Heare then that which *Cleanthes* saith:

*O Sovereigne Father, and eternall Lord
Of highest Heavens, conduct me at thy pleasure,
Vnto thy powerfull will I straight accord,
Make me not will, yet mourning without measure.
He wait vpon thee, and in being bad,
Suffer all that, which if my minde were iust,
I might endure with all the strength I had.
Whither thou wilt, O God, I will and must:
If she delays, both heart and feete are willing,
The fates conduct, they forward draw the willing.*

Let vs liue thus, let vs speake thus, let the destinies finde vs alwayes addressed and willing. This courage that is thus bounded within the hands of God, is the greatest in all kindes. Contrariwise, that man is both faint and recreant, that starteth backe, that complaineth him of the government of the World, and that had rather censure the Gods then himselfe.

EPIST.

EPIST. CVIII.

How the Philosophers are either to be read or heard with iudgement, and those things in especiall are to be chosen out of them, and put to memorie, which animate vs to good life. They that seeke delights, studie in vaine; studie thou thy amendment. Neither is this hard to be done, for Nature her selfe inciteth vs vnto honestie, for the seedes and incitements thereof are in our minds; they grow and encrease, when a learned Teacher and animator doth aide. This proueth he by his owne example, when he was ATTALVS his scholler. Afterwards he sheweth, that we come with diuers ends and mindes to reade Authors, and that we Philosophers should doe the like. Let vs obey him: both reade and heare you that are louers of Learning.

WHat whereof thou enquirest, is of the number of those things which it behooueth thee only to know, to the end, that a man may say that thou knowest it: yet notwithstanding, since it is pertinent for thee to know it, and thou pressest me so instantly, and wilt not attend those bookes which I will shortly finish, that containe in good order all the part of Morall Philosophie; I will presently resolve thee: yet first of all will I write vnto thee, how this desire of Learning, wherewith I see thee thus transported, should be gouerned, for feare lest it binder it selfe. Thou must neither ouer-runne, nor greedily invade all Sciences; by parts we attaine the whole. The burthen must be fitted to the strength, neither ought we to embrace more then we are able to containe. Draw not as much as thou wilt, but as much thou mayest hold. Only haue thou a good courage, and thou shalt comprehend as much as thou pleasest. The more the minde receiue, the more it is enlarged & greatned. These things, as I remember, our Master Attalus taught vs, when as we besieged his Schoole, and came first, and departed last, and prouoked him, whilest he walked, to some disputes; not onely addressed to informe those that learned of him, but to meeete with them vnprouoked. He that teacheth (saith he) and he that learneth, should haue one and the same intention, the one to instruct, the other to profit. He that commeth vnto the Philosophers Schooles, must dayly carrie away some good thing with him; either returne more wise vnto his home, or better disposed to wisdom. But he shall returne: for such is the power of Philosophie, that she not onely helpeth those that studie the same, but those also which frequent her. He that commeth into the Sunne, shall be Sunne-burnt, although he came not to that end. They that sit downe in a Perfumers shop, and haue stayed a while therein, beare away with them the odour of such a place; and they that haue conuersed with a Philosopher, must needs draw somewhat, that might profit cuen those that are negligent; marke what I say, negligent, but not repugnant. What then? Know we not some men that for many yeeres haue conuersed and frequented with a Philosopher, without receiuing any tincture thereof? Why should I not know them? yea, and such as were most industrious and diligent, whom I rather call the Hostes, then the disciples of Philosophers. Some come to heare, not to learne, as we are drawne into the Theatre for our pleasures sake, to delight our eares with Orations, Musick, or Comedies. Thou shalt see a great part of the auditors, that make the Philosophers Schoole the Inne of their idleness. Their intention is not in that place to dispossesse themselves of some vices, or to receiue some instruction, or rule of life, whereby they might reforme their man-

manners, but to enioy some delight that tickleth their eares. Some other there are that come to their Tables, not to quote downe matter, but words, which they learne as well without other mens profit, as they heare them without their owne. Some rowle themselves when they heare any magnificent speeches, and are affectioned no lesse then the speakers themselves, chearefull both in lookes and mind: neither are they otherwise moued, then those effeminate French are wont to be, that hand and foot it according to the Phrygian strain; these men are rauished & prouoked by the beautie of things, not by the found of vaine words. If any thing be spoken bitterly against death, if ought be vrged proudly against Fortune, thou art forthwith addressed to doe that which thou hearest. They are affected, and let them be such as they are commaunded, if that former remaine in the minde, and if the people, which disswadeth all honest things, doe not forthwith extinguish this worthy forwardnesse. Few are they that could bring home with them that minde they had conceiued. It is an ealie matter to stirre vp a hearer to the desire of that which is right. For Nature hath giuen vnto all men the foundations and seedes of vertue, all of vs are borne vnto all these things: when as a prouoker inciteth our mindes, then are those goods of the mind, which were in a manner laid asleepe, awakened and reuiued. Seest thou not how the Theaters ring, as often as some things are repeated, which we publicly acknowledge, and testifie to be true by consent?

*Pouertie wanteth many things, Auarice all things,
The covetous man is good to no man, and worst to himselfe.*

The basest companion will applaud these verses, and is glad to heare his owne vices blamed. How much greater weight should these things haue, being spoken by a Philosopher, when as verses are interlaced with holosome counsels? thinkest thou not that they will more effectually worke in the minds of the vnlettered? For (as Cleanthes said) euen as our breath yeeldeth a more cleare sound, when as the trumpet, after it hath driuen the same thorow the straits of a long Pipe, doth at last giue him a larger vent at the end thereof; so the strict necessitie of a vice maketh our senses more cleare. Those things are heard more negligently, and perswade lesse powerfully, as long as they are delivered in prose and ordinary discourse: but when as they are shut vp in numbers & good sense, be inclosed in certaine feet and cadences, that very sentence is darted and deliuered as it were an arrow from a strong arme. Many things are spoken in contempt of Money, and in long Orations we are taught this, that men should thinke that their riches are in their mindes, & not in their patrimonies; and that he is rich who fitteth himselfe to his pouerty, & maketh himselfe rich of a little. Yet are our minds more moued, when such like things are spoken in verse:

*He that coueteth little, hath not need of much,
He hath that which he would, who can with as much as he would.*

When we heare these or such like things, we are constrained to acknowledge the truth. For they to whom nothing is enough, admire, applaud, and publish their hatred to many. When as thou seest this affliction of theirs, vrge the same, presse and prosecute this, laying aside all ambiguitie, syllogismes, cauils, and other vaine subtilties of a fruitlesse braine; speake against avarice, in weight against dissolutenesse: and when thou perceivest that thou hast profited, and moued the

the hearts of thine auditorie, prosecute it with vehemencie. It is impossible that such a discourse, tending vnto remedie, and intirely intended for the good of the assembly, should be other then profitable. For those minds that are not as yet obdurate, may be easily induced to loue right and vertue. If truth find a fit and conuenient aduocate, she easily seizeth on those that are willing to learne, and lesse peruerted. For mine owne part, when as I heard *Attalus* declayne against vices, errors, & the mischiefs of this life, I oftentimes deplored the miseries of mankind, and haue beleued, that he was exalted and rayled aboue all other men. He said likewise, that he was a King, but I thought him somewhat more, by reason that it was lawfull for him to censure Kings. But when he began to prayse pouertie, and to shew, that all that which exceedeth necessary vyle, is a superfluous burthen, and grieuous to him that beareth the same, I oftentimes wished to depart poore out of his Schoole. When he began to traduce our Pleasures, to prayse a chaste Body, a sober Table, a pure Mind, not only exempted from vnlawfull pleasures, but also superfluous; I required no more, but to temper my appetite, & gouerne my belly. From thence I gathered some good instructions, my *Lucilius*: for with carnest affection I attempted all things, and being afterwards drawne vnto a Citizens life, I haue conserued some few of those faire and good beginnings. From thence it came, that for all my life time I renounced Oylers & Muskhomes: for these are no meats, but entertaine the appetite, & constrain those that are full, to eate more; which is very pleasing to those that are gluttons, who desire no more, but to fill their paunches with such things which easily enter, & are as easily vttered. I haue abstained also euer since from Oynments and Perfumes, because the best odour in our body is none at all. Thereupon haue I refrained Wine, and during all my life time fled from bathing, supposing it to be an vnprofitable & nice custome, to feeche the body, and consume it with sweating. These other customes in life, which I had given ouer, are brought in request, yet so, that I keepe a measure in these from which I had abstained, and vse them very little, and with difficultie, because there are certaine things more easie to cut off wholly, then to gouerne well. Because I haue begun to declare vnto thee with how much more greater courage I came to Philosophy, being a young man, then now when I am old, I will not be ashamed to confesse vnto thee, what loue *Sotion* ingrafted in me in regard of *Pythagoras*; he taught me why he and *Sextius* after him abstained from eating flesh. Each one of these had a different cause, but both of them were magnificent. The one supposed, that man had sufficiencie to feede vpon without bloud, and that a custome of crudelty began, when tearing of flesh was drawne to be a pleasure. Hereunto hee added, that the matter of dissolution should be contracted and gathered, that multiplicitie of meats were contrarie to mans health, & nothing healthfull to our bodies. But *Pythagoras* held, that there was a communion and consanguinitie of all things, with the one and the other, and that the one is changed into the other, in such sort, that (if a man will beleue him) no soule perissheth, neither ceaseth, but for a small time, whilst it is infused into another body. We shall see by what reuolutions of Seasons, and after how many abodes in diuers bodies, the Soule shall reenter into a man; meane while this opinion hath made men fearful, for they haue bene afraid to become murderers and parricides, because that in eating of a beall, they might as well seize on their fathers Soule, and with knife or tooth offend a thing wherein the Soule of any one of their kindred might be lodged. *Sotion* hauing proposed and confirmed this by his arguments, added hereunto, Doeſt thou not beleue (saith he) that

that soules are distributed from one body to another, and that which we call death is no other thing but a passage from one bodie into another? Doeſt thou not beleue that in these tame or savage beaſts either killed or drowned, there forineth sometimes the soule of a man? wilt thou denie that nothing perissheth in the world, but doth but onely change aire and countrey, and that not onely the heauens turne, but that living creatures & soules likewise haue their reuolutions? Diuers great personages haue beleued these things, and therefore hold thou thine opinion in suspence, yet keepe thou all things intire vnto thy selfe. If these things be true, it is innocence to abstaine from living creatures: if they be false, it is irugalitie; what damage receiueſt thou crudelty hereby? I take from thee the meate of Lions and Vultures. Perſwaded thus by these arguments, I began to abstaine from flesh, & ere a yeare was finished, the custome was not onely easie vnto me but pleasing. I thought my spirit more free then it was before, neither can I at this time iustifie vnto thee whether it were so or no. Doeſt thou aske me how I haue discontinued this manner of life? It was in my yonger daies, at such time as *Tiberius* was Emperour, when as the Religions of strangers were banished out of Rome, and to proue the superstitions of the same, they alledged that they abstained from touching the flesh of some creatures. So then vpon my fathers request, who feared not reproch, but hated Philosophie, I returned to my former custome: neither was it a hard matter for him to perſwade mee to begin to lye better. *Attalus* was wont to praise a hard bed, and such as resisteth the bodie: such a one vse I now in mine olde daies, wherein you cannot discouer any print where I haue lien. These things haue I related vnto thee, to let thee know how vehement the first apprehensions of yong children be, and how inclined vnto all good things, if any man exhort them, or egge them forward. But in some kind the teachers are deficient, who teach vs to dispute, and not to lye: in some sort the learners who bring vnto their Masters a purpose not to rectifie their iudgements, but polish their tongues; so that which was Philosophie is made Philologie. But it is verie pertinent to the matter to examine with what purpose thou addressſt thy selfe to any thing. He that examineth *Virgil* to that intent he may become a Grammarian, he readeth not with this intent that worthy verse of his,

Time flies, and neuer is to be recald againe.

You must watch: except we make haste we are forsaken. The day that swiftly flietheth from vs, driueth vs forward and is driuen away. We are rauished before we know it. We dispose of all things as if we were to lye long time, and amidst so many dangers we are sluggards. But to obserue that as often as *Virgil* writeth of the swiftnesse of time, he vseth this word, *flyeth*,

*The better dayes of wretched mortall life,
First flie, then sicknesse reignes, and irksome age,
And tedious labour rules and waxeth rife,
And lastly, death sweeps all with mortall rage.*

He that truly addictheth himselfe vnto Philosophie, applieth such sentences as beſtitteth him: neuer saith he that the daies goe, but that they flie, which is the most swiftest kinde of running, and that the better times are rauished from vs first. Why therefore cease we to spur on our idlenesse, to the end wee might outstrip the time which flietheth away so swiftly? The better dayes flye away,

the worke succeed. Euen as out of a vessell the purest floweth out first, and that which is most heauie and troubled, setteth in the bottome; so that which is first in our life is the best. We rather suffer others to draw out the purest, to the intent to referue the dregges vnto our selues. Let this sentence be imprinted in our mindes, and please vs as much as if it were an Oracle sent from heauen,

*The best dayes of wretched mortall life,
Flie first*

Why the best? Because that which remaineth is vncertaine. Why the best? Because being young we may learne, and conuert and addict our tender mindes, and pliable to the better, vnto the best: because this time is fit for labour, fit to exercise our wits in studie, and our bodies with labour. That which remaineth is more flow and faultie, and neerer to the end. Let vs therefore wholly apply our selues thereunto, and laying aside all these speculations, whereby we haue beene seduced, let vs apply our selues to one onely thing, for feare left at last we learne ouer-late to our confusion, that it is impossible to stay and recouer the time that flieth away so fast, without hope of returne. Let euerie first day please vs as if it were the best, and let vs reckon it properly ours, and let vs prevent that which enueth. This doth not he thinke that reads this verse with a Grammarians eie; that therefore euery first day is the best, because sicknesses succeed, old age presseth and pearceheth ouer the head of those, who as yet thinke themselves yong; but he saith, that *Virgil* alwaies vnited sicknesses and olde age together, and in truth not without cause, for olde age is an incurable disease. Besides, saith he, the Poet surnamed olde age, *Irk some*:

Then sicknest reignes, and irk some age.

Wonder not that from the same matter every man gathered that which is agreeable to his conceit. In the same field the oxee seeketh his Grasse, the dog his Hare, and the Storke his Lizard: when those bookes which *Cicero* wrote of a Common-weale, fall into the hands of him that would know all things, and of a Grammarian, & of a Philosopher, every one of these three hath his proper and peculiar election & thought. The Philosopher wondereth that so many things may be spoken against iustice. When this loue-prattle comes to the same reading, he noteth this, that there are Romane Kings, whereof the one had no father, and the other no mother: for each man doubteth which was *Seruius* mother, and *Ancus* father, who was reputed *Numaes* Nephew, is not to be found. Besides, he obserueth that he whom we call *Dictator*, & is so intituled in Histories, was by those in former times called the Master of the people, as it manifestly appeareth at this day in the books of the Augurs, and that he whom we call the master of the knights, hath takē his name from thence. He noteth likewise that *Romulus* died during the Eclips of the Sun; that there was an appeale from the Kings vnto the people, as also *Fenestella* holdeth that it is contayned in the Registers of the Bishops. When a Grammarian explicateth the same bookes, he first of all noteth in this day in the Comētarie, that *Cicero* vled this word *Reip-sa*, that is to say, indeed, & *Sepse* likewise for *Seipse*, that is to say, himselfe. Then passeth he ouer to those things which the custom of the age hath changed, such are those which *Cicero* vled, because we are recalled by his importunity frō the calce hereof, that is, frō the end of the cours: for that which now we call limits, those in times

times past called *Calcem*, that is to say, the heele or end of the foote. After this he gathereth *Ennius* verses, and especially those which were written by *Scipio* the African,

*To whom no friend or enemy in field,
Could lend that helpe which he to them did yeeld.*

Hereby he saith that he meaneth that this word *opera*, that is to say, labour, in times past signified *Auxilium*, that is to say, aide and succour: for he saith that there was not one either Citizen or enemy could render *Scipio* the reward of his labour. Furthermore, he esteemeth himselfe happie to haue found out this why it pleased *Virgil* to say,

Ore whom the mightie gate of heauen did thunder.

He saith that *Ennius* stole this from *Homer* and *Virgil* from *Ennius*. We reade in the same Bookes of *Cicero* this Epigram of *Ennius*,

*If it be free for any one t' ascend the heauenly throne,
The greatest gate of highest heauen is ope to me alone.*

But for feare lest I my selfe in thinking on other matters should my selfe become a humanist or *Pedant*, I say vnto thee, that we ought to referre that which we heare spoken by the Philosphers, and that which we reade in their bookes to this end, that we become vertuous, and not to affect olde and fayned words, nor to affect extrauagant and vnaccustomed manners of speaking, but let vs search out those precepts, which may profit vs, and such magnificent & manly sentences, which may be suddenly effected. So let vs apply these things, that those things which were wordes may be workes. But I thinke that no men doe worke deserue of mortall men, then they who haue learned Philosophy: as it were some mercenary occupation, who liue otherwise then they instruct other men to liue: for they themselves carrie about themselves, as examples of vnprofitable doctrine, being otherwise slaves to euerie sort of vice which possesse them. Such a Master can as little profit me as a Pilot that is Sea-sicke in the midst of a tempest: when the billowes are increased the helme must be steeled; we must strue with the Sea, and strike and hale in faile: what can a Master of a Ship helpe me that is astonished and vomiteth? With how more greater tempest thinkest thou is humane life tossed more then any ship? We are not to speake, but to gouerne. All that which they say, all that which they boast of before the common sort is to no purpose. *Plato*, *Zeno*, *Chrysippus*, *Pelidonius*, and an army of such Philosphers haue said & reaid it often. I will shew thee how they may approue these things to be their owne; let them act that which they said. Because I haue spoken those things which I would haue carried vnto thee, I will now satisfie thy desire, and I will referre the whole of that which thou requirest at my hands to another Epistle, lest hauing thy head wearied, thou bend thy attentue and curious eare to heare a difficult matter.

EPIST. CIX.

A short question: Whether a wife man may profit a wife man, and how? The cause of doubt is, because that all things are high in a wife man; neither may any thing be added to him: yet answereth he that he doth profit, and distinctly apprehendeth it. In the end he desireth unprofitable subtilities.



Hou desirest to know whether a wife man may be profitable to a wife man: we say that a wife man is replenished with all goodnesse, and hath attained to the fulnesse of perfection. The question is, how a man may profit him that hath attained the chiefest good. Good men profite one another; for they exercise vertue and containe wisdom in her estate: both of these require some man with whom he may conferre, with whom he may debate; vs exercise those who are cunning in wrangling, and warneth the Musitian who hath learned vnions. A wife man like wife hath neede to haue his vertues stirred, so that euen as he moueth himselfe, so is he moued by another wife man. What can a wife man profit a wife man? He will animate him, and shew him occasions of honest actions. Besides these, he will discouer some of his own thoughts, and will teach those things which he hath inuented. For there will be alwaies somewhat remaining for a wife man to finde out, and whereon his minde may be employed and occupied. An euil man hurteth an euil man, he maketh him worse by inciting wrath or feare, by assenting to sadnesse, by praying pleasures; and euen then are euil men most trauelled and troubled, when they haue made a mixture of many vices, and wickednesse becommeth compleate. Therefore on the contrary side, a good man may profit a good man. But how sayest thou? He will bring him ioy, he will confirme his confidence, and both of their ioyes shall encrease by beholding their mutuall tranquillitie. Besides, he shall deliuer him the notice of some things: for a wife man knoweth not all things; and although he knew them, yet may some man inuent more compendious waies in things, and teach the same by which more easily the whole worke is compassed. A wife man shall be profitable to a wife man, not onely in regard of his owne forces, but in respect of his also whom he helpeth. And he himselfe likewise being left vnto himselfe can expresse his owne parts. Let him make vse of his owne wisdomnesse, yet notwithstanding he helpeth him also that encourageth him that runneth. A wife man is not onely profitable to a wife man, but to himselfe. To this thou wilt object, Take from him his proper forces, and he doth nothing. In this sort thou maist say that there is no sweetnesse in honey: for he that eateth the same must be apt both in tong and pallat to entertaine this taste, that he may be delighted and not offended with the sauour thereof: for some there are to whom honey seemeth bitter in regard of their sicknesse. Both of them must be such, that both the one may teach, and the other be disposed to receive instructions. It were in vaine, saith he, to warme him more that hath bene hote to the extremitie, and as vaine is it to better him that hath attained the fulnesse of goodnes. Doth a husbandman that is his crafts-master in tillage, seeke instructions from another? Doth a soldier that is sufficiently armed to enter the field desire any further defence? Therefore not a wife man; for he is sufficiently instructed and armed for life. He that is in the height of heat, had no need of heat to warme him: further, heat it selfe, saith he, containeth it selfe; To this I answer, first

first of all, there is a great difference betwixt these things which thou comparest. For heate is one, but to profit is diuers. Againe, heate is not encreased in heate by the adiection of heate. A wife man cannot stand in the habit of his minde, except he admit some friends like himselfe, with whom he may communicate his vertues. Furthermore, adde herunto that there is a certaine friendship betweene all vertues. He therefore profiteth that loucheth any mans vertues that are equall with his, and giueth order also that his may be beloued. Those things that are alike doe delight, especially if they be honest, and know how to approue and to be approued. It is true, no other man but a wife man can cunningly moue a wife-mans minde, euen as no man may reasonably moue a man, except he be a man. Euen as therefore there needeth reason to helpe reason, so to moue perfect reason, there needeth perfect reason. They are saide to profit vs that giue vs meanes, as money, grace, health, and other things which are necessarie and deere to the vse of humane life; in these euen a foole shall be saide to profit a wife-man. But to profit and aid another, is to moue his thought by his vertue, and according to Nature, or by the vertue of him that shall be moued. And this also cannot be done without his good that profiteth; for in exercising another mans vertue, hee must needs exercise his owne. But that thou maist remoue these things, which either are the chiefest goods, or the efficientes of the chiefest: yet notwithstanding wife men may profit amongst themselves. For it is a thing that of it selfe meritieth to be desired by a wife man, to meete with another wife man, because that naturally a good thing is desired of his like, and a vertuous man acquainteth himselfe with another vertuous man, as willingly as with himselfe. I must needs for argument sake passe ouer from this question to another. For it is demanded whether a wife man will deliberate, or demand counsell of another man, which is necessarie for him to doe, when he will intreat of ciuill or domestical matters, or to speak more rightly, of mortal things. In this case he hath need of anothers counsell, as of a Physician, a master of a ship, an aduocate & proctor. A wife man sometimes may be profitable to a wife man, for he will perswade him. But in those great and diuine things also, as we haue saide, hee shall be profitable by ordinarily intreating of honest things, and by intermixing both their minds and thoughts. Besides, it is according to Nature, both to imbrace friends, and to conceiue as much ioy of a friends good action, as of his owne. For if wee doe not thus, vertue shall not remaine in vs, which in exercising her selfe taketh lustre by vse. But vertue perswadeth vs to dispose well of the present, to bethinke on that which is to come, to deliberate and intend the minde, and more easily shall he intend and explicate the same, who taketh and entertaineth another vnto him. He seeketh therefore either a perfect man, or one that profiteth, or is neere vnto perfection. But that perfect man will profit, if by common prudence the one helpeth the others counsell. They say, that men see more in other mens businesse then in their owne; and this belitteth those men whom selfe-loue blindeth, and to those also, whom feare of danger driueth from all consideration of profit. The man that is assured and deliuered from feare, will recouer his courage and become wise. Yet notwithstanding there are some things, which euen they who are the wisest doe more diligently discouer in others then in themselves. Moreover, that which is most sweete and honest, a wife man will procure a wife man to will and nill the same which he doth. They shall beare together a worthie charge; I haue performed that which thou requiredst at my hands, although it were couched in the order of those things, which we haue comprised in our bookes of morall

Philosophie. Betinke thee of that which I haue told thee often, that wee doe but exercise and whet our wits vpon these questions: for oftentimes returne I thither. What doth this thing profit me? will it make me stronger, iustier, or more temperate? I haue yet no leisure to exercise my selfe, I stand in need of a Physician. Why teachest thou me an vnprofitable Science? Thou hast promised me great matters, but I see little. Thou saidst I should bee dreadlesse, yea, although Swords glistered about me, although the point were readie to pierce my throat: thou saidst I should be secure, although I saw fires flaming about me; although a sudden whirle-wind should rauish and beare away my Barke thorow the whole Ocean. Doe thou thus much for mee, that I may contemne pleasure and glorie, then shalt thou afterwards teach mee how to resolute difficulties, distinguish ambiguities, and pry into those things that are obscure, now teach me those things that are necessary.

EPIST. CX.

That each one of vs haue our GENIUS, which he hath fauourable vnto him, who sooner hath a good minde. That the vowes and iudgements of those men are wicked, who estimate not things according to their value. That vaine things are wished for, and vaine things feared, and that the remedy of both is from Philosophie, whereunto he summoneth vs, hauing shaken off superstitions. In conclusion, he discovereth excessse, and reprehendeth it by ATTALVS worthy speech.

I Salute thee from my House at *Nomentanum*, and will thee to haue a good minde, that is, that all the gods may be propitious vnto thee, who are fauourable and very well affected towards him, who sooner is reconciled vnto himselfe. Lay apart for this present, the opinions of some men, that every one of vs hath giuen him a Pedagogue or god, not of these great and ordinary, but those of the inferior note, and of the number of those whom *Ouid* nameth popular gods. Yet so would I haue thee lay these things apart, that thou remember thy selfe that our Predecessours, who haue beleued these things, were Stoicks, for they attributed vnto every one his *Genius* and Goddesse *Iuno*. Hereafter we will examine whether the gods haue so much leisure to procure and provide for particular mens affaires. In the meane while know thou this, that whether wee are resigned to a fewall *Genius*, or else neglected and giuen ouer vnto Fortune, that thou canst with no man a greater mischiefe, then if thou shouldest desire that he may be his owne Enemy. Neyther needest thou with any man, whom thou thinkest worthy punishment, to haue the gods displeased with him; for I tell thee they are averse, although his life seemeth to prosper and flourish vnder their care and fauour. Consider and examine thou diligently what humane affaires be, not what they are called; and thou shalt know that more euils befall vs by our felues, then through the hand of casualtie. For how oftentimes hath that which is called calamitie bene the cause and beginning of our felicitie? How oftentimes hath a thing entertaigned with great pleasure, builded it selfe a degree from whence it might fall head-long, and hath rayfed some one man high, that was already eminent, as if hee should as yet continue in this place, from whence hee might safely fall? yet that falling, if thou consider the end, beyond which Nature directeth no man, hath not any euill in it selfe. The end of all things is at hand, it is at hand I say,

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as well that from whence a happie man is driuen by violence, as that from whence a miserable man is happily deliuered. Both these enlarge we, and make them long by feare and hope. But if thou best wife, measure all things by humane condition, and restrayne the occasions that may make thee ioy, or make thee feare. So great a thing is it, not to laugh at any thing long, to the end thou mayest not feare any other thing long. But why do I thus restrayne this euill? Thinke not that there is any thing that thou shouldest feare. These are but vaine things which moue and astonish vs, none of vs both as yet examined the truth thereof, but each one hath taught an other to feare. No man hath dared to approach that which procured his feare, or to know the nature and good of his owne affright. And therefore it is, that a thing so fallacious and vaine is yet redoubled, because no man disproueth or discouereth the same. Let vs only betinke our felues to open our eyes, and it shall presently appeare how short, incertaine, and secure things are feared. Such is the confusion of our minds; as *Lucretius* describeth it:

*For euen as in the blind and darkest night,
Tong children quake for feare, and shake with fright,
So feare we likewise in the clearest light.*

What then? are not we more foolish then children that feare at noone dayes? But this is false, *Lucretius*; wee feare not in the light, wee haue made all things darknesse to our felues: we see nothing, neither that which hurteth vs, nor that which helpeth vs; all our life-time we runne, and wander heere and there, yet for all this we neuer make stop, nor consider at any time where we fix our feet. And yet thou seest how furious a thing it is to run head-long in the darke, yet vndoubtedly we doe thus, to the end we may bee recalled from a further off, and whereas we are ignorant whither we are carryed, yet perseuere wee to run swiftly thither, whither we intended. But if wee will that the day may breake, yet but after one manner, that is, if a man receiue the knowledge of these humane and diuine things; if instead of meely sprinkling himselfe therewith, he taketh the tincture thereof; if although he know the same, hee often debateth thereupon, and relateth it oftentimes to himselfe. If hee haue sought what things are good and euill, and what things doe vnworthily challenge this title; if he enquire what things are honest or dishonest, and what is providence: neither within these bounds is the quicknesse of humane vnderstanding circumscribed. He taketh pleasure to cast his eye beyond the World, to examine whither it is carryed, whence it came, to what period so great a swiftnesse of things halsteneth. From this so high contemplation haue we drawne our minds into the consideration of fordid and base things, for to be slaves to avarice, so as ouer-slipping the earth and the bounds thereof, and the gods which gouerne and dispose all things, wee haue employed the same in consideration of embowelling the Earth; and not content with the goods which were offered, to search out what euill might bee digged out of it. Whatsoeuer is for our good, our good God and Father hath layd by vs. Hee expected not our inquisition, he gaue it freely, and buried those things that were hurtfull for vs in the bosome of the earth. Wee haue cause to complaine of none other but our felues. We in spite of Nature, and when shee had closely hidden them, haue brought those things to light, which are instruments of our ruine. Wee haue dedicated our minds vnto pleasures, the entertainment and allowance whereof is the be-

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ginning of all our mischiefs. Wee haue giuen them ouer to ambition and fame, and other things as vaine and fruitlesse as these. What therefore now doe I exhort thee to doe? No new thing, for wee seeke no remedies for new evils, but this, especially to consider in thy selfe, what thing is necessary, and what superfluous. That which is necessary, thou shalt find euery where before thee, but as touching those that are superfluous, thou must alwaies runne after them, and thou shalt hardly find them. Neyther hast thou cause to prayle thy selfe too much, if thou contemnest golden beds, and household stuffe garnished with precious stones. For what vertue is it to contemne superfluities? Then admire thou thy selfe, when thou contemnest necessary things. Thou dost no great thing, when as thou canst doe without Kingly entertainment, when thou desirest not wild Bores of a thousand pounds weight, nor the tongues of Phenicopteres, nor such other monsters of gluttony, which this day taketh no delight in whole beasts, but desireth and longeth after the leg of one, and the wing of another, and such and such members of another. Then shalt I admire thee when thou contemnest not the brownest Bread: if thou perswadest thy selfe that herbes when necessity requireth, doe not only grow for the vse of beasts, but for the nourishment of man. If thou knowest that the buddes of Trees are sufficient to fill the belly, into which wee gather so many precious things, as if it were a store-house to conserve them in, we must fil the same without lothing. For what skillerth it what it receiueth, since it must lose whatsoeuer it hath receiued. Thou takest pleasure to see a ranke of Platters charged with Fowle and Fish. There are meates which please thine appetite, because they are young and tender: contrariwise there are others more sauourie vnto thee, if they be so thicke and fat as they melt in their greafe. The very artificial smell of these delighteth thee. But vndoubtedly these meates so carefully fought out, and so cunningly sauced, being swallowed downe into the belly, conuert themselves into ordure of the same colour, and stinck. Wilt thou contemne the voluptuousnesse of meates? looke vpon them in thy Close-stoole. I remember that ATTALVS, not without the admiration of all men, was wont to say this: Riches, said he, haue oftentimes deceived me, when I saw any piece of them shine here or there, I stood in admiration to behold them. I thought that those which were hidden, were like those which were shewn. But in a certayne Circensian shew I saw all the riches of the Citie embellished with Gold and Siluer, and those things which exceeded cyther Gold or Siluer in price, exquisite colours, and garments that were brought not onely from our vttermost Territories, but beyond the furthest Confinnes of our Enemies. On this side the troopes of Children, seemely both in their habite and forme: on that side women, and other things, which the fortune of the greatest Empire hauing fought out her greatest riches, had brought forth. What other thing is this (said he) then to irritate the lusts and desires of men that are too forward of themselves? What meaneth this pompe of money? we are assembled together to learne Auarice. But vndoubtedly I carry hence lesse Couetousnesse then I brought with me. I contemned riches, not by reason they were superfluous, but because they were things of a small value. Seest thou not in how small a time this so mightie shew passed ouer, although they marched but slowly, and were ranked orderly? Shall this which could not fill the space of an houre, occupie our whole life? Hee likewise added this. They seemed vnto me as superfluous to those that had them, as those that beheld them. I therefore say thus to my selfe, as oftentimes as any such thing encountreth mine eyes,

eyes, as often as I see a rich and sumptuous house, a rich guard of Seruants, a Litter carryed by goodly Lackeyes. Why wondrest thou? why art thou amazed? It is but pompe. These things are shewne, not possessed; and whilst they please they passe by. Rather conuert thy selfe vnto true riches, learne to be content with a little, and with a great and manly minde exclaime thus, *Let vs haue water, let vs haue Barley steeped in water, and let vs contend with Iupiter himselfe for felicitie.* Let vs, I pray thee, do thus, although these things be wanting. It is a base thing to build a blessed life, eyther on Gold or Silver, and as base to found it on water and steeped Barley. What shall I therefore doe if these things be missing? Dost thou aske mee what remedie there is against need? Hunger endeth hunger, otherwise what importeth it if the things that make thee a slave be great or little? What matters it how much it be that fortune may deny thee? This very water and steeped Barley is at another mans command, but he is the freeman, not ouer whom fortune hath the least power, but he ouer whom she hath no power at all. It is so. Thou must desire nothing if thou wilt prouoke Iupiter that desireth nothing. These things spake ATTALVS vnto vs, but Nature cryeth it in all mens eares, which if thou wilt oftentimes thinke vpon, thou shalt make thy selfe really, not seemingly happy, and in effect seeme such vnto thy selfe, and not vnto others.

EPIST. CXI.

He proueth that cauils are but a vaine and base kinde of Philosophie, and that that part which concerneth manners is true, firme, and sublimed. Counsailling vs to that studie.

THOU hast enquired of me, what those things are called in Latine, which the Grecians call *Sophismata*: many men haue endeouored to expresse the same, but no man hath performed it; and the reason is, because the thing it selfe was not receiued by vs; neyther had in vse, and therefore likewise was the name of no account: yet that in my iudgement was the most fittest which *Cicero* vsed, who called them *Cauillationes*, that is to say, Cauiis; to which whosoever addiceth himselfe, he forgeth subtile questions, yet doe they profit him nothing vnto life, neither is he made the stronger, more temperate, or more excellent. But he that hath exercised Philosophie for his owne remedie sake is made mightie in mind, full of confidence, inuincible, & more great the neerer he approacheth the same. That which falleth out in the greatest Mountaynes, whose height appears least to those that behold them from a farre, and the neerer you approach them, the more manifestly appeareth it what their immeasurable height is: such, my *Lucilius*, is a true and no counterfeit Philosopher; he standeth in a high place, admirable, vpright, and truly great. He rayleth not himselfe on his feet, neyther walketh on his tiptoes, after the manner of those that helpe their height by shift, and would seeme longer then they be; he contenteth himselfe with his greatnesse. Why should he not content himselfe, since hee is growne so farre, as Fortune reacheth not her hand vnto him, and therefore is hee aboue all humane things? He is alwayes like himselfe in all things that may happen, whether the Nauigation of his life floateth vnder a prosperous wind, or be tossed by stormes and aduerse dangers. This constancie, these cauiis (of which I haue spoken

(spoken a little before) cannot affect. The minde dallyeth with these, but profiteth not: he casteth Philosophie from her Throne, and bringeth her vnto the plaine; neyther would I forbid thee to practise these things sometimes, but let it be then when thou wouldst doe nothing: yet haue they this one cursed qualitie in them, they leaue a certaine touch of delight behind them, and possesse and arreſt the mind that is induced by the appearance of subtiltie; meane while infinite and important affaires remayne behind, and scarcely may our whole life suffice to learne this one thing, which is, how to contemnelife. What, to gouerne it, sayest thou? This is the second worke: for no man euer well ruled it except he contemned it.

EPIST. CXII.

He despayreth the reformation of his Friend, old in yeares and vices.

VNdoubtedly I desire that thy friend according to thy wish should be both formed and instructed, but hee is held ouer-hard, or rather (which is more troublesome) hee is held ouer-tender, and broken by euill and daily customes. I will yeeld thee an example out of the husbandry I professe: It is not euery Vine that is fit for grafting; if it be old and Worme-eaten, if it be weake and slender, eyther it receiueſt not the young plant, or nourisheth it not, or it will not ioyne with it, neyther will communicate his qualitie and nature to the same. We therefore are accustomed to cut it about the ground, to the end that if it faile, a man may assay another experiment, and set him once more into the Earth. This man of whom thou writest, and whom thou recommendest, hath no forces. He hath bene in such sort addicted vnto vices that he is both dried and indurate. He cannot receiue or nourish reason, yet is he desirous. Beleue him not: I say not that he lyeth vnto thee, he thinketh he desireth. Hee is angry with the excess he hath made, yet will hee shortly fall in league with it againe. But hee saith that he is offended with his life. I will not deny it; for who is not offended? Men both loue and hate their liues. Then therefore will wee giue our iudgement of him, when he hath approued vnto vs that his excess is hateful vnto him; for the present I cannot resolue thee.

EPIST. CXIII.

He questioneth whether vertues be liuing Creatures. Hee stoycally affirmeth that the vices and affections are no lesse. Then preserues he a dispute, that were ridiculous in these dayes. He dissuadeth vs from such like, & summoneth vs to those things that are profitable to life.

How desirest mee to write vnto thee what I thinke of this question so much canuaſſed amongst Stoicks, whether Iustice, Fortitude, Prudence, and the rest of the vertues, are liuing Creatures. By this subtilty, my dearest *Lucilius*, wee giue occasion to some to thinke that we wet our wits about vnprofitable things, and that we lose our time in such disputes as serue to no purpose. Yet will I doe that

that which thou desirest, and expresse vnto thee what the opinion of our Stoicks is; yet protest I that I am of another opinion. I thinke there are some things that become those that weare the Hat and Cloke amongst the Grecians. I will therefore tell thee what the reasons were which moued antiquitie. It appeareth that the soule is a liuing creature, considering thee is the efficient cause wherby we are animated: and for that liuing creatures haue deriued this name from her. But vertue is nought else then a soule possesſing her selfe in some sort, it is therefore an animall. Againe, vertue doth something, but nothing can be done without motion; if she haue motion, which none hath except it be a liuing creature, she is a liuing creature: & if she be a liuing creature, then vertue containeth vertue in her selfe, why not? she hath her selfe. Euen as a Wiseman doth all things by the assistance of vertue, so doth vertue by her selfe: and therefore saith he, all Arts, and all those things which wee thinke, and whatsoever wee comprehend in our mindes are animals. It followeth therefore that in those narrow breasts of ours there inhabit diuers thousands of animals, and that euery one of vs are many animals, or contayne many animals in our selues. Askest thou me what is answered hereunto? Each one of these things shall be an animall, and not diuers. The reason? I will tell it thee, if thou wilt heare me patiently and attentiuely: all animals ought to haue each of them a proper substance: all animals haue one soule, they cannot therefore subſiſt euery one, neither can they bee diuers. I am an animall, and a man, thou wilt not therefore say that I am two. Why? To make them two, they ought to be seuered the one from the other. Euery one of diuers sorts hath but one nature, and therefore is but one. My soule is an animall, and I my selfe am one also; yet for all this are wee not two. Why? By reason that my soule is a part of mee. Then shall any thing bee numbred by it selfe, when it consisteth by it selfe, but when it is a part and member of another, it cannot seeme to bee another thing. And why? I will tell thee. Because that which is another must be his owne, and properly his owne, and wholly his owne, and absolute within it selfe. I haue declared that I was of another opinion: for not only shall vertues be animals if this be admitted, but those vices and affections which are opposite vnto them likewise, such as are wrath, feare, sorrow and suspition. And yet this thing shall proceed further, all Sentences, all thoughts shall be animals, which must in no sort bee admitted. For euery thing that a man doth is not a man. What is Iustice, saith he? A soule that possesſeth her selfe in some sort: it therefore the Soule be an animall, Iustice is an animall. Nothing so: for this is a habit and certaine power of the Soule. The same Soule is conuerted into diuers Figures, and yet is not the Soule an animall, so oftentimes as it changeth thus; neither is that which the Soule doth an animall. If Iustice, Magnanimitie and those other vertues bee animals, I demand of thee if sometimes they cease to be, or if they begin againe, or if they be alwayes? Vertues cannot cease to be vertues, therefore many liuing creatures are animals, nay, more innumerable animals are in this soule. There are not many (saith he) but this is but one soule assembled of diuers, which are the members and parts of one. By this reckoning wee represent vnto our selues such a forme as the *Hydra*, which hath diuers heads, each one of which fighteth and hurteth by it selfe. But none of those heads is an animall, but the head of an animall, yet is she but one animall. No man said that in *Chimera* the Lion was an animall, or the Dragon; these are the parts of him, but the parts are not animals. Where doest thou gather that Iustice is an animall? It ac-

teth, saith he, somewhat and profiteth. But that which doth somewhat and profiteth, hath force and motion, *ergo*, that which hath force and motion is an animal. True it is, if it haue his owne force and motion; but it hath not his owne force and motion, but that of the soule. Every animal vntill it dye is that which it began to bee. A man vntill hee dye is a man, so likewise a Horse and a Dogge, for they cannot passe into another forme and substance. Iustice that is the Soule which possideth it selfe in any sort, is an animal. Let vs beleue it. Moreover, Magnanimitie, that is to say, the soule in any sort Mistress of her selfe, is an Animal. What Soule is that? That which euen now was Iustice, is inclosed in the first animal, and cannot passe into another animal, but must remayne in him where she began to bee. Furthermore, our Soule cannot bein two living creatures together, much lesse in many. If Iustice, Magnanimitie, Temperance, and those other vertues be animals; how can they haue but one Soule? it must needs fall out that every one hath his owne, else cannot they be animals. One body cannot be the body of diuers animals. What is, saith he, the body of Iustice? the Soule, and of Magnanimitie also; but one body cannot be the body of two Animals. But some one will say, that one and the same Soule hath taken the habitude of Iustice, Magnanimitie, and Temperance. This might bee, if at such time as Iustice was in vigor, Magnanimitie was not, and when value was. Temperance was not. But all vertues are together. How should these be different animals, since there is but one soule, which can make but one Animal? Furthermore, no animal is a part of another animal. But Iustice is a part of the Soule, it is not therefore an animal. Truly in my iudgement, it is but lost time to contest vpon a matter that is granted, wee should rather be angry thereat, then dispute thereupon. No animal is a part of another. Consider all mens bodies, and there is not one of them but hath his particular colour, forme, and proportion. Amidst other miracles, which make the wisdom of God the Creator admirable, I esteeme this to bee one, that amidst so many things that are created, the one resembleth not the other; and as touching those that are like one another, yet will there bee some difference found, if thou curiously obserue the same. Hee hath made infinite sorts of leaues, and distinguished the one from the other by some speciall marke. Infinite and different animals, yea, euen those which are of the same kind, doe not in every part resemble one another. The Creator hath required and obtained this of himselfe, that these animals of different kinds should not resemble one another, eyther in forme or proportion. Thou sayest that all the Vertues are like one another, and therefore they are not animals. There is not any animal but doth something of it selfe. But vertue doth nothing by her selfe, but with a man. All living creatures are either endowed with reason, as men and gods, or deprived of reason as beasts are. Vertues are endowed with reason, and yet for all that, they are neither gods nor men, and consequently they are not animals. Every reasonable living creature doth nothing, except it be first incited and pulsed forward in regard and consideration of something: this stirreth the same, and then consent stirreth this motion. As touching Consent, see here what it is. I must walke out, I set forward; after I am commanded so to doe, and hauing found it good. I must sit downe, and then I sit. This Consent is not in Vertue. Presuppoe that Prudence is a living creature, how should she consent? I must of necessity set forward. Nature opposeth her selfe against this point, for Prudence prouideth not for her selfe, but for him that is endowed with her, which cannot goe nor sit downe, and therefore hath no consent.

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That which is deprived of iudgement and consent, is not a living creature endowed with reason. If Vertue bee a living creature, there is a reasonable living creature. But she is neither the one nor the other: *Ergo*, no living creature. If Vertue be a living creature, and vertue bee a good thing, every good thing is a living creature. The Stoicks auow this. It is a good thing for a man to saue his fathers life, to speake materially and to the purpose, his opinion in publicke assembly; to giue a Sentence according to the Lawes; by this reckoning to saue a mans father, shall be a living creature, and to thinke and debate well, and ther. In brieft, this Paradoxe will seeme so great in the end, that a man cannot contayne himselfe from laughter. To know how to hold a mans peace in time and place, to sup well is a good thing, and therefore to hold a mans peace, and to sup well, are living creatures. I will not cease to tickle my selfe, and make me pleasure by these follies. Truly if Iustice and Magnanimitie bee living creatures, they are terrestrialall; every terrestrialall living creature suffereth cold, hunger and thirst. So Iustice hath a cold, Magnanimitie is hungry, and Clemency dry. Moreover I would willingly aske of these Doctors, if these living creatures haue the figure of a man, of a horse, or of a sauage beast. If they attribute vnto them a round forme, as they doe vnto God, I would aske of them, whether Couetousnesse, Ryot, and solly are round? For these likewise are animals, if they be round. I would desire them further to let mee know, if to walke discretely bee a living creature or no? They must of necessity confesse that it is a living creature of a round forme. But to the end thou mayest know that I speake by my Booke, and that it is not my priuate opinion which I here doe publish: *Cleanthes* and his Scholer *Chrysippus* are not one in opinion, as touching this walking. *Cleanthes* saith that it is an agitation disperfed from the head vnto the feet. *Chrysippus* is of another opinion: why then according to *Chrysippus* example cannot any man maintayne that which he shall iudge to be the best, and laugh at the number of these Animals, so great, as the World would be too little to contayne them? The Stoicks say that Vertues are not diuers animals, and yet notwithstanding that they are animals; euen as one man is an Orator and Poet, so are Vertues animals, and not diuers living creatures, but one onely. The soule that is iust, prudent, and courageous, is one and the same, being in some sort in possession of her selfe, in every one of the Vertues. The dispute ceaseth, wee are agreed, for I confesse that the soule is a living creature, referring it to another place to speake my opinion as touching the same. I deny that the actions of the soule are living creatures, otherwise all the words, and every Poets Verses should be living creatures. For if a word well spoken be a good thing, and every good thing bee a living creature, the word shall be a living creature. A Verse that is well made is good, that which is good is called an animal, and consequently a Verse shall be an animal: and so

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is an animal, which cannot for all that be round, because it is a Verse of six feet. All this is but meere Sophistry, which being well examined makes me ready to sround with laughing, when I remember that a Solecisme, a Barbarisme, and a Syllogisme is an animal, and I depaint every one of them such a forme as best liketh me. These things dispute we with losel looks and bended brows. I cannot in this place refrayne to exclayme in this sort with *Lucilius*, O hateful follies! They are ridiculous. But why manage we not rather some matters

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that may make vs better? Why search we not out the meanes to attayne vnto vertue, and the way that may leade vs thereunto? Breake not my braynes in teaching me whether Magnanimity be a liuing creature, but learne mee that in this World there is not any liuing creature found that is happy, except hee bee magnanimous. except he be resolute against all accidents, if in his thought hee hath not overcome all aduersities before he felt them. Magnanimity is the impregnable Fortresse of humane infirmity, whosoever is inclosed therein, he mayneth assured in this beleagring of life. For he vseth his owne strength and his owne weapons. In this place I will set downe vnto thee the notable saying of the Stoick *POSTHONIVS*, *Neuer thinke thy selfe assured with the armes of Fortune, combat against her with thine owne. Casualties doe not arme vs.* They therefore that are armed against their enemies, are disarmed against aduersitie. *Alexander* spoiled and put to flight the Persians, the Hircanians, the Indians, and all those Nations that inhabit the extent of the East Countries vnto the Sea. Notwithstanding he himselfe hauing slaine one friend and lost another, lay groueling in a dark chamber, detesting his wickednesse, deploring his losse, and this conquerour of so many Kings and Nations, was overcome by choler and sorrow. For all his endeuours were aimed to this end, to master all other things except himselfe. O how blinde are men, who desire to make their Scepters passe beyond the Seas! who thinke themselves happy if they conquer diuers countries and prouinces by their soldiers, and ioyne new to the old, not knowing that the greatest Empire, and that which is wholly conquered, is to command a mans selfe! Let them teach me how sacred a thing Iustice is, that it is a vertue that is careful of another mans good; that seeketh not commodities, or aduantages to her selfe. That she hath no all.ance with ambition and vainglorie, but pleaseth her selfe. Before all things let every one perswade himselfe this: It behoueth me to be a good man, without hope or desire of recompence. This is a small matter, let him adde more: I am commanded to employ my selfe wholly and freely in the study of Vertue, in such sort as all my thoughts, as much as in me lyeth, are to be druen from the consideration of my private profit. Studie thou not whether the reward of Vertue is more great then Vertue it selfe. Fixe thou that likewise in thy minde, which I haue touched heretofore; it skilleth not whether thy vertue be known to few men, or to many. He that will haue his Vertue published, laboureth not for Vertue, but for glory. Wilt thou not be iust without glory? But vndoubtedly thou must be iust with Infamy, and then, if thou art wife, an euill opinion well gotten doth delight.

EPIST. CXIIII.

He teacheth that Eloquence is otherwise different, and pleasing, euen as publike manners are severe, dissolute and broken. He proueth that they take that colour from the mind, and that by *MACEVAS* Example: and therefore that that is to be cured and formed, from whence proceedeth fence, and consequently direct words. By the way he argueth against dissolutenesse.



How asketh me why and whence it commeth to passe, that the speech is corrupted in some times, and why mens minds are inclined to certaine vices, so as sometimes a swelling discourse was applauded, some other times sounding speech, and such as is delivered after the manner of a Song. Why other whiles men tooke pleasure in long and continued periods, other whiles in abrupt Sentences and

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suspicious, in which more is to be vnderstood then heard. Why there hath bin an age wherein men immodestly vsed a figurative discourse. The reason is this which thou hast commonly heard, and the Greekes haue made their Prouerbs; Of such is mens speech as is their life. But as euery mans action is answerable to his speech, so sometimes the kind of discourse imitateth publike manners. If the discipline of the Common-wealth hath bin depraued, the effeminate manner of Language is an argument of the dissolution of all Estates: I speake of that Language which is vsuall amongst all men, and not of that which some one or two vse. The Soule and vnderstanding cannot be of two colours. If the Soule be whole, composed, graue, and well tempered, the vnderstanding also is sober and moderate. If the one be corrupted, the other is affected. Seest thou not, that if the mind languish, the members are weakened, and the feet hardly moued? And if it be effeminate, how the infirmities thereof appeareth euen in the walking? How, if it bee watchfull and forward, the body doubleth his pace; and if it be furious, or (that which is next to furie) be angrie, how all the body trembleth, and how they goe not, but are transported! How much more beseth the vnderstanding thinkst thou, which is wholly intermixed with the Soule, which formeth the same, bringeth it in action, and giueth it a Law? In what sort *Macevas* liued, it is better knowne, then that it needed to be expressed at this time: how he walked, how dainty he was, how desirous to bee seene, how vnwilling that his vices should be vndiscovered. What then, was not his discourse as dissolute as his life? Had hee not as much affectation and vanity in his speech, as in his Equipage, then in his trayne, then in his House, then in his Wife? He was a man of great vnderstanding, had hee not tracted a worse way, had hee not affected obscuritie, had hee not overflowed in his Discourse. Thou shalt therefore see the Eloquence of a drunken man enfolded, extravagant, and full of liberty. Behold *Macevas* in his manner of speech. *Quid turpius amne silatq; ripa comantibus? Vide ut alueum lintribus arent, versosq; vado remittant bortes. Quid si quis femina cirro crispata & labris columbaturs? Incipitq; suspirans ut ceruice laxa feriaturs. Nemo tyranni irremediabilis factio rimanturs, epulis laganaq; tentant domos & saepe mortem exigunt. Genium festo visus tu testem tenus ceteri fla & crepacem molam. Locum mater & uxor innestrunt.* Wilt thou not suddenly remember, as soone as thou readest this, that this is the speech of such a man, who alwayes trauesed Rome streetes in his loose Gowne. For euen then when in *Casars* absence he executed his office, he deliuered the watch-word in this habite. Thinke that it is the same man, that in the Pallace, in the Tribunal during the time of Orations, in all Assemblies of the people alwayes presented himselfe, hauing his face muffled in his cloke, without discovering any thing but his eares, as they are accustomed to do who flye and will not be knowne, according as they are represented in Comedies. Hee it is that in the greatest height of Ciuill Warres, at such time as Rome was in Armes and in feare, marched thorow the streetes, attended by two Eunuches, yet more men then himselfe. Hee it is that had but one Wife, and notwithstanding hath beene marryed a thousand times. These wordes aboue written, so badly builded, so negligently disposed, so repugnant to the manner of all mens Writings, shew that his manners were no lesse new, then particular and depraued. He hath bene highly prised for the sweetness of his Nature, in that hee neuer bare Armes, or euer tooke pleasure in shedding of blood; or did any thing, except that which the libertie of the time, or his credit might permit him. But all this good re-

R r 2

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putation of his hath bene loyded by the affectations of this his monstrous manner of Language : for in this it manifestly appeareth that he was rather a Milke-sop then mercifull. These obscurities in his composition, these overthwart words, these conceits, oftentimes loitie; but without pith, discover vnto him that will obserue the same, that too much felicity had troubled his head, a vice which is sometimes found in the man, sometimes in the time. When as repose and felicity produceth and soweth dissolution on euery side: First of all, a man beginneth more carefully to dresse and adorne his bodie. Afterwards his studie is to haue rich moueables, consequently hee bethinketh himselfe of flatly Building, to make them more large, to enrich the wals with Marbles fetched from beyond Seas, to embellish the Roofes with Gold, that the beautie of the pavement bee answerable to the richnesse of many beames. Then transferreth he his daintinesse to the magnificence of his Table, and there searcheth hee glorie in noueltie, and changing the accustomed fashions amongst our Predecessours, so that those things which were wont to bee serued in last at Supper, are brought in first, and those things that were presented to those that entred to the Feast, are given to those that depart from it. After that mans minde was accustomed to loath that which was in vse, and things that are ordinary were accounted contemptible: he goes and seekes out a new Language, reuiuing and reuening vnusuall and forgotten words, then forgeth hee new, and regrateth the vnknewne: that which is but newly found out is repured elegant, and figuratiue Translations are audacious and frequent. Some thinke to credit themselves by speaking to the halbes, and abbreviating their speech in such sort, as he that heareth knoweth not what to thinke. Other there are that dilate and draw them out. Some there are that detain themselves and keepe silence, contenting themselves to loue this disorder (a custome requisite and necessary in him who pretendeth any great matter) but such men loue the vice. Wherefoever therefore thou seest that men take delight in an obscure and corrupt speech, hold thy selfe assured that their manners are depraued. Euen as excessive Banquets and superfluous Rayments are witnesses that the Common-weale is sicke, so this libertie in coining new termes and words (if so be the custome be continued) sheweth that the spirits of those that speake thus, are entangled and lost. Wonder thou not in any sort, that this corruption is as pleasing to the mightiest, as to the meaner sort; for the greatest and the poorest differ not in iudgements, but in their pompe and estate. Rather wonder thou that men prayle the effects of vices, and the vices themselves. For this hath bene alwayes done: there was no pleasing wit that had not his pardon. Giue mee what fouer man thou wilt of greatest name, and I will tell thee wherein the age wherein he liued pardoned him, and what they willingly dissembled in him. I will reckon thee vp many, whose vices harmed them not, and some, whose errors profited them. I will, I say, let thee see some of great renowne, and reputed most excellent men, whom if a man will censure, he confoundeth them. For so are their vertues intermixed with their vices, that the one doe necessarily draw the other after them. Adde hereunto that Language hath no certayne rule. The publike custome which changeth it incessantly, altereth it from yeare to yeare. Some men borrow words from another Age. They vse the stile of the Laws written in the twelue Tables. *Gracchus*, *Craffus*, and *Curio* are ouer new for them, they returne as farre as *Appian* and *Coruncanius*. Some other contrariwise, that will haue nothing which is not vulgar and triuall, speake verie barely.

Both

Both of them are corrupted in a diuers manner so much certainly, as if they would vse pompous well-founding and poetical words, and fye those that are necessary and in vse: I will say that as well the one as the other doth amisse. The one esteeme themselves more then is necessary, the other misprize themselves ouer-much, the one pull the haire from their legs, the other mayntayne it in their arme-pits. Let vs passe ouer to composition, how many defaults may I discover to thee? The one allow of a crabbed and harsh discourfe, the other of set purpose disturbe a smooth and pleasing stile: no period is pleasing to them, if it be not harsh and rough: they repute that manly and strong which affecteth the eare with inequality. The other in stead of speaking, seeme to ling, so flattering and fluent is the structure of their words. What will you say of that where the words are deferred, and after wee haue attended them long time, hardly returne they vnto their clauses? What shall I say of that which in the issues moderate (as is that of *Cicero*) and falling and ending afterwards sweetly, and answerable to the fashion, and hath his ending answerable to the manner and foot? There is not only an error in the kinde of Sentences, if cyther they are too weake and childish, and more proude and bold then modestly will permit, but they are too flourishing & sweet; if they be deliuered in vaine and without any effect, they doe no more but found. These vices some one man bringeth in, whose Eloquence in that time is applauded, the rest doe imitate him, and the one deliuereth it to the other. So when *Salust* was in request, the Sentences were curtailed, and words had their vnexpected cadence, and obscure breuitie with the rest was reputed Elegancie. *Aruncius* a man of rare frugalitie, who wrote the History of the *Carthaginian* Warres, was a *Salustian*, and an excellent man in that kind. There is in *Salust*, *Exercitum argento fecit*: that is to say, he made an Armie with siluer; that is, he assembled an Armie with money. This did *Aruncius*, he planted it in euery page: he saith in a certaine place, *Fugam nostri fecere*, that is to say, our men made a flight: and in another place, *Hiero King of Syracusa, bellum fecit*, maketh warre: and likewise in another place, *Quæ audita Panormitanos dedere Romanis fecere*, that is to say, which things being heard, they made that the Inhabitants of *Panormus* rendred themselves to the *Romanes*. I thought good to giue thee a little taste. All this whole Booke is composed of words. Those words that were rare in *Salust* are vsuall in him, and almost continued: and not without cause; for the one lighted on them by chance, the other sought for them. But thou seest what followed him that taketh an error for an Example: *Salust* said, *Aquis bicamantibus*, whilst the waters wintered. *Aruncius* in his first Booke of the *Carthaginian* Warre, saith, *Repete bicamant tempestas*, that is to say, the tempest suddenly wintered. And in another place, when hee would say that the yeare was colde, he saith, *Totus bicamant annus*, that is, the whole yeare wintered. And in another place, *Inde sexaginta onerarias leues præter militum, & necessarios nautarum bicamante Aquilone misit*, that is, whilst the *Aquilon* wintered, he sent from that place sixty ships of small burthen, besides the Souldiers and necessary Mariners. He neuer giueth ouer in all places to foist in this word. In a certaine place *Salust* saith, *Inter arma ciuilia æqui boni famas petit*, that is, amidst ciuill Armes he sought the renowne of a man good and iust. *Aruncius* tempered not himselfe, but presently in his first Booke hee inserted this, *Ingentes esse famas de Regulo*, that is, that the renownes of *Regulus* were great. This therefore and such like vices, which imitation hath impresed into any other, are tokens of dissolution, or a corrupt minde. For they

R r 3

must

must be proper and conduced by the vnderstanding, by which thou oughtest to estimate any mans effects. The speech of a cholericke man is halste, and violent of a man that is moued to much iurring, of a delicate and ciuill man smooth and pleasant; which thou seest those men follow that eyther pull and trimme their beards, that cause their Mustachios to bee cut thort, that haue their vpper lips very neere, and suffer the rest to be as long as is possible, that weare their Clokes of an euill colour, and Gownes of pure stufte, who will doe nothing but that which is seene publicly, although they offend and displease the whole World. But they care not to be reprooued, provided, that they be beheld. Such is *Mecenas* discourse and all others else, which erre not casually but willingly. This error proceedeth from an euill conscience. Euen as in drunkennesse the tongue fasteth not, except reason bee obscured or betrayed: so this manner of speech (which is a meere drunkennesse of the spirit) is tedious to no man, except the vnderstanding of him that speaketh be shaken. Therefore wee ought to heale the same, for from it the discourse, the words, the countenance, the regard, the marching is deriued. If it bee whole and strong, the Language is robust, strong and manly: contrariwise, if it be dejected, all the rest grow to wracke:

*The King in health then all mens minds are one,
The King once lost then all mens faith is gone.*

Our minde is our King; if it be safe, the rest continue in their dutie, they obey and are gouerned, if he be neuer so little shaken, they droope with him. But when he giueth place to pleasure, his Arts and his actions also doe decay, & all his forces are feeble and fraile. Because I haue vsed this similitude I will persue. Our minde is now a King, now a Tyrant: a King when he beholdeth and asymeth at honestie, maintayneth the health of the bodie committed to his charge, and commandeth no filthy or fordid thing: but when he is cholerick, covetous and delicate, he assumeth a detestable and direfull name, and is called Tyrant. Then doe impotent affections lay hold of him, and sollicite him incessantly, and in the beginning those that most presse him seeme to yeeld him pleasure; such as the people is accustomed to reioyce at when a Tyrant maketh them any larges to intrap them: But this abundance is vaine vnto the vnderstanding, which manageth that which he cannot disiect, when the sickness hath consumed his vigour more and more, and delights haue stolne into his nerues and marrow, the vnderstanding being ioyful to behold these things (the vse whereof is vnprofitable to him, because hee hath ouer-earnestly desired them) for the satisfaction of his delights, he enioyeth the sight of this or that, he is witnessse and vnder seruant of other mens lusts, being deprived of all delights of the same, because he is ouer-plunged therein: in brieue, the abundance of worldly pleasures instead of conceiting him consumeth him, when he sees himselfe deprived of the meanes to let downe by his throat into his belly all the pleasant morsels he beholdeth, and to tumble himselfe basely amidst the troop of Bawds and Harlots, he wonderfully grieueth because hee is false from the greatest part of his felicitie, hauing so straight receipt in a bodie so little. Is not this a true furie, my *Lucilius*, that none of vs thinketh that he is mortall? That wee are insensible euery way, of our infirmities? yea, that each one supposeth himselfe to be more then one. Behold our Kitchens, and our Cookes traueling from one fire to another; wouldest thou thinke that for the refection of one
only

only belly so much fire should be made? Behold our Caves and Cellers replenished with the vintages of many ages; thinkest thou that it is for one belly that the wines of so many Consuls and Countries are stored vp? Behold in how many places the earth is turned vp, how many thousands of Husbandmen plough and digge the same; thinkest thou that it may seeme to be for one belly that Sicily and Africa are sowed. We shall be healthfull and desire little, if euery one of vs numbeth himselfe, and measureth his bodie likewise, and know that it neither can receiue much, nor containe it long; yet is there nothing that will teach thee better to keepe a measure in all things, then an ordinarie meditation of the shortnesse and vncertainty of this life, whensoever thou doest looke backe vnto death.

EPIST. CXV.

He argueth against those that are too curious in their discourse and Style, and saith it is a token of a weak mind; alledging that we ought to speake and write confidently without affectation of ornament, and rather expresse our mind. O what a one is he when vertues haue adorned him? He will draw all men into admiration of him, if he might be seene. But this externall beautie is eyther false or nothing worth: as likewise Gold and Money are, which we so much admire. These make not men happie or secure, nay, rather miserable and to be pittied.



Will not haue thee too curious, either in thy words or composition, my *Lucilius*, I haue greater matters for thee to care for, and thinke vpon. Seeke what thou shouldest write, and not how; and in stead of busying thy selfe about words, cause thy selfe to haue a feeling of the substance thereof in thy heart, to the end thou mayest apply the same more and more, and as it were seale it in thy selfe. Whomsoever thou seest that vseth an affected and laboured kinde of speech, thinke that he hath his spirit occupied about vaine things. A vertuous man speaketh more remissly, but more securely: whatsoeuer he saith, hath more confidence in it then curiositie. Thou knowest diuers yong men well barbed and frizeled, who seeme as if they came newly out of a boxe; expect thou nothing eyther firme or generous from such kinde of men. The speech is the Image of the mind: if a man mince it, disguise and polish it ouer curiously, it is a signe that he which speaketh it, is an hypocrite, and little worth. It is no manly ornament to speake affectedly. If it were lawfull for vs to prieto the soule of a good man, O the faire, O the holy, O the magnificent, gracious, and shining face which we should behold! their iustice, their fortitude, their temperance, their prudence giue lustre on euery side. Furthermore, frugality, continence, patience, liberty and curtesie, & that rare, and as it were incredible ornament in a man, that is to say, humanity, would reflect their light vpon them. Furthermore, how much grace, grauity, authority, discretion and magnanimities (which is the highest of all other vertues) would annex themselves vnto the rest? No man would count him amiable that would not terme him venerable, if any one had seene this face more heauenly and replendent then mortall eyes are accustomed to behold, would he not step back, being stroken with astonishment, as if he had met with some God? Would he not pray in his heart that he might con-

contemplate the fame? Then approaching more neere, allured by the sweetnesse of her eyes, would he not humbly kneele downe before her. And hauing aduisedly considered it, how farre more excellent it were and incomparable above ours, with a gracious regard, yet sparkling and filled with liuing light, wholly rauished with zeale and amaze, would he not crie out with *Virgil*,

*O by what Style, faire Virgin, shall I strue
To set thee forth? for thine unequal'd eyes
Are more then mortall, and thy words reuine
Farre more then humane eloquence implies.
Line happy, and vouchsafe vs of thy grace,
And end those toyles which haue our life in chase.*

She will assist and comfort vs, if we will honour her; but she is not honoured or serued by the offerings of fat slaughtered and sacrificed Bulls, nor by Gold, or silver hung vp in the Temple, or by presents cast into her treasury; but by a right and holy affection. There is not any man, as I haue said, that would not be inflamed with her loue, if he could attaine to see her. For now there are many things that hinder and dim our eyes, and dull them by their brightnesse, or detain them in obscuritie. But euen as certaine medicines doe cleanse and sharpen the sight; so likewise if we will take away those impediments that darken the eyes of our soules, we may behold vertue, although couered with a bodie, although pouertie, base condition, and infamie be as many couerts to conceale her from vs; although this beautie be clouded by an obscure thing, yet shall we elspe it. Contrariwise, we shall discouer from a farre the malice and stupidity of a miserable soule, although that riches doe abundantly staine and murther about her, and that in regarding her we haue our eyes dazeled with the false light of power and honors. Then may we learne that this which we admire is contemptible in all sorts, and that we resemble little children that thinke every trifle of great value for they preferre their little bracelets, scarce worth a peny, before their fathers, mothers, or brothers. What difference then is there betwixt vs and them, saith *Ariston*, but that we are madding after pictures and statues more costly foolish? They are delighted with little partie coloured stones, that haue some varietie in them, which are found vpon the Sea shore, and we with pillars of Iaspe and Porphyrie, brought from the sands of *Egypt*, or the deserts of *Africa*, to sustaine some porch or some dnyng chamber to feast the Commons in. We wonder at the walls that are couered with thinne Marble, and yet we know what that is which is hidden, and wee couen our owne eyes. And when we guild all the roofes of our houles, what other thing reioyce we in but in counterfeit? for we know that worne eaten wood lych den vnder that gold. Neither is it onely on our walls and house-beames that we bestow this light ornament, but remember thy selfe also that the felicitie of all these great men whom thou feest march so proudly, is but a felicitie guilded on the out-side, and a simple lease. Obserue and thou shalt see, that vnder this thinne skinn of humane greatnesse, there is abundance of miserie and filthinesse. Those riches which at this day raise men to the greatest magnificacie and place of iustice, haue bewitched the hearts and senses of the same men; and since money hath growne in request, the true honour of things is made no reckoning of: and being become buyers and sellers both at once, we aske no more what this is, but of what worth this is? In this traffique we are sometimes

times good, and sometimes euill. As long as there is any hope of profit about vertue, we follow her: if vice promise vs better aduantage, we runne after it, and are for those will giue vs most. Our fathers and mothers haue made vs admire gold and silver; this couetousnesse being sowed in our tender soules, hath taken deepe roote, and is growne with vs. Again, all men that in all other things are of different opinions, accord in this poynt of auarice, euerie one embraceth the same, desireth that he may haue a part, and pretending to shew himselfe gratefull to the gods, he presenteth them with Silver and Gold, as the most excellent thing in the world. Finally, mans life is brought to that passe, that pouertie is held for a hatefull thing, and full of contempt, neglected by the rich, hatefull to the poore. Then haue the Poets annexed their intentions, which are as it were matches to kindle our affections in praying Riches as the onely honour and ornament of this life, and that the immortal gods seeme to haue nothing better, neither can giue any thing more exquisite. One of them speaking of the Pallace of the Sunne, saith

*The Pallace of the Sunne, most seemly to behold,
Was rais'd on pillars of the purest Gold.*

Behold how he describes his Chariot.

*The axleire, the beame, the outward bends,
That arme the wheele, were all of burnisht gold,
The spokes of silver.*

To conclude, they call that the golden age, which they would haue reputed for the best. Amongst the Tragique Poets, there are some that preferre profit before innocence, health, and good opinion.

*Let me haue wealth and riches to be giuing,
Account thou me the wretched miser liuing;
All men enquire, if he be rich or no,
But no man learns what goodnesse he doth owe.
They aske not why, or whence, but what thou hast,
And only that; so each man is reputed
As he is landed, monied, and sated.
As'ft thou me what is least some to possesse?
Nothing; for getting doth disgrace redresse.
I either wish to live in rich estate,
Or die in pouertie, contempt, and hate:
Full well dies he, that dying getteth gaine,
Money the greatest good of humane straine:
The mothers comfort, and the Infants pleasure,
The sacred Parents are but toys to pleasures.
In VENUS face nothing so sweetly shines
As money doth, nothing her power confines;
The gods themselves are by her presents mou'd,
And mortall men her sight haue euer lou'd.*

When these last verses of *Euripides* Tragedie were pronounced, all the people arose

arose with great tumult, to fling out both the Actor and the Author, till *Enripides* himselfe stepped forth into the midst of them, beseeching them to have patience, and they should see what end he had that so much admired gold. In this Tragedie *Bellerophon* received the chastisement, which every one receiveth in himselfe. For no avarice is without punishment, although shee her selfe bee punishment enough of her selfe. O how many teares and toyles exacteth she at their hands that serve her, how miserable she is both to those that gape after her, and to those that have got her! Adde herunto the continuall cares which torment every man, according to the measure of that he hath: money is posselt with greater torment then sought. What bitter sighes are vented from the hearts of covetous men, if they have any losses, which sometimes are great, and seeme also to be greater. Finally, although Fortune take nothing from them, yet all that which escapeth their fingers, is as much as lost vnto them. But men say, such a one is happy and rich, and desire to have as much goods as he. I confesse it. What then? Thinkest thou that any are in worse case then those which have both miserie and enuie? I could wish that they who desire riches, should consult and take counsell of rich men. I could wish that they who affect honors, should confer with ambitious men, and such as have gotten the height of dignitie, they would vndoubtedly change their vows, which they do also, making new wishes, and consequently condemning their former wishes. For there is no one man that contenteth himselfe with his felicitie, although hee posted forward to sigde him. They complaine themselves of their desires and successe, and had rather have that which they left behinde. But Philosophie will give thee content, which is the most great good thou canst imagine, thou shalt neuer repent thy selfe. To this so solide felicitie which no tempest may shake, neither apt and chosen words, neyther a sweete and flowing Style will bring thee. Let words passe as they may, provided that thy soule be in his entire state, that it be great, and deliuered from errors, pleasing vnto it selfe, by reason of those things that are displeasing vnto others: who estimateth his proficiencie by his life, and iudgeth that he knoweth so much, as he neither desireth nor feareth.

EPIST. CXVI.

Against the Peripateticks; that affections are to be cut off, not tempered, neither that they are induced by Nature. That the aduerse opinion proceedeth from effeminatenesse.

THath oftentimes beene demanded, whether it be better to haue moderate affections, or none at all. The Stoicks expell them, which are tempered and moderated by Peripateticks. For mine owne part I see now how a sicknesse may be moderate, healthful or profitable. Feare thou not, for I will haue none of those things taken from thee, which thou wilt not haue denied thy selfe. I will make my selfe facile and indulgent to those things which thou pretendest, and that either thou esteemest necessarie, profitable, or pleasing to thy selfe. I will only take from thee the vice. For when I forbid thee to desire, I permit thee to will, to the end that resolutely and aduicely thou mayest doe what thou pleasest, and that thou mayst taste the sweetnesse thereof the more. Why not?

For

For they will come the more vnto thee, if thou command them, then if thou serue them. But thou wilt say, that it is naturall for a man to lament the death of his friend, that we ought to giue time to a sorrow so iust: that it is naturall to be touched with the opinions of men, and to be sorry in aduersities: that it is not reasonable to extinguish the honest apprehension of a danger. I answer, that there is no vice which findeth not an Aduocate, and whose beginning is not fitting and excusable, but that it is which giueth him the meanes to extend it selfe euerie waies. If thou suffer it to begin, thou shalt neuer be able to make it end. In the beginning each affection is feeble, but afterwards she inciteth her selfe, and getteth forces in hir progresse, she is more easily excluded then expelled. Who denieth, but that affections flow, as it were, from a certaine naturall beginning? Nature hath committed the care of our felues to our felues, but when thou art too indulgent thereof, it is a vice. Nature hath intermixed pleasure with necessarie things, not that we should affect the same, but that the access thereof, should make those things more pleasing to vs, without which we cannot liue; if of it selfe it come not, it is dissolutednesse. Let vs therefore make head against affections which enter: because, as I said, they are not intertained so easily as they depart. Permit me in such a measure to be sorrowfull in such a measure to feare: but that measure becommeth without meane, and enderth not there where thou wilt. It is safetie for a wife man not to keepe himselfe ouer carefull, and let him when he listeth arrest his teares and his pleasures. And because it is not easie for vs to retire, it is the better that we set not forward at all. Me thinks that *Panetius* answered very fitly to a young man that asked him, *Whether a wise man might loue.* As touching the wise man (saith hee) we will thinke vpon it, but in regard of thy selfe and me, we are yet farre distant from the perfection of a wise man. Let vs keepe our felues carefully, lest we become slaves of a thing turbulent, impotent, vnder the power of another, contemptible to it selfe. For if the eye vs. her humanitie incites vs; and if she despise, wee burne in despite. The loue that is gracious, is as hurtfull as that which is rigorous: by the ones facilitie we are entangled, and with the rigor we strue. Since then we know our owne weakenesse, let vs be quiet; neither let vs trust our infirme minds to Wine, to Beautie, or Flatterie, nor to any other attractive and flattering things. That which *Panetius* answered of loue to this young man, that say I of all other affections: Let vs reclaime our felues, as much as in vs lieth, from slipperie places, and let vs securely stand assured in the drie. Thou wilt propole vnto me in this place, that reproach which all the world vrgeth against the Stoicks: You promise ouer great matters, you command that which is as it were impossible. We are poore and infirme men, who cannot in this sort cut off all things, we will weepe but a little. We will couet but temperately, if we enter into choler, it shall be pacified. Wilt thou know why we cannot command our affections? It is in this respect, because we beleue that it is impossible for vs. Yea, but vndoubtedly there is another matter in it; we defend our vices because we loue them, and we had rather excuse them, then discusse them. Nature hath giuen vs force enough, if we will make vse thereof, if we will gather our forces, and employ them wholly for our felues, and not against our felues. We pretend that we cannot, but the cause is that wee will not.

EPIST.

EPIST. CXVII.

A question, whether since wisdom is good, it be good to be wise. The Stoicks commonly deny the same: Some affirme; and he is more inclined to their opinion. In conclusion, he impugneth these vnnecessarie matters, and seriously exhorteth vs to reforme our manners.

THou wilt trouble me much, and thy selfe likewise, and ere thou art aware thrust me into great strife and trouble, who proposeth me such short questions, in which, without offence, I dare not differ from the Stoicks, neyther can I consent with a false conscience. Thou enquirest of me, whether it be true which the Stoicks maintaine, that wisdom is good, but to be wise is not. First of all will I expound what the Stoicks thinke, then dare I boldly discover my opinion. It is the opinion of our sect, that that which is good is a bodie, because that which is good acteth. But each thing that hath action is a bodie. That which is good profiteth, but he must doe somewhat, to the end he may profit; and if it doth, it is a bodie. They say that wisdom is good, it followeth then of necessity that it is corporall. But they thinke that to be wise is not of the same condition. It is a thing incorporeal, and accidentall vnto wisdom, and therefore it cannot produce any action, neyther profite any wayes. But say we not it is good to be wise? We say so in relation to that whereon it dependeth, that is to say, to wisdom it selfe. Before I begin to retire my selfe, and to vaite my selfe with the contrary parties, heare that which some Stoicks answer vnto the rest. After this manner say they, it is no good thing to liue happily: will they, nill they, they must answer that a blessed life is good, and that to liue blessedly is a good thing. Moreover it is opposed against those of our sect, Will you be wise? Therefore it is a thing to be desired to be wise: if it be a thing to be desired it is good. The Stoicks are constrained to wrest words, and to require the interpolation of one syllable, which our speech permitteth not to be inserted; I will, if thou wilt suffer me, annex the same: That, say they, is to be desired which is good to be desired, which is contingent vnto good, which good when we haue attained it, is not required as good, but is an accession to the good that is required. I am not of this opinion, and I iudge that the Stoicks agree with me herein, because the first point bridleth them, and they cannot lawfully change the manner of speech: we are wont to attribute much to the common and vniuersall opinion of men. Amongst vs it is a testimony of truth, if it be alledged that all men beleue that which is in question. As for prooffe that there are gods, we alledge that the beleefe that there are gods is ingrafted and planted in all mens mindes; neyther is there any Nation, how brutish soeuer, that beleueth not that there are gods? When we dispute of the eternitie of soules, the consent of men eyther fearing Hell, or reuerencing the same, hath no small moment and authoritie. I vse this publike perswasion, thou shalt finde no man who thinketh not that both wisdom and to be wise is good. I will not doe as they are accustomed that are ouercome, who seeing themselves in danger to lose their liues, appeale vnto the people; we will begin to fight with our owne weapons: whether is that which happeneth vnto any man without or within him to whom it happeneth? If it be in him to whom it happeneth, it is as well a bodie as that to which it happeneth: for nothing can

can happen without touch, and that which toucheth is a bodie. If it bee without, after it hath happened it departeth: that which retireth his selfe hath motion, and whatsoever hath motion is a bodie. Thou hopest that I will say, that the course is not one thing, and running another; neyther heate one thing, and to be hote another; neither light one thing, and to shine another. I grant that there is a diuersitie in these things, but I say that the one are not of a different condition from the other. If health bee a thing indifferent, to be in health is a thing indifferent: likewise, if beauty be indifferent, to be beautifull is indifferent: it iustice be good, to be iust is good: if villany bee euill, to be a villaine is euill. As much assuredly as if lippitude be euill, to haue purblind eyes is euill. That thou mayest know this, can the one bee without the other? To be wise is wisdom, and it is wisdom to be wise. So farre is it from breeding doubt that the one resembleth the other, that some men suppose that they are one and the same thing. But I would willingly aske this question; Since all things are either good, or euill, or indifferent, in what ranke To be wise, shall be placed? They denie that it is good, and euill it is not; it followeth then that it is indifferent: but that repute wee to bee meane and indifferent that may as well befall an euill as a good man, as money, beauty, and abilitie. But to bee wise cannot befall any but a wise-man, and therefore it is not indifferent. An euill it is not that cannot betide an euill man, and therefore it is good: it is, saith he, the accident of wisdom. This therefore which thou termest To be wise, whether maketh it wisdom or suffereth it? Whether it doth make it or suffer it, in both kindes it is a body; for both that which is made and that which maketh is a bodie: if it be a body it is good. For this one thing was deficient in it, and detained it from being good, which was, because it had no body. The Peripatetiques holde that there is no difference betwixt wisdom and to be wise, when as the one is comprehended in the other. For thinkest thou that any man is wise except hee that hath wisdom? And thinkest thou that wisdom accompanieth him that is wise? The ancient Logicians distinguished these things, & from them this diuision came vnto the Stoicks. What this is I will tell thee: The field is one thing, and to haue possession of the same, another. Why not, when as to haue the possession of the field appertaineth to him that hath the field, and not vnto the field? So wisdom is one thing, and to be wise another. I thinke thou wilt grant mee this, that these are two; that which is had, and hee that hath the same: wisdom is had, he that is wise hath it. Wisdom is a perfect minde, or that which attaineth the fullnesse of perfection; for thee is the act of life. What is to be wise? I cannot say a perfect minde, but that which befalleth him that hath a perfect minde. So the one is a good minde, the other as it were to haue a good minde. There are, saith he, diuers natures of the body: as for example; this is a man; that a horse: these natures likewise are followed by the motions of the mind, which make shew of the body. These motions haue some thing proper and considered apart from the bodies, as I see *Cato* walking; this doth the sense shew, the minde beleue. It is a body that I see, on which I haue fixed both mine eye and my minde. I say afterwards *Cato* walketh, I speake not now of his bodie, but of something denounced of the body, that is to say, of his motion, which some call pronounced, some signified, other some denounced. So when we say wisdom, we vnderstand some thing that is bodiless: when we say hee is wise, wee speake of the body. But there is a great difference whether thou speakest this, or of that: for the present, let vs put the case that

wisdom and to be wife are two things; for as yet I publish not my opinion: what hindereth both the one and the other to be good? Thou saidst a little before that the field was one thing, and to possess the field was another. Why not? for hee that possesseth the same is in one nature, and that which is possessed is another, the one is a man, the other is a field. But in this whereof we now make question, wisdom and to be wife are things of the same nature. Furthermore, the field that is possessed is one thing, and the man that possesseth the same another; but wisdom and to be wife are found in one and the same man. The possession of the field comes by right, that of wisdom comes by nature. A man may alienate the field, and give it vnto another man; wisdom neuer departeth from him that possesseth the same: wee must not therefore compare things that are vnlike. I began to say that both these may be two, and yet both of them good. Wisdom and a wife-man are two, and by thy confession both of them are good. But euen as nothing hindereth but that wisdom is a good thing, and he that hath wisdom is good, so nothing hindereth but that wisdom is good, and to haue wisdom, this is to be wife and good. I will be a wife-man to this end that I may be wife. What therefore? Is not that good without the which the other is not good? Vndoubtedly, you say that wisdom if it be without wife is to be esteemed as nothing. And what is the vse of wisdom? To be wife. This is that which is most precious in her, which being taken from her there is but meere illusion: if torments be euill, it is euill to be tortured, yea, in such sort that if a man were neuer tormented, he should neuer consequently haue any torments. Wisdom is an habitude of a perfect vnderstanding; to be wife, the vse of a perfect mind: how can the vse thereof be good, which without vse is not good? I aske thee whether wisdom is to be desired? Thou confessest it. I aske thee whether the vse of wisdom is to be desired? Thou confessest it, protesting likewise not to receiue the same if a man will barre thee of the vse thereof: that which is to be desired is good; to be wife is the vse of wisdom, as the vse of eloquence is to speake, the vse of the eye to see; but the vse of wisdom is to be desired, *Ergo*, to be wife is a thing to be desired, and if it be to be desired it is good. I condemne my selfe for times past, for following those whom I accuse, and for implying arguments in a thing that is manifest. For who can doubt but that extreme heate is euill, and to be extremely hot is euill; and that if colde be euill, it is an euill thing to be colde? If life be good, that to liue is good? All these things that are about wisdom are not in the same, but we are to stay our selues vpon her, and if we will discourse she hath ample and spacious retreats to conuerse in. Let vs inquire of the nature of the gods, of the nourishments and diuers motions of the Planets, whether our bodies be disposed according to their reuolutions, or whether their influences haue an hand in all mens bodies and mindes: whether those things which are called casual are tied together in a certaine order, and if nothing be done in this world without some speciall providence. But these things haue no relation to the present reformation of manners, yet mount they the minde, and raise the same to the greatnesse of those things they intreat of. But those disputes whereof I spoke a little before, doe diminish and depresse the same, neyther as thou thinkest doe they whet, but dull the same. But why, I beseech you, imploy wee so necessary a care referred for greater and better things, in a thing if not meere lyse, yet truly vnprofitable? What shall it profit mee whether wisdom be one thing, and to be wife be another? What shall it auail mee to know whether

whether this be good, or that be badde? At all adventures see what I desire; I with thee wisdom, and my selfe that I may be wife; so shall wee bee both equall. Rather doe this, that thou mayest shew mee the way how I may attaine vnto these. Tell mee what I must eschue, and what I should desire, by what studies I may confirme my infirme minde; how I may driue farre from mee those vices that carrie and transport mee from the right; how I may surmount so many euils; how I may remove these calamities that haue broken in vpon mee, and how I may thwart those, in which I haue engaged my selfe. Teach mee how I may endure afflictions without grieving, felicitie without other mens enuie or distaste, how I may not expect the last and necessarie tearme of life, but of my selfe when I shall so thinke good, speedily seeke it out and flie vnto it. Nothing in my iudgement is more absurd and dishonest then to wish for death. For if thou wilt liue, why wilt thou die? If thou wilt not, to what intent importunest thou the gods for that which they gaue thee when thou wert borne? For euen as it is decreed that thou shalt die one day whether thou wilt or no, so when thou wilt is in thine owne power: the one is of necessity, the other of will. Some few dayes past I haue read a shamefull Preface of a certaine man otherwise learned and eloquent, where these wordes are: *So I may die* (saith hee) *incontinently*. O fond man, thou desirest that which is thine owne; *So I may die incontinently*. It may bee that in speaking these wordes thou art become olde. Otherwise what stayeth thee? No man holdes thee; escape when thou wilt, chuse such a part of the instruments of nature, as seemeth good vnto thee, and command the same to give thee issue: for these are the elements whereby this inferiour world is maintained, water, earth and ayre; all these are both the causes of life, and the high-ways to death. *So I may die incontinently*: but when wilt thou die? What day wilt thou assigne to thine incontinence? It may come sooner then thou wilt. These are the wordes of a weake minde, and of such an one who by this protestation would obtaine mercie and lengthening of his life: hee will not die that wisheth for death. Beseech the gods to give thee life and health: if thou hast a minde to die, this is the fruite of death, to give ouer wishing. Let vs speake of these things my *Lucilius*, and by them forme our vnderstandings: this is wisdom, and to be wife, consisteth in this, not to debate impertinent questions of vnprofitable disputes. So many questions hath Fortune proposed vnto thee, yet hast thou not satisfied her in them: now thou caullest. How fond a thing is it to stand flourishing thy sword in the ayre, when the signall is giuen thee to begin the skirmish? Give ouer these armes of disport, thou art to fight at sbarpe. Tell mee by what meanes no fadnesse or feare may trouble the minde; by what meanes I may disburden my selfe of this troublesome weight of secret desires? Let somewhat be done. Wisdom is good, to be wife is not good: be it so. Let vs denie that to be wife is a good thing, to the end we may draw all that studie to contempt, which is imployed in superfluous matters. What if thou knewest likewise that this is in question, whether *lucius* wisdom be good? For what doubt is there, I pray you, whether the birnes doe already feele the harvest that is at hand, that either childhood vnderstand his future youth, being destitute of force and vigor? the health that is to come is nothing profitable to him that is sick, no more then rest doth which ought to follow the course and wrestling, comfortheth not a man as long as he is running or wrestling. Who knoweth not that that which is to come is not good

for this onely cause, because it is yet to come? For that which is good, profiteth and serueth without delay. No things can be profitable, but such as are present: if a thing profit not, truly it is not good; if it profit, it is presently good. I shall be wise; this shall be good when I shall be so: but in the meane while it is not. First must a thing be, and afterwards it must be such or such. But tell me, I pray thee, how may that, which as yet is nothing, be perfectly good? For how wilt thou haue me better proue it vnto thee, that a thing is not, then if I shall say, it is to come? for it is manifest, that it is not yet come, that is coming. The Spring must follow. I know now that it is Winter, the Summer shall succede: I know that it is not Summer time. The greatest argument I haue, that a thing is not as yet present, is, that it is to come. I hope I shall be wise, yet in the meane space I am not wise. If I had that good, I should presently want this euill. It may be hereafter that I shall be wise, although by this thou vnderstandest that I am not yet wise: I cannot at one time be in that good and this euill. These two things doe not agree, but are disioynted; neyther are at once in the same, good and euill. Let vs passe ouer speedily these ingenious trifles, and hasten our selues to attaine those things which may giue vs any helpe. There is no man that carefully seeketh for a Mid wife to come vnto his daughter that is in labour, that readeth vnto her the ordinance and disposition of the publike Playes. There is no man that hastily runneth to quench the fire that hath seized his house, that hath the leysure to study how to saue his man that in a game at Chess is hemmed in on euery side. But thou knowest, that from all parts there commeth newes vnto thee both of the burning of thy House, and the death of thy Children, of the siege of thy Citie, of the pillage of thy goods. Adde hereunto Shipwracks, Earthquakes, and all other dreadfull accidents. Being in the midst of so many troubles, hast thou no other businesse, but to giue thy selfe to pleasure? Thou inquirest what difference there is betwixt wisdom, and to be wise? Thou knittest and loofest knots, hauing so great a mountaine of miseries hanging ouer thy head. Nature hath not giuen vs so fauourable and liberall benefit of time, that we should haue leysure to lose any part thereof; consider also how much they lose, who are most diligent. The sickness of our selues and of our friends carrieth away one part of vs, and necessitie and publique affaires another. Sleepe robbeth from vs the halfe of our life. Of this time so short, so swift, and that carrieth vs away, to what purpose is it, to consume the greater part thereof in vaine? Adde herunto now, that the minde is accustomed rather to delight, then to heale it selfe; and that Philosophy, which should be the remedie of euils, serueth nothing but for pastime. I know not what difference there is betwixt wisdom, and being wise, yet know I well, that it profiteth me nothing, whether I know these things or know them not. Tell me, when I haue learned the difference betwixt wisdom and being wise, if I shall be wise? Why rather detainest thou me amongst the words then the workes of wisdom? Make me stronger, make me securer, make me equall with Fortune, make me superiour: but I may be superiour, if I doe all that which I learne.

EPIST.

EPIST. CXVIII.

That he will write no vaine Epistles, but rather such as are full of profitable Lessons. He persuadeth to handle our private, not forraine busineses; to require nothing of Fortune, neyther to depend vpon her. That the true good is to be sought, and the definition what it is: and likewise, what it differeth from honestie. That euery good is according to nature, neyther yet is euery thing good which is according to nature.

THOU requirest me to write vnto thee oftentimes: if we enter into account, thou canst not sufficiently satisfie me. It was agreed betwene vs, that thou shouldst write first, and that I should answer thee. I will not be behind hand with thee; I know that there is nothing lost that is lent thee: I will pay thee therefore before thy day; neyther will I doe that which eloquent Cicero was wont to counsell Atticus to doe, that is, to write whatsoever came into his minde, although hee had no matter whereupon to write. I can neuer want matter to write vnto thee, although I omit all that discourse wherewith Cicero stuffeth his Epistles, to wit, who it is that laboreth for Offices, who fighteth with his owne or forraine Forces, who laboreth for the Consular, either vnder *Cæsars* or *Pompeys* fauour, or of himselfe: How hard a Vsurer *Cicilius* is, from whom his neighbours cannot wrest a penny, but a hundredth vpon a hundredth. It were better for a man to speake of his owne miseries, then of another mans, to examine himselfe, and to consider how many things a man laboureth for, and obtaineth not one. This, my *Lucilius*, is a worthy thing, this a secure and tree thing, to demand and purchase nothing, and to let Fortune possesse her estates, without bribing after any of them. How pleasant a thing is it, thinkest thou, when the people are assembled, when such as pretend Offices, giue Court to their well-willers, and the one publicly protesteth the money he will giue, the other solliciteth by his sureties and priuat friends: when one man weareth and wasteth another mans hands with kisses; where, had he attained what he desired, he would loathe they should touch his: when all men are astonished, and expect the voice of the Cryer; to stand idle, and expect those Fayres, neyther buying nor selling any thing? How great ioy enioyeth this man, who beholdeth not these assemblies, where choice is made of Pretors & Consuls; but those great Estates, where the one demandeth yearely honours, others perpetuall power; the one happy successe in battels, and triumphs, the other riches; the one marriages and children, the other long and happy life for themselves and their parents. O how great a minde is it to demand nothing, to make supplication to no man, and to say vnto Fortune, I haue nothing to doe with thee, I am not at thy commandement; I know, that with thee *Catoes* are repelled, and *Patinius* advanced; I demand nothing at thy hands! This is to reduce Fortune into order. For this cause therefore ought we to entertaine one another, and to entreat continually on this subiect in our Letters, beholding on euery side of vs so many thousands of men in trouble, who to cast themselves headlong into some mortall ruine, trauerse one mischiefe, to finde out another; and seeke those things, which they incontinently flye as soone as they haue found them, or wherewith they should be likewise disgusted. For who is hee that hath contented himselfe with that which was giuen him, or thay

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supposed any thing ouer great, when he wished the same? Felicitie is not vnstable, as men beleue, but it is weake and small, and therefore satisfieth no man. Thou beleuest that these things are great, because thou art estranged from them; but to him that hath gotten them, they are but base: I lye, if such a one seeke not to mount higher. That which thou accountest highest, is but a Degree. But the ignorance of truth is the cause that men erre thus, and they run vnto that which hath but the appearance of good, being deceived by common opinion. Afterwards, hauing by much trauell obtained that which they pretended, they see that those things are euill, vaine, and lesse then they expected, and the most part of them admireth at one time or another, this false lustre of such vanities. In bricfe, the common sort esteeme those things for good, which are greatest. But lest we fall into this error, let vs enquire that which is good. The interpretation thereof hath bene diuers: some haue defined the same in one sort, other some in another. Some define it thus. Good is that which inuiceth our minds, and that calleth vs vnto him. Hercunto some pleasantly object: But what if such a good inuite a man vnto his ruine? Thou knowest how many euils there are that are attractive. Truth, and that which seemeth true, differ thus. That which is good, is annexed vnto truth; for it is not good, except it be true. But that which inuiceth to it selfe, and attracteth by his appearance, hath a resemblance of truth: it insinuateth, it solliciteth, it draweth. Some haue defined it thus. Good is that which moueth a desire of it selfe, or that inciteth the motion of the minde, that tendeth thereunto. And to this it is opposed in the same sort. For many things incite the motions of the minde, which are desired to their confusion that desire them. Better haue they done, who haue defined it thus. That is good, which draweth vnto it selfe, according to nature, that motion of the Soule; so that we ought to desire it then, when it is worthy to be desired. Let vs adde herunto, that this good is honest and vertuous, for we ought not to purchase an vnperfect good. This place admonisheth me to teach thee the difference that there is betwixt that which is good, and that which is honest. Some things they haue, mixed, and inseparable betweene them: neyther can that be good, which hath not some honestie in it; neyther that honest, which is not good. What difference therefore is betwixt them both? Honestie is a perfect good, wherein a blessed life is accomplished, by whose atouchment other things are made good also. That which I say, is thus. There are some things which are neyther good nor euill; as Warlike, Embassage, and Iurisdiction. These things, when they are honestly administered, begin to be good, and become so, whereas before time they were indifferent. Good, by the societie of honestie, is made good, and honestie by it selfe is good. Good floweth from honestie, honestie is of it selfe. That which is good, might haue bene euill; that which is honest, could not be but good. Some haue proposed this definition. That is good, which is according to nature. Marke what I say. That which is good, is according to nature; yet is not that forth with good, that is according to nature. Many things consent vnto nature: yet so small are they, that they deserue not to be called good; for they are small, and contemptible. No good, no, not the least, is to be contemned: for as long as it is little, it is not good; when it beginneth to be good, it is not little. Whence is any thing knowne to be good? if it be perfectly according to nature. Thou dost confesse, sayest thou, that this is good which is according to nature, this is his proprietie. Thou confessest likewise, that there are some things which are according to nature, and yet not good. How therefore

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is that good, when these are not? How attayneth it another proprietie, when as both of them haue this proprietie, to be according to nature? That is to say, in as much as they are great. Neyther is this a new thing, that some things are changed by encreasing. He was an infant; now become a young man: hee hath had at that time some other proprietie. For the young man is endowed with reason, the infant is deprived of it. Some things become not onely more great in their encrease, but other things likewise. That (sayth he) is not made another thing, which is made greater. It skilleth not whether thou fill a Bottle with Wine, or a Tonne, the proprietie of Wine remaineth in both the Vessels. A little weight of Honey, and a great, differ not in flavour. Thou settest downe different examples: for in these the same qualitie remaineth, and though they be encreased, they are alwayes Honey and Wine. Some things, amplified in their kind, continue in their proprietie: some things, after many encreasings, are changed by the last, which imprinteth in them a new qualitie, other then that which they had before. One stone will make an arch, that is to say, that bindeth in and fastneth in the declining sides, and that tyeth them together. Why hath this last stone, although it be little, so great a vse? because it maketh the worke compleat, although it giue it not any great encrease. There are some things, which in aduancing themselves, despoyle themselves of their former forme, and inuelt a new. After that our vnderstanding hath long time trauelled vpon any subiect, and that it is wearied in following the greatnesse thereof, he beginneth to esteeme it infinite, because it is become farre different from that it was before, when it seemed great, but not infinite. In like case wee haue imagined, that a thing may not be cut, which is hardly cut: afterwards, the difficultie growing to be greater, wee finde, that the thing can no more be cut. In like sort, of a thing which is hardly moued, wee come vnto a thing which is vnmoueable. According to the same reason, some thing hath bene according to nature, and afterwards, the greatnesse of the same hath transported it into another proprietie, and hath made it good.

EPIST. CXIX.

That we may desire Riches, and enioy them, without requiring them as vnecessary. That the end of all things, which exceed not nature, is to be considered. She seeketh not superfluitie, but sufficient. At last, he sheweth, that all they, who commonly are reputed rich, are poore. Good God, they are both excellent and true.



Softentimes as I haue found any thing, I expect not till thou say I erie halles. I say this vnto my selfe. Thou askest me what it is that I haue found out? Open thy Lap, it is meere gain that I giue thee. I will teach thee how thou mayest become rich suddenly; which thou art very desirous to heare of. And not without cause I will leade thee the shortest way to great riches. Yet hast thou need of a Creditor, and to negotiate, thou must needs borrow; yet will I not suffer thee to haue any Solicitor to borrow for thee, nor Broaker to publish thy name. I will bestow a Creditor on thee, that shall be at thy commandment: That is to say, that sentence of CATO, *Whatsoener it be, it will suffice,*

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provided, that we require that of our selves, whatsoever we want. For these things (my Lucillius) are alike, not to desire, and to haue. The effect of the matter in both is alike; thou shalt not be vexed. Neither doe I command thee this, to deny Nature any thing; she is obliuious, she cannot be overcome, she requireth her owne; but so, that thou mayest know, that whatsoever exceedeth Nature, is but borrowed, and not necessarie. I am hungry, I must eat: whether this bread be browne or white, it appertaineth nothing to Nature; she will haue the belly not delighted, but filled. I am a dry: whether this water be fetched from the next Lake, or that which I haue closed vp in much Snow, that it might be cooled by forraine cold, it concerneth Nature no wayes. She commandeth this one thing, that the thirst should be quenched, whether the Pot be Gold, or Crytall, or Cassidony, or a Pot of Tiouli, or the hollow of the hand, it skilleth not. Fix thine eye vpon the end of all things, and thou shalt forsake superfluities. Hunger proueth me: Let thy hand lay hold on whatsoever is next thee, the appetite shall make that toothsome, whatsoever I lay hold of. An hungry stomacke is glad of any thing. Thou demandest therefore, what thing it is that delighteth me? Me thinkes it is worthily spoken: *A wise man is a diligent searcher of naturall riches.* Thou payest me, sayest thou, with an empty platter. What is that empty? I had already prepared my Banck, and looked about me vpon what Sea I should imbarke my selfe to follow traffique, what publike estate I might rent, what merchandize I should send for. It is a deceit in thee, to teach me pouertie, when thou hast promised me riches. Doest thou then esteeme him poore, that wanteth nothing? Thou answerest, that it is by his owne meanes, and by the benefit of his patience, not of Fortune. Doest thou therefore iudge him not to be rich, because his riches cannot cease? Whether hadst thou rather haue much, or sufficient? he that hath much, desireth more, which is an argument that as yet he hath not sufficient: he that hath enough, hath attained the end, which neuer befalleth a rich man. Doest thou therefore thinke, that these are not riches, because for them no man is banished, because for them no sonne hath giuen his father poyson, nor wile her husband? because in warres they are secure, in peace at rest? because it is neither dangerous to enioy them, nor troublesome to dispose them? Hath he but a little, that hath neither cold, nor hunger, nor thirst? *Impier* him selfe hath no more. Neuer is that little, which is sufficient; neuer is that much, which is not sufficient. *Alexander* of Macedon after he had conquered Asia, and the Indians, is poore; he seeketh what he may make his owne, he searcheth out vnknown Seas he sendeth out new Nauies vpon the Ocean; and if I may say so, passeth and presseth beyond the bounds and limits of the World. That which sufficeth Nature, contenteth not a man. And some there haue been found, that hauing all things, haue not withstanding coueted somewhat. So great is the blindness of our minds, and so great the forgetfulness of men, that they remember not themselves of their beginnings, when they see themselves aduanced. This Prince, that was Lord of a little Angles of Greece, and that not without some opposition, is sorry, that after he hath discouered and conquered so many Nations, to heare say, that he must returne vnto his owne. Money neuer made any man rich: contrariwise, there is not any man that hath gathered store of it together, that is not become more couetous. Wouldst thou know the reason hereof? Hee that hath much, beginneth to haue a will to haue more. In summe, although thou set before me whom thou wilt, of those who are reputed as rich as either *Craesus* or *Licinius*; let him set downe his reuenues, and account whatsoever hee hath, and whatsoever hee hopeth

hopeth, together yet this man, if thou belceuest me, is poore, or if thou trust thy selfe, may be poore. But hee that hath composed himselfe to that which Nature requireth at his hands, is not onely without the fence, but also without the feare of pouertie. But to the end thou mayest know how hard a thing it is to retrain a mans affaires according to the measure of Nature; this man, whom we suppose to be moulded and fashioned according to his will, and whom thou callest poore, hath something which is superfluous. But riches attract and blinde the common sort, when great summes of money are carried out of any mans house, when his roofes are enriched and garnished with gold, when his family are either comely in body, or courtly in apparrell. All these mens felicitie is in publike ostentation: but he whom we haue exempted both from the eye of the People, and the hand of Fortune, is blessed inwardly. For as touching those, with whom pouertie hath taken place, and is seized of them vnder the supposed name of riches, they haue their goods in such sort, as we are said to haue the Ague, when the Ague hath vs. Contrariwise, we must say, the Ague hath hold of him; and in like manner we ought to say, Riches hold and possesse him. There is nothing therefore that I would haue thee remember more then this, that no man is sufficiently admonished, to the end thou mayest measure all things by naturall desires, which content themselves with nothing or with little. Onely beware thou mixe not vices with desires. Askest thou me vpon what Table, in what silver Vessel, by what seruices and seruants Nature presenteth thee thy meat? Know that she requireth nothing but meat.

*When parching thirst doth burne thy iawes through out,
Seek'st thou for gold therein to quench thy drought?
When hunger tempts thee, dost thou loath each meate,
Except thou Peacocks flesh or Turbot eate?*

Hunger is not ambitious, she is contented to cease, she careth not much by what meanes. These are the torments of vnhappy excellencie: he seeketh how, after he is glutted, he may get an appetite; how he may not fill, but force and stuffe his bodie; how he may reuoke his thirst againe, which is pacified by the former potion. *Horace* therefore wittily denyeth that it appertaineth to thirst, in what pot or in how cleane a hand water be ministered. For if thou thinkest that concerneth thee, how well frizeled the page is, and how cleane and neat the pot is which he presenteth thee with, thou art not adry. Amongst other things, Nature hath especially fauoured vs herein, that she hath taken all disdaine from necessitie: superfluities take pleasure in varietie; this is scarce seemely, that not well drest, this offendeth mine eyes. The Creator of all things, who hath set downe vnto vs the Laws of our life, hath giuen order to maintaine vs in health, and not to entertaine vs in delight. All things are ready and at hand for the conseruation of our healths: if the question be of delights, all that which concerneth them, is not recouered, but with much miserie and difficultie. Let vs therefore make vse of this benefit of Nature, which is to be numbered amongst the greatest, and let vs thinke, that the greatest matter wherein we are most obliged vnto her, is, that she hath effected this in vs, That whatsoever is desired in necessitie, is entertained and embraced without loathing.

EPIST. CXX.

How the knowledge of goodnesse came vnto vs by obseruation and conference, as also by the assistance of nature. And it cometh likewise by the contrary, that is, by the desertion of vice. Hee describeth a wise man, who not only spurneth against those things which are commonly to bee required or feared, but death: also in conclusion such an one as is alwayes one, and constant to himselfe.

THy Epistle hath wandred about many pettie questions, yet hath staied it selfe vpon one, and desireth to haue my resolution herein: how the first notice of good and honest things came vnto vs. These two things in some mens opinion are diuerse, but with vs that are Stoicks, they are only diuided. I will tell thee what this is; Some men thinke that that is good which is profitable, and therefore they impose this name vnto riches, to a horse, to a shoe; so abiect is the name of good amongst them, and so vnduly applied vnto seruile vices. They suppose that honest which consisteth in the discharge of a wel-gouerned duty, as to haue a charitable care of a mans father in his age, to comfort and relieue the poutie of a mans friend, to behaue himselfe valiantly in a warlike expedition, to deliuer a mans opinion wisely and modestly. These make wee two, but out of one. Nothing is good except it be that which is honest, that which is honest is good also. I suppose it a superfluous matter to annexe what difference there is betwixt them, when as I haue oftentimes expressed the same. I will onely say this, That nothing seemeth good vnto vs, which a man may vse badly. But thou seeest how many there bee that vse their riches, nobilitie, and strength badly. I now therefore returne vnto that which thou desirest me to resolue thee in, how the knowledge of that which is good and honest came first vnto vs. This nature could not teach vs, for shee gaue vs but the seedes of sciences, and not science it selfe. Some say that wee casually come to the knowledge thereof, which is incredible, that the image of vertue should casually appeare vnto any man. But wee suppose that by diligence, obseruation, and frequent conference of things, estimated by that which is good and honest, we haue attained to this knowledge. And since the Latine Grammarians haue made this word a Citizen of Rome, I will not condemne it nor returne it to the Citie from whence it came. I will therefore vse the same, not only as a receiued but as a vsuall word: I will set downe what the Analogue is; Wee haue knowne that there is a health of the bodie, and thereby haue we gathered that there is some health and vigor of the minde. We haue knowne the strength of the body, and by these inferre wee that there is a strength of the minde likewise. Some benigne actions, some humane, some strong, haue amazed vs; these began wee to admire as if perfect. These were trauesed by diuers defaults, which the appearance and brightnesse of some notable deede did couer; by means whereof wee haue made a shew that we saw them not. Nature commandeth vs to amplifie those things which are praise-worthy, whereupon euery one hath raised glory about the truth. From these things therefore wee haue drawne the appearance of an excellent good. *Fabricius* refused King *Pyrrhus* gold, and iudged it a greater matter then a Kingdome, to bee able to contemne Kingly riches. The same man

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when a Philitian promised to poyson *Pyrrhus*, gaue him notice thereof, and wished him to beware of treason. It was the same vertue in *Fabricius*, neither to be ouercome with golde, nor to ouercome with poyson. Wee haue admired this great personage, who neither suffered himselfe to be wonne by the Kings presents, nor by the Philitians promises against the Kings; constant in his vertuous resolution, innocent in warre, which is a rare thing in a souldier: who though that a man might bee wicked euen against an enemy; who in his greatest pouerty whereby he had gotten himselfe the most honor, no otherwise fled from riches then from poyson. *Liue*, said he, by my means, O *Pyrrhus*, and reioice, although thou wert displeased therewith, that *Fabricius* could not be corrupted. *Horatius Coeles* himselfe alone closed vp, and defended the strait passage of a bridge, and commanded a Trench to be made behinde him, to the end that his enemies might be hindered from entrance. And so long resisted hee those that assailed him, vntill such time as he heard the noyse of the prop and timber that fel vnder him. And after he had looked behinde him, and perceiued that by his danger his countrie was freed from danger: *Let him come*, saith he, *whosoener will follow me thither whither I goe*. And hauing said thus, he cast himselfe desperately into the water; and hauing no lesse care in this violent channel of the riuier to saue his conquering armes as his life, and hauing maintayned the honour of his victorie, he returned into the Citie, as secure as if hee had entred by the bridge. These and such like acts haue expressed vnto vs the image of his vertue. I will adde that which haply may seeme admirable: Euill things sometimes haue presented themselves in the shape of honesty, and that which was the best hath bene manifested by his contrary. Some vices as thou knowest, haue some resemblance of vertues, and those men that are most vicious and dishonest, haue some appearance of goodnesse. So doth the prodigall man counterfeite the liberall, although there bee a great difference betwixt knowing how to giue, and how to keepe. Many there are, my *Lucillius*, who giue not but cast away their moneys; for I call him not liberall that is angry with his money. Negligence imitateth facilitie, and rashnesse fortitude. This similitude hath constrained vs to consider things, and to distinguish those things which are neere in appearance, but farre different & contrary in effect: whilst wee obserue these whom some noble exploit hath made famous, we haue begun to note what he might be that at one time onely had resolutely, and nobly executed some enterprife. We haue seene this man valiant in war, fearefull in the iudgement seate, enduring his pouerty constantly, his infamy abiection: wee haue praised the act, but contemned the man. We haue seene another courteous towards his friends, temperate towards his enemies, managing both publike and priuate affaires, both piously and religiously, not wanting patience in those things which he was to suffer, nor prudence in those things he was to performe: we haue seene such an one that gaue bountifully where necessitie required, that was diligent and industrious where hee was to labour, and that relieved the wearinesse of his bodie with the constancie of his minde. Besides, he was alwayes one, and like himselfe in euery action, not onely good in words and counsaile, but by custome brought to this passe, that besides that, that hee could not doe ill, hee could not also doe but that which was good. Then vnderstanding that vertue was perfected in such an one, wee haue distinguished it into some parts. Desires ought to bee restrained, feare repressed, actions foreseene, duties distributed; wee comprehended temperance, fortitude, prudence, iustice, and gaue euery one of them their

their particular office. Whereby therefore came wee to the knowledge of vertue? It was the order thereof, the seemeliness, and constancie, and the vniformitie of all actions, within themselves, and the greatnesse thereof that exalted it selfe about all things, that shewed the same. Hereby was that blessed life vnderstood that hath a prosperous course, and dependeth wholly of it selfe. How therefore appeared this thing vnto vs? I will tell thee: neuer did that perfect man who was possessed of vertue curse Fortune, neuer entertained hee any accidents with discontent. Believing himselfe to bee a Citizen and Souldier of the world, hee vnderwent labours, as if they had bene enioyned him. Whatsoeuer happened hee refused it not as euill, or that casually fell vpon him, but as some charge committed vnto him. This, saith hee, whatlocuer it bee is mine, bee it cyther difficult or dangerous, let vs trauaile therein: of necessitie therefore hee appeared great, who neuer groaned vnder the burthen of afflictions, neuer complained of his destinie, gaue vnto many a taste of himselfe, and no otherwise then a light shined in darkness, and drew all mens minds vnto him, by reason hee was courteous and gentle, enterdayning in good part all affaires both diuine and humane. Hee had a perfect minde, drawne to the height of his perfection; about which there is nothing but the minde of God, a parcell whereof is deriued into this mortall bodie, which is neuer more diuine then when it thinketh on his mortalitie, and knoweth that man is borne to this end, to forsake this life; neither that this body is an house but an hostrie, yea and a short hostrie which must be forsaken, when thou perceiuest that thou art displeasing to thine host. I tell thee, my *Lucilius*, it is a great argument of a minde that is deriued from a higher place, if it repute those things humble and abiekt wherein hee conuerseth, and if he feareth not to forsake them: for he knoweth whither he shall depart that remembereth himselfe from whence he came. See we not how many incommodities doe torment vs, how badly this mortall body doth agree with vs? Sometimes we complaine of our bellies, afterwards of our heads, then of our breast and throat: sometimes wee are tormented in our nerves, sometimes vexed in our feete: to day the fluxe, to morrow the rhume: sometimes too much blood, sometimes too little, euery way are wee troubled and driuen from one place to another. This befalleth them who are lodged in another mans house, but we that possesse for rotten a bodie, yet notwithstanding propose vnto our selues an eternitie, and as farre as humane age may extend it selfe, so farre are we seized with hope, contenting our selues with no money or power. What can bee more impudently or more foolishly done then this? There is nothing that contenteth vs that are to die, nay, that die euery day: for wee daily approach our last houre, and there is not a day or houre that driueth vs not into the graue where wee must rest. See into what blindness our mindes are driuen: a greater part of that which I haue said must come, is already come, and threatneth vs euery minute, for the time wee haue liued is in the same state where it was before wee were liuing. But it is a great folly for vs to feare the last dayes of the same, because the first contribute as much vnto death as the last. The degree in which we breath our last, is not that which leaueth vs, but onely it sheweth vs our lastitude. The last day maketh vs touch death, all the rest to approach. Shee rauisheth vs not at once, but snatcheth vs away by little and little. A greater mind therefore that knoweth that hee must bee partaker of a better life, endeouoreth it selfe in this station wherein hee is placed, to demean himselfe honestly and induriously.

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Moreover, he iudgeth nothing of these things that are about him to bee his owne, but like a stranger, and such a one as must suddenly forsake them, vseth them as lent him. When wee should see a man of this constancie, why should we not conceiue in him the image of an vnusall vnderstanding; if, as I say, he should make shew of so true a greatnesse? True qualities continue in their entire, false are flitting. Some men at sometimes are *Valinians*, at other times *Catoes*; and some whiles *Curius*, in their opinions, is a little too seuer. *Fabricius* not sufficiently poore, *Tubero* scarce frugall enough, and content with a little: they prouoke *Licinius* in riches, *Apicius* in suppers, *Atacnas* in delights. Inconstancie and a continuall agitation betwixt the dissimbling of vertues, and the loue of vices, is a great token of an euill minde.

*Ofi-times two hundred men did him attend,
Ofi-times but ten: sometimes his speech did tend
To Kings, to Tetrarches, and to great Estates,
Sometimes his Fortunes he more basely rates:
I will, saith hee, haue a three-footed table,
A homely salt, a gowne that shall be able
(Though homely) to withstand the Winter cold.
Hast thou committed to this Niggards hold,
That is contented with so little pelfe,
Ten thousand Crownes to feed and cloathe himselfe;
Within few dayes, nor he, nor all his money
Could pay thee one, or blesse thee with a peny.*

All these are such as *Horace* describeth this man, who was neuer himselfe, or euer like himselfe; so diuersly changed he. Said I diuers, scarcely is there one but is such. There is no man that doth not daily change both his counsaile and his vow: now will he haue a Wife, then a Lemman: now will he gouerne, presently he labourereth for this, that no man may be a more officious seruant. Sometimes he exalteth himselfe so much, as he contracteth enuie: Sometimes he abaseth himselfe vnder euerie one, and becommeth more miserable then those that are truly wretched: now scattereth he his money abroad, presently after he engrosseth all other mens. Hereby especially is an imprudent mind discouered, euerie one betrayeth him, and that which in my opinion is most base, he is vnlike himselfe. Repute thou it to be a great vertue for a man to be one. But no man but a wife man doth one thing, all the rest of vs haue many shapcs. To day we will seeme to be modest and graue, to morrow prodigall and vaine: we oft times change our maske, and oftentimes take a contrarie to that we haue put off. Exact thou therefore this of thy selfe, that to thy last breath thou maintaine thy selfe such, as thou hast resolued to shew thy selfe. Doe this, that thou mayest be prayed, or approved at the least. A man may iustly say of him whom thou sawest yesterday, what is this man? So much is a man changed in a little.

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EPIST. CXXI.

He pretendeth somewhat for the wittier sort, and then propoundeth the same. Whether every living creature hath a sense of his constitution, that is, whether they willingly and by nature intend thither, whither they ought, and were made. He saith that it is so, and by diuers reasons and examples teacheth the same.

THou wilt chide with me, I see, when I shall resolue thee of that question, wherein this day I spent no little time. For once more wilt thou exclaime, what concerneth this manners? But exclaime at thy pleasure, whilst I first of all oppose those against thee, with whom thou mayst contend, I meane *Pesidonium* and *Archidamus*, for these shall debate the matter with thee; and afterwards I will say, that whatsoever is morall reformeth not good manners. There is one thing that appertaineth to a man to nourish him, another thing to exercise him, another thing to clothe him, another thing to teach him, another thing to delight him: yet all these things doe appertaine vnto a man, although not all of them make him better. Certaine instructions concerne manners in some sort, certain in another. Some correct & gouerne them, some search out their nature & beginning: when it is demanded why Nature brought forth man, why she preferred him before all other living creatures. Thinkest thou that I haue left manners a farre off? Thou art deceived. For how shalt thou know what manners are to bee sought after, except thou findest out what is the best for man, except thou examine his nature? Then at length thou shalt vnderstand what thou art to doe, and what to auoid, when as thou hast learned what thou owest to thy nature. I, sayest thou, will learne how I may desire lesse, how I may feare lesse. Shake off from me this superstition: teach mee that this which is called felicitie, is but a slight and vaine thing, and that the accession of one syllable will make it infelicitie. I will satisfie thy desire, and exhort thee vnto vertues, and will whip vices: and although some men repute me too immoderate in this kind, yet will I not desist to persecute wickednesse, to restraine vnbridled affections, to temperate desires and pleasures that should terminate in sorrow; and to oppose my self against wilhes. Why not? When as we haue desired the extreame of euils, and that from the ioy which we haue, our sorrow hath proceeded. In the mean while suffer mee to vnfolde those things which seeme somewhat too much removed from vs. The question was, whether in all creatures there were a sense of their constitution. But that they haue a sense, it hereby most manifestly appeareth, because they sitly and readily moue their members, as if they had bin fashioned thereunto. Every one of them hath an agilitie in his parts. A workman handleth his tooles readily. The master of a ship knoweth how to steere the helme of his ship sitly. A Painter doth quickly discern those diuersities of colours which are laid before him, to the end he may apply them in his worke, and with a readie hand and eye he passeth betwixt the waxe, and the similitude or resemblance which he would draw: so living creatures moue themselves in every sort, according as it becommeth them. We are wont to wonder at these cunning actors, who haue their hands so nimble, that they are able to represent all things, and effect readily by their gesture, whose fingers are as nimble as their tongues. That which Art vouchsafed them, Nature alloweth thee. There is no man but stirreth his members without paine; there is no one restrained,

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when he hath need to moue himselfe, being borne vnto this motion: they performe it readily; they come into this world with this science, and are borne so instructed. Therefore, saith he, [hal] living creatures most sitly moue their parts, because if they moued them otherwise, they should feele paine. So as you say, they are compelled and feare and not will maketh them moue aright, which is false. For they are flow which are enforced by necessitie, agilitie is a voluntarie motion. But so farre off is it that feare of paine driueth them herunto, that they endure themselves in their naturall motion, although paine doe prohibite them. So the infant that meditateth how to stand, and is accustometh to keepe himselfe on his seete, as soone as he beginneth to trie his forces, he falleth, and crying riseth againe, so often vntill by meanes of griefe he hath exercised himselfe in that which Nature requireth at his hands. There are some living creatures of a harder back, which turned vpon the same, so long time tumble themselves, and stretch out their seete and bow them in, till such time as they haue recovered their ordinarie custome and place. The Tortoise beeing cast vpon her backe feeleth no torment, notwithstanding the sealeth not to struggle and stirre her selfe, vntill such time as the sealeth her selfe in her naturall estate, and that she hath recovered her seete. Each of them therefore hath a sense of his constitution, and thereby a readie vse of their members: neyther haue wee any more greater token that they came to liue with this knowledge, then for that there is no living creature that is ignorant how to vse his bodie. Constitution, saith he, as you define it, is the principal and fairest part of the soule, that in some sort hath some power over the body. This definition so perplexed and subtil, is such as you your selues can scarcely discouer. How doth an Infant vnderstand it? All living creatures should haue bene borne Logicians, to the end that they might vnderstand this definition, which might seeme obscure to the chiefe and wisest part of the Citizens. True it were which thou opposeth, if I said that the definition of constitution were vnderstood by brute beasts: for constitution it selfe is more easily vnderstood, then taught by Nature. Therefore that infant knoweth not what constitution is, yet knoweth he his owne constitution, and what an Animal is, he knoweth not, yet feeleth he himselfe to be an Animal. Besides that, he vnderstandeth his Nature grossly, summarily, and obscurely. We also know well that we haue a soule, but what the soule is, where it is, of what qualitie it is, and whence it is we know not. Such sense of our minde as we haue attained vnto, although wee are ignorant of the nature and seat thereof, such sense haue all living creatures of their constitution. For they must needs feele that, by meanes whereof they haue sense of other things, and they must of necessitie haue a sense of that thing which gouerneth them, and which they obey. There is not any one of vs but knoweth that there is a certain thing which stirreth his affections; but no man knoweth what it is: and each man knoweth that he hath an endeavour, but what it is, or whence it is he knoweth not. Euen as infants, so other living creatures haue a sense of their principall part, but this resentment is obscure and not manifest. You say (saith he) that a living creature is about all things accommodated to his nature and constitution, but that mans constitution is to be a reasonable soule, and therefore that man is accommodated to himselfe, not as to a living creature only, but as to a reasonable living creature, for he is deare and precious vnto himselfe, as he is a man. But how therefore may an infant be accommodated to his reasonable constitution, when as yet he is not reasonable? Euerie Age hath his constitution, an infant hath one, a stripling another, an old man another; for all

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of them are accommodated to the constitution wherein they remaine. The infant is without teeth, this is a constitution that agreeth with him; his teeth grow out, and this is agreeable to his age. For euen that herbe that must grow to a stalk and eare, hath one constitution when it is tender, and scarce appeareth aboue the furrow; another when it waxeth stronger, and hath a tender stalk, yet sufficiently able to beare his burthen: another when it waxeth yellow and is ready for haruest, and the eare thereof is hardened into whatsoeuer constitution it commeth, it maintaineth the same, and accommodateth it selfe therunto. The age of an infant is one, of a little lad another, of a yong man another, of an old man another: yet am I the same, who both was an infant, a yong lad, and a yong man. So although each ones constitution be different, yet the accord thereof is alwaies one. For Nature commendeth vnto me not a boy, not a yong man, or an old man, but my selfe. And therefore an infant is accommodated to that constitution which he hath in beeing an infant, not which hee shall haue when he is a yong man: because not onely the estate wherein hee is, but that estate which remaineth as yet more great, whereunto he ought to attaine, dependeth vpon his nature. First of all, the liuing creature hath care of himselfe, for there must be somewhat whereunto the rest are referred. I seeke pleasure: for whom? for my selfe, therefore haue I a care of my selfe. I flye from paine; for whom? for my selfe: therefore haue I care of my selfe. If I doe all things for the care I haue of my selfe, I haue a care of my selfe aboue all things. This is in all liuing creatures, it is not inferred, but innate: Nature bringeth out her fruit, but casteth them not out: and because the most assured guard is that which is neerest, each one is committed to the charge and consideration of himselfe. Therefore, as I haue said before, the most tenderest creatures, which either from their dam, or otherwise haue been brought to light, doe presently know what that is which is hurtfull vnto them, and flie from those things that threaten them with death, and chickens and small fowle, which are exposed for a prey to the greater Fowle that liue by rapine, feare the shadow of all those which passe and houer ouer them. There is no creature that entereth life, but hath a feare of death. How (saith he) can a liuing creature that is new borne know that which is healthfull or harmefull to him? First, the question is, whether he vnderstand not how he vnderstandeth. And that they haue vnderstanding, hereby it appeareth that they will do nothing more then they vnderstand: why is it that the Heron flyeth not from the Peacocke, or a Goose when she is much lesse, and yet vnknowne to both, and yet hideth her selfe when she spieeth a Hawke? Why doe Chickens feare the Cat, and not the Dog? It appeareth that they haue a certaine knowledge of that which is hurtfull vnto them, not gathered by experience, for they take heed before they can make triall of the danger. Further more, lest thou shouldst suppose that this hapneth by chance, they feare none but those whom they ought, neither forget they that such and such are their enemies, and are to be avoided. Besides, they are not made more feareful by liuing, whereby it appeareth that they attaine the same, not by vse, but by a naturall loue of their laserie. That which vse teacheth is diuers, and encrease by little and little. But all that which Nature proposeth is equally and readily communicated to all: Notwithstanding, if thou wilt, I will shew thee how each liuing creature inforceth her selfe to know that which is harmful vnto her. She feeleth that the consisteth of flesh, and consequently knoweth, that by means thereof her flesh may be cut, burne, or bruised. She reputeth those beasts her contraries & enemies that are armed to hurt. These things are vnited together.

together. For euerie liuing creature hath a present care to conserue her selfe, the feareth that which may solace her, and feareth that which may offend her. If she repuite those things which are contrarie vnto her, Nature teacheth her the same, and that which the teacheth, she knoweth without discouise, and without resolution of will. Seest thou not what subtiltie Bees haue in building their Hiuies. how maruellous accord they haue in distributing and doing their businesse. Seest thou not how no mortall Creature can imitate the Spiders webbe? what cunning she hath in disposing her threads? the one are woven out-right, in stead of the foundation, the other are twisted round and small, to the end she may surprise and catch, as it were in a net, those flies, for whom she layeth her snares, and on whom she maketh her prey. This art is borne with the Spider, and not learned. Therefore no creature is more learned then another. Thou shalt see that the Spiders webs are all alike; that the hives wherein the Bees rest haue entrances alike. That which Art teacheth is vncertaine and vnequall, but that which nature teacheth is alwaies vniforme: Shee hath not trained liuing creatures in other sort, but to keep themselves, to know and follow their nature, by means whereof also their science and their life begin both together. Neither is it to be wondered at, that these liuing creatures are borne with their naturall science, considering, that without the same, they should take their life in vaine. Nature hath furnished them with this first instrument, to arrell them in the communion and loue of themselves. They could not maintaine themselves except they would, neither could this of selfe profit; but without this nothing had profited. But in no creature shalt thou finde the contempt of her selfe, or the neglect. In those likewise which are silent and brutish, although in respect of the rest they be dull, yet in regard of life they are cunning. Thou shalt see that those things which are vnprofitable for others, forget not the care that they ought to haue of themselves.

EPIST. CXXII.

That the nature of excessse is contrarie to manners. He pleasantly describeth the nature of supping, drinking, sleeping, rising, and such like indirect delights.

THe dayes already haue felt some detriments, they are somewhat diminished; yet so, as there is time enough as yet, if so be a man (if I may so speake it) will rise more officious and better with the day it selfe, then if he should expect the same to go and court others vpon the day light. Bafe is that man that lieth slumbering long time after Sunne rise, that awakeneth at noone, and this time to some is early day. There are many that peruert the offices both of day and night, and that neuer open their eyes (being ouer-burthened by ouer-nights drunkenesse) before the euening discouereth it selfe. Such as their condition is said to be, whom Nature (as Virgil saith) hath placed subiect, and opposite to our fete:

*And when to vs the day-spring doth appeare,
And blushing morn' shows Phœbe's Steades are neere;
To them the ruddie euen with weaker light,
Kindles the lightsome Tapers of the night.*

Such is not the Region, but their life, so contrarie and opposite to that of ours. There are certaine Antipodes in the same Citie, who, as *Cato* saith, *Neuer saw eith the rising or setting Sunne*. I thinkest thou that these men know how to liue, that know not when they liue? And these are they that feare death, in which they haue buried themselves aliae; as farall are these as night-runners. Although they passe their night in Wine and Perfumes, although they employ the time of their intertemper vp-sitting in Feasts and varietie of many dishes, yet those which they solemnize are not Feasts but Funerals. Vndoubtedly by day time men are wont to celebrate the Obsequies of the dead; but assuredly there is no day too long to him that trauelleth. Let vs extend our life; the office and argument hereof is action, and let somewhat thereof be reserved to the day. Those Birds which are bought to celebrate a Feast are kept darke, to the end that by sitting still they may more easily become fat, so such as lie without any exercise, a sluggish swelling inuadeth their bodies, and a soft fat groweth about their members; so deformed doe their bodies seeme that haue dedicated themselves to darknesse. For their colour is no lesse pleasing then theirs that are wearied and made pale with sickness; they languish, looke bleach, and are discoloured, and in their life their Flesh is corrupted. Yet will I say that this is the least of euils in them, how farre greater darknesse is there in their minde? The one is stupid, the other is almost blinde, and seemeth to enue those that see not a whit. Who euer had eyes to vse them in darknesse. Askest thou mee how this deprauednesse of the minde groweth, by loathing the day, and transferring the whole life into night? All vices fight against Nature, all of them leaue their owne order. This is the purpose of excessse, to reioyce in peruerse things, and not onely to depart from the night, but to flye a farre off from it, and to bee at length opposite vnto it. Doe not these men in thy iudgement liue contrarie to Nature that drinke fasting, that poure in wine into their emptie veines, and sit downe drunke to their dinners? But this is an ordinary error in young men who exercise their strength, who almost in the very entrance of the Bath, do not only drinke but gull downe wine amongst those that are naked, to the end they might restraîne the sweate which they haue mowed by their hote and often quaffings. It is an ordinarie matter to drinke after Dinner or Supper; Our Countrey House-keepers doe the like, who are ignorant of true pleasure. That Wine delighteth which swimmeth not vpon our meates, which freely pierceth vnto the nerues. That drunkennesse delighteth that comes vpon an emptie stomacke. Seeme they not in thy iudgement to liue contrary to nature who are as effeminate in their garments as women? Liue they not against nature, who studie to haue childlike beautie vpon a wrinkled forehead? What thing can be more miserable or more horrible! He will neuer be a man because he may long time suffer a man, and when as his sex should reprim him from contumely, his age it selfe cannot discharge him. Liue they not against nature, that in winter long for a Rose, and by the nourishment of warme waters, and the fit change of heat in winter-time cause a Lilly and such flowers as are destinated to the Spring to flourish? Liue they not against Nature that plant Orchards on their highest Towers, that haue whole Fortresses shaking vpon the tops and Turrets of their houses, spreading their rootes in such places, where it should suffice them that the tops of their branches should touch? Liue they not against nature that lay the foundations of their bathes in the sea? Neither suppose that they swim delicately enough, except their warme bathes be inuiro-

inuiroed with tempestuous billowes? When as they haue resolved to intend all things against the custome of nature, at last they wholly reuolt from her. Is it day? It is time to goe to bed. It is night, now let vs exercise our selues, now let vs be coached, now let vs dine. Doth the morning approach? It is time to goe to Supper. We must not liue according to common custome, it is a base, ordinary and vulgar course of life. Let the common day be relinquished, let the morning be proper and peculiar vnto vs. For mine owne part I ranke these men amongst the dead: for how little are they distant from their Funerals, and they most fatal, that liue by Torch and waxe light? I remember that at one time diuers men led this life. Amongst others *Attilius Bute* a Prætorian, who alter he had spent all his goods in gluttony, which were very great, when he complained him of his pouertie to *Tiberius*, which were very great, the Emperour *art thou awakened*. *MONTANVS* *IVLIUS* an indifferent Poet, well knowne thorow the fauour and repulse hee had at *Cæsars* hands, tooke pleasure to enterlaine in his Verses these words *Ortus* and *Ocasus*, which signifie the rising and setting of the Sunne. One day a certayne friend of his, being displeased because *Montanus* had not giuen ouer for the space of a whole day to recite some of his compositions, sayd that a man should not giue eare to a man, so importunate: *Natta Pinarius* taking fit opportunitie, said, *Can I lose him more courteously? I am ready to heare him from the Sunne rise to the Sunne set*. When he had recited these Verses,

PHOEVS begins to shew his burnisht light,
And blushing day to spread his shining face,
And now begins the Swallow with delight
To feed her young, within her Nest a space,
And to her wings, breed by one and one
Telled from her neb their food to feed upon:

Varus a Roman Knight, a companion of *Lucius Vinicius* an ordinary Smel-feast, who was the better welcome by reason hee wittily and bitterly iested at those whom he thought fit, cryed out aloud, *Bute* begins to sleepe. Again, when after that he had recited,

*Now haue the Shepheards closed their fruitfull Kie
Within their fialles, now dull and darksome night
Begins to spread her sad and silent eye
Vpon the dusky Earth depriv'd of light:*

The same *Varus* said, *What saith he? It is now night, I will goe and salute Bute*. There was nothing more notorious then this preposterous life of *Bute*, who unto diuers applyed themselves in that time, as I haue said. The cause of this disorder is not in that they thinke that the night hath any thing more pleasing in it, because nothing hindereth them, and for that the day is displeasing to an euill conscience; and because the light costeth nothing, it contenteth not him that coneteth or disdayneth all things, according as they cost more or lesse. Besides, these vnbridled persons will haue their immoderate life spoken of whilst they liue; for if it be obscured, they thinke they lose their labour. They are displeased therefore as often as they doe not that which may make them bee spoken of: many of these deuoure their goods, many of them haue their Har-

lots; and if thou wilt haue credit amongst these men, thou must needs commit some lasciuious or notable folly. In a Citie so possessed with sinne a common and ordinarie error is not looked after nor talked vpon. I haue heard *Pedo Albinovanus* report (which was a man of a very pleasant discourse) that he dwelt a little aboue *Sparus Papinius* house, who was one of the company of the night-Owles and light-thunners: About the third houre of the night, saith hee, I heare the lashing of the Whips, and I aske what he doth? They answer me that he calleth his Seruants to account. About the sixth houre of the night, I heare a shrill voyce, and I aske what it is? and they answer me that hee exerciseth his voyce. I aske about the eighth houre of the night what that rattling of wheelles meaneth? they answer, that hee will take the Ayre. About day light I heare running vp and downe, the Pages are called for, the Butlers and Cookes make a stirre; I aske what that meaneth? they answer me, that hee was come out of his Bath, and required Broth and Drinke. What did his Supper, saith he, exceed the day? No; for he liued very frugally, and spent nothing but the night. And therefore he oftentimes answered those that called him couetous and a slouen; *You would likewise call him, Lichpobins*, that is to say, such a one as liueth by the Lampe. Thou must not wonder, although thou findest so many properties of vices, they are diuers, and haue innumerable faces, their kindes cannot bee comprehended. The managing of that which is good is simple, and that which is euill manifold, and is disposed in all sorts as a man list. The same befalleth manners, such as follow Nature are facile and free, and haue small differences; the rest are extravagant and neuer accord amongst themselves: but the especial cause of this sicknesse in my opinion, is the hatred of common life. As they distinguishing themselves from other men in their Garments, as in their great and costly Suppers, and in the richnesse of their Coaches, so will they be separated from other in the disposition of times; they will not sinne ordinarily, whose reward in sinning is Infamy. This doe all they seeke after, who (if I may say so) lue sinistly. Therefore my *Lucilius*, wee are to follow that way, which Nature hath prescribed vs; neyther must we wander out of the same. They that doe this, find all things facile and expedit, but they that strue against the same, their life is no otherwise then theirs who strue against the streame.

EPIST. CXXIII.

That a thinne and simple dyet by the decree of the minde and hunger, are made desirable. That rich men are to vse the same likewise; for who knoweth whether he shall haue need thereof? Let neyther custome or forreine manners seduce vs. Despise all contrary iudgements or opinions.

Being spent by my iourney more incommodious then long, I came to my *Albanum* very late in the night; I find nothing ready but my selfe. For this cause I layd mee downe in my bed to ease my wearinesse, and take in good part this negligence of my Cooks and Baker: for thus debate I vpon this matter with my selfe; There is nothing so grievous that can distaste thee if thou endure it patiently, neyther any thing that may displease thee except thou thy selfe cause it by thy fretting. My Baker hath no Bread, but my Farmer hath, my Porter hath, my Plough-man hath. But thou wilt say, it is course Bread: stay a while it will

will bee made good; hunger, I tell thee, will make it more pleasing vnto thee then thy white bread. Therefore ought wee not to eate any thing before hunger command vs. I will therefore stay and refrayne eating till such time asseyther I beginne to haue good, or forbear to loathe bad. It is a necessary thing to accustome our selues to frugality: many difficulties of time and place doe sometimes hinder the most richest and greatest Lords from their long desired Dinners. No man can haue whatsoever he will, yet may he not will that which he hath not, and vse those things that are presented him thankfully. A great part of libertie is a well-governed belly, and patient in all wants. Thou canst not imagine what pleasure I take in this, that my wearinesse is appealed of it selfe. I seeke neyther Vnction nor Bath, nor any other remedie, but onely time: for that which labour hath bred rest taketh away. This will bee more pleasing then a Supper prepared for the gods. Sometimes I haue made a sudden experiment of the forces of my minde, and I finde it to be the most simple and assured; for if the spirit be prepared, and enioyneth himselfe patience, a man cannot see how much firme it hath. The proofes that are instantly made are the most assured, when the spirit hath beheld not only with an equall but a temperate eye all that which displeaseth it, when it is neyther angry, nor yet contelleth; when that which should bee giuen, himselfe mislieth to himselfe by not desiring, and thinketh that there is somewhat wanting to his custome and not vnto himselfe. We neuer vnderstand that many things were superfluous, but when they began to be missing: for we vied them not because we ought, but because we had them. But how many things doe wee prepare, because other men haue prepared them? because they are vsuall amongst many? Amongst the causes of our euils, this is one, that wee lue by example; neyther are we gouerned by reason, but led away by custome, which if few men did, we would not imitate: when as many haue begunne to doe the same, we follow it as if it were more honest, because it is more frequent; and errour with vs supplyeth the place of that which is right, when it is made publike. All men now a dayes trauaile in such sort, that a troope of Numidian Horsemen leades them the way, and a company of Foot-men attends vpon their stirrop. It should be an indignitie vnto them if they had not some attendants to thrust those out of the way that meet them, and that should shew in rayling much dust, that an honest man came after them. In these dayes all men haue Moyles that beare their Vessels of Cry stall, and such as are made of Cassony, and enameled by the hands of great Artifts: it is a shame for thee if thou seeme to haue those carriages as might not be broken. All the Littres wherein they carry their Minions are covered, and they themselves haue their faces annoynted, lest eyther the Sun or cold should harme their tender skinnies; it is shame that there is no one in the company of their Minions, that hath a face so faire that it needeth not to be farded. All these mens conference is to be auoyded; these are they that teach vices, and conuey them from one place to another. They were reputed the worst sort of men that were Tale-carriers, but some there are that beare vices. These mens speech doth much mischief; for although it instantly burreth not, yet leaueth it some seeds in the minde, and it followeth vs euen then when we haue left them, likely hereafter to enkindle a new euill in vs. Euen as they who haue heard some excellent Musicke beare away with them in their eares that harmony and sweetnesse of Song, which hindereth the thoughts, and suffereth them not to be intended to serious matters; so the speech of Flatterers, and such as prayse vice, sticketh longer time in our

our memories, then it is heard : neyther is it an easie matter to extinguishe so sweet a sound in the minde; it followeth, and continueth, and returneth againe some-whiles after into our remembrance. It becometh vs therefore in the beginning to stop vp our eares against euill voyces, for when they haue gotten entrance, and are admitted, they are more audacious. From thence men grow to this Language: Vertue, Philosophie, and Iustice, is but the bruite of vaine words. The onely felicitie is to make good chere, to liue at pleasure, and to haue an ample patrimony. This it is that is called life, this is to remember that a man is mortall. The dayes fleete from vs, and our life so posseth away, as we may neuer recover it. Why are we doubtfull to frame our selues according to our fantasie, and to satisfie our flesh her desires, whilst these demandeth them, whilst the will and can take them? Why take we care to spare for the time after our death, and to forbid our selues that for the present, which it will carry away? Thou hast no thee friend, no Boy, that may moue icalousie in thy Mistris. Each day walkest thou out of thy house sober, so suppest thou, as if thou wert accountable to thy Father for the expence thou makest every day. This is not to liue, it is to assist and keepe company with the liuing. What folly is it to heape vp riches for thine heire, and to deny thy selfe all things, that the great goods thou possessest might make thy friend thine enemy? for the more hee enioyeth by thee, the more hee reioyce at thy death. Set not a farthing by these seuer and bold Censors of a another mans life, enemies to their owne, such men as would regent the whole World, neither doubt thou to make choice of a merry life before a good fame. These speeches are no otherwise to bee fled, then the Songs of the Syrens, which *Ulysses* would not sayle by, before he had tyed himselfe to the Mast of his Ship. They haue the same power; they take from those that giue eare vnto them, their Countrey, their Parents, their Friends, their Vertues, and dragge these miserable creatures thorow the ordures of a shamefull and infamous life. How farre better is it to follow the direct way, and to ayme at this end, that those things at length may onely seeme pleasing vnto thee which are honest? Which wee may attayne, if we shall conceiue two kinds of things, the one whereof draw vs, the other driue vs away. Those that inuite vs, are Riches, Pleasures, Beautie, Ambition: in briefe, all that which flattereth vs, and is agreeable vnto vs. They that driue vs away are trauaile, death, dolour, ignominie, and want. We must therefore exercise our selues, lest we feare the one or desire the other. Let vs make head against that which is contrarie, and let vs depart from those things which inuite vs, and make Warre against those that importune vs. Seest thou not how diuers the habite is of those, that ascend and descend? Those that descend from a steepe place, bend their bodies backward; they that ascend an high place lye vpon their bellies. For if in descending thou swayest thy selfe forward, or in ascending thou leanest backward: this (*my Lucilius*) is to consent with vice. We descend into pleasures, wee must mount in the incommodities and aduersities of this life. Let vs presse forward in these, and restrayne our selues in the other. Thinkest thou now, that I say this, that they are only preiudicious to our eares, who praise voluptuousnesse, who increase the apprehension of paine, a thing that of it selfe is dreadfull enough? Those men like wise, in my opinion, are hurtfull vnto vs, who vnder pretext of being Stoicks, exhort vs vnto vices: that a Wiseman only is both learned, and a louer, that only hee is practised in this Arte. The Wiseman is as skilfull in drinking, as in banqueting. Let vs enquire vntill what yeares young men are

are to bee beloued. Let these things bee allowed to Grecian custome. Let vs rather addresse our eares to those things that follow. No man is casually good; vertue is to bee learned; voluptuousnesse is a vile and base thing, and of meane price: common to man, with brute beastes, and whereunto the least, and most contemptible doe flye. Glory is vaine, and swiftly flyeth, and is more inconstant then the winde. Pouertie is displeasing to no man, except to him that beareth it impatiently. Death is no euill. Why complainest thou? Shee it is alone that dealeth iustly, and carryeth her selfe equally towards all humane kind. Superstition is a mad error, it feareth those whom she should loue, and violateth her Masters. For what difference is there, whether thou denyest the gods, or defraudest them? These things are to bee learned, yea, they are to bee kept continually in remembrance. Philosophie must not suggest excuses vnto vice. That sicke man hath no hope of his health, who is counselled by his Physicians to intemperance.

EPIST. CXXIIII.

Against the Epicures, that good consisteth in reason, not in sense. And therefore that Infants are not as yet capable thereof: neyther is it complete, except it be where reason is complete. How shall I vnderstand that it is in me, if I seeke nothing without my selfe?



*Can recount, if so thou list to heare,
Full many Precepts of the ancient wise,
Except thou loathe to lend thy listning eare,
To know from whence the lesser cares arise.*

But thou art attentive, neither doth any subtiltie disgust thee. Thy gentle spirit disdaineth not the smallest things, although it comprehend the greatest. I likewise approve this in thee also, because thou reducst all things to some use, and there is nothing offendeth thee more then when a thing is not radically discouered, which I will not now endeavour to doe. The question is, whether good bee comprehended by sense or vnderstanding. Hereunto is annexed, that it is neither in bruit beasts, nor in Infants. They that hold voluptuousnes for the chiefe good, doe iudge good to be sensible. We contrariwise considering it in the soule, mayntayne that it is intelligible. If they did speake of the good of sense, wee should reiect no voluptuousnesse, because all of them are both attractive and pleasing. And contrariwise, there should be no grieue which we would not willingly accept, because there is none but offendeth the sense. Besides, they should not be worthy of reprehension, who are too much affected to voluptuousnesse, and are too exceedingly afraid of paine. But we mislike those that are addicted to their belly and lust, and enemie those, who for feare of paine dare attempt nothing couragiously. But wherein doe they offend, if they obey their senses, that are the iudges of good and euill? For to these Masters haue you given the power to desire and flye. But reason in their iudgement hath charge of this, and must order as well good and euill, as vertue and honesty. For by these men the preheminece is giuen to the baser part, to iudge of the better; and their meaning is, that the sense which is a dimme and dull thing, and more slow in men then in other liuing creatures, should en-
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sure what the true good is. What if a man would discern the smallest things by sight, and not by touch? To discern euill from good, a man cannot finde a more sharpe and better intended light then that of the eie. Thou seest in what ignorance of truth he remaineth, and with what ignorance hee hath trodden those things vnder foot which are diuine, who will make the touch to bee the iudge of good and euill. Euen as, saith hee, euery Science and Art ought to haue something in it, which is manifest, and comprehended vnder fence, from whence it may be deriued and encrease: euen so a blessed life hath for his foundation and beginning, something which is both apparant and sensible. But you say that a blessed life taketh her beginning from manifest things. Wee say that those things are blessed, which are according to nature; but what is according to nature appeareth clearly and at the first sight, as that also which is entyre. What is that which is according to nature? It is that which befalleth him who is newly borne, I say not good, but the beginning of good. Thou attributest pleasure vnto Infancie, as if it were his chiefest good, and wilt that a childe from the time of his birth hath that which hee obtaineth onely after he is become a man. Thus putteth thou the top of the Tree into the place of the roote. If a man should say, that an Infancie lying in his Mothers Wombe, and scarce begun, tender, imperfect, and without forme, is already in possession of any good, should hee not seeme to erre manifestly? But what difference is there betwixt an Infancie that doth beginne to be, and one which is as yet but a hidden burthen in his Mothers wombe? Both these, in respect of the vnderstanding of good and euill, haue equall maturitie: and no more is an Infancie capable of good as yet, then a Tree, or any dumbe beast? But why is not good in a Tree or dumbe Beast? Because reason is not in them, and therefore is it not in an Infancie, because that hee wanteth reason, wherunto when he hath attained, he shall approach more goodnesse. There is some creature which is not reasonable, and some other which is not as yet endued with reason; if it be it is imperfectly. Goodnesse is neither in the one, nor in the other. Reason bringeth that good with himselfe. What difference then is there betwixt the things aboue mentioned? Neuer shall good bee in a liuing creature which is deuiued of reason, neither can it be in him that is not as yet endued with reason, as long as hee remaineth in that estate; there may be, but there is not as yet. So then I say (my *Lucilius*) that good is not found in euery body, or in all Ages, and is as farr estranged from the Infancie, as that which is last is distant from that which is first, and the beginning of a thing from the accomplishing and perfection of the same; and consequently, good is not in a bodie which doth but newly receiue forme in his Mothers wombe: no more is there in the seed whence the body hath forme: as if thou makest mention of the good of any Tree or Plant, it is not in the first leafe that buddeth forth. The Corne hath some good which is not in the tender blade, nor in the straw, but in the graine which is ready to be reaped. Euen as all nature, except it bee consummat, bringeth not forth his good, so the good of a man, is not in a man, except he be possessed of perfect reason. But what this good is, I will tell thee: It is a free and vpright minde, that subiecteth all other things vnder him, and is himselfe subiect to nothing. So farr is Infancie from partaking this good, that the childlike age hopeth it not, and youth doth weakly hope the same. Happy is old-age if it attayneth thereunto by long and diligent studie, when this is both good and able to be vnderstood. I thou diddest say, sayest thou, that there is a certayne good of a Tree, another of an Herbe; therefore may an Infancie haue some good.

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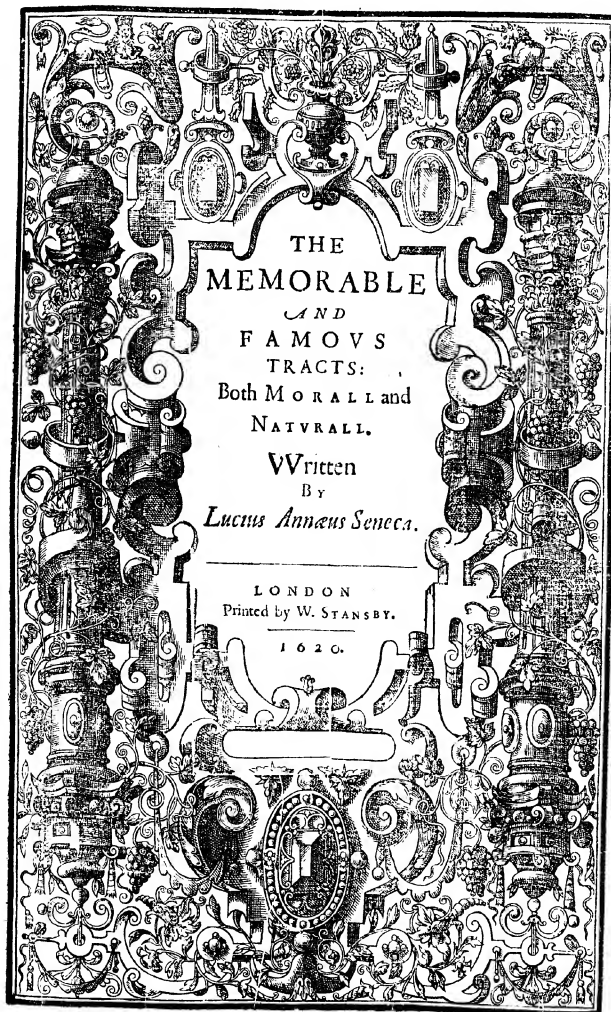
The true good neither is in Trees, nor in dumbe Creatures; that good which is in these is called but a borrowed good: and what is that, sayest thou? That which is according to the nature of euery thing. There is not one brute beast that may in any sort participate good, which belongeth to a better and more happy nature: there is no good but there where reason hath place. These fôrtie Natures are distinct; that of a Tree, that of a Beast, that of a Man, and that of a God. These two which are without reason are of the same nature; the other two are diuers, the one immortall, the other mortall. Of these the one maketh his owne good accomplished, and that is God; and a mans diligence addresseth the other. The rest are perfect in their nature, but not truly perfect if reason be absent from them. For that is finally perfect which is perfect according to comon nature: but common nature is reasonable, the rest may be perfect in their kinde. That wherein happy life cannot be, cannot haue that thing which causeth happy life; but a blessed life is made by good things, and in a dumbe beast there is not that wherby blessed life is effected, and therefore good cannot be in a dumbe beast. A dumbe beast comprehendeth things that are present, by sense he remembreth those things that are past at such time as that which awaketh the sense, awaketh it self, as an horse remembreth himselfe of his way when he is set into the beginning of it, whilst he standeth in the Stable he hath no remembrance thereof, although he hath trod it ouer many times. But the third time, that is to say, that which is to come, appertayneth not to dumbe beasts: how then can their nature seeme to be perfect who haue no vse of perfect time? For time consisteth of three parts, of that which is past, of that which is present, of that which is to come. That which is onely present and shortest, and passeth soonest is giuen to beasts: as touching that which is past, they haue eyther none or little remembrance thereof; neither, but casually thinke they on things that are present; thus the good of a perfect nature cannot be in an imperfect nature. Or if by nature she hath it, shee hath it as herbes haue; neither doe I deny but that brute beasts haue their motions very rude and violent towards those things which seeme to be according to nature, but such motions are confused and disordered, yet there cannot bee any confusion or disorder in good. Why then, sayest thou, do brute beasts moue themselves confusedly and disorderly? I would say that they moued themselves confusedly and disorderly, if their nature were capable of order: but they haue a motion according to nature. For we call that thing confused, which sometimes may not bee confused, and that carefull which may not bee assured; vice is in nothing wherein vertue may not be; dumbe beasts haue by nature that motion which they haue. But lest I detain thee ouer-long, there shall bee some good in a dumbe beast, some vertue, some perfection; but what shall it be, but what good? Neyther absolutely good, neither vertue, neither perfect, for these priuiledges doe onely appertayne vnto those that are endowed with reason, but who haue the knowledge giuen them, why, how farr, and how. Thus good is not in any thing, except it be endued with reason. Doe thou aske mee whereunto this Disputation tendeth, and what profit it shall yeeld vnto thy mind? I will tell thee, it exerciseth the same, it whetted it, and detayneth it in some honest Meditation, since it must both be employed and occupied. But that which restraineth the mind that runneth after vice, is profitable. But this I say, that the greatest good I can doe thee, is to teach thee thy good, to separate thee from brute beasts, and to lodge thee with God. Why dost thou entertaine and nourish the forces of thy body? Nature hath granted brute and sauage beasts greater

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ter then these: Why dost thou so carefully mayntayne thy beautie, when as thou hast done thy vttermost thou shalt be ouercome by many bruit beasts in comelineffe? Why dost thou trim thy haire with so great diligence? when thou hast either scattered it after the *Parthian* manner, or tyed it vp in knots after the *Germane* fashion, or let it grow long as the *Scythians* are wont; in euerie Horse thou shalt find a thicker Crest, in euery Lion a goodlier. When thou shalt addresse thy selfe to run, the Hare will outstrip thee. Wilt thou leaue these forreine aduantages in pursuit whereof thou hast alwaies the worst, & returne vnto thy good? And what is this? vndoubtedly it is a reformed mind, pure & imitating God, extolling himselfe about human things, placing nothing of himselfe without himselfe. Thou art a reasonable creature: what good is there therefore in thy selfe? Perfect reason. Summon thou that to his chiefe perfection, & let it increas as much as it may. Then suppose thy selfe to be blessed when all thy ioy shall proceed from thy selfe, when in these things which men long after, with and desire, thou findest nothing I say, not that thou wouldst rather haue, but that thou wouldst haue. I will giue thee a short Lesson, whereby thou mayest measure thy selfe, whereby thou mayest perceiue that thou art perfect. Thou shalt possesse thy true good, when thou shalt know that those are most vnhappy who are happy.

The end of SENECAS Epistles.





L V C I V S A N N A E V S
S N E C A
HIS DISCOURSE OF
PROVIDENCE:

O R

Why good men are afflicted, since there is a
Divine Providence.

The Argument of I V S T V S L I P S I V S.

THis little Booke is a golden Booke, and was written, as I conceive after CALIGULAS time, and IUDGE it by his fourth Chapter: I heard a Fencer, in CATVS CAESARS time, complaying of the scantnes of Rewards. He speaketh of the time past, & of the man and the time which was. I think therefore that he wrote it under CLAVDIVS, and presently upon his returne. Tea but what if he wrote some of these Philosophicall Discourses in his Exile? For hee continued there a long time, about some eight yeares, and upon iust cause made choice hereof to comfort himselfe. For the Argument is, that there is a Providence, and yet notwithstanding, that some evils, (but they externall,) doe befall good men. He first of all in generality auoweth the same, by the motion, order, and constancy of the World, all which doe testifie that there is a Governour. Afterwards hee more particularly examineth the question: Why therefore doe misfortunes happen to good men? First of all he sayth, that God loueth good men, and that therefore hee sendeth them not afflictions. That like a Father he correcteth and checketh them. Again, that these seeme no afflictions vnto good men, neither that they are overcome, but exercised by them, and made constant by their tribulations. That God is, as it were, a Iudge of the game, and taketh delight in these his strong and confident Wrestlers. This handleth he generally, and as it were in way of induction to the third Chapter. From thenceforth he more distinctly goeth forward, to set downe five Reasons, why they happen. First, that it is for their good, to whom they happen. Secondly, for all mens. Thirdly, for such as would haue them happen. Fourthly, that they happen by Fate and eternall Law. Hee handleth the first reason in the third and fourth Chapter, and teacheth that it is for their good to whom they chance, as a Medicine is to those that are sicke. They are likewise confirmed by God by this meanes,

means, who bringeth those forth to Battell, who are worthy of him: that hee suffereth the rest of base Mettall to line in idleness and obscurity. He handleth the second in the 5. Chap. that it is for all mens good, that good men, and such as are so reputed, might cry out vnto others, and shew them that those things are not good or euill, which the common sort esteeme such. He counselleth them therefore to haue an eye to those that are true, and to affect them, and flye the other. In that place he entreateth of the other, of such as are willing to entertayne the same, for they giue themselves to God and Fate. The fourth concludeth that there is Fate, and that it is constituted from Eternity, what thou shouldst reioyce and grieve at. Again, hee repeateth this, that those things are not euill, and bringeth in God most excellently exhorting and exciting them to constancie. Hee concludeth Stoically, if thou dislike it, and canst not abide it, who holdeth thee? the doore is open, get thee out.

C H A P. I.



How hast demanded of mee, my friend *Lucilius*, how it should come to passe (if so bee the World were governed by any Providence) that so many euils be all good men? I might more readily and hily giue thee an Answer hereunto in a place of this Discourse, where I intend to proue that Providence hath a power ouer all things, and that God is alwayes present with vs. But since it is thy pleasure that I diuide this part from the whole, and that I satisfie thee in this one contradiction; permitting the rest of the question to remayne vntouched, I will performe it, since I know it is no hard matter to pleade the cause of the Gods. It should be labour lost at this present, to make prooffe, that this great frame of the World could not be sustained without some Governour & super-intendent. That those so certaine motions, & courses of the Planets & Starrs, haue not this violent vehemencie, by casualtie or accident, and that which is pulsed on by Fortune, and peradventure is oftentimes troubled, and bindereth it selfe. That this swiftnesse which is neuer interrupted by any obstacle, is governed by the coramandement of an eternal Law. That this goodly order and government, that beareth and sustaineth all things in the Earth, and in the Sea, so many cleare lights which shine in the heauens, wherein they were disposed, is not by the order of a wandering and inconstant matter. That that which should be assembled rashly and casually, could not remaine suspended, with so wonderfull workmanship. To shew also how the weight of the Earth remaineth vnmoueable, beholding the swift motions of the Heauens, which whicth about her incessantly. How the Seas being spread thorow the deepe Valleys, mollifie the Earth, and receiue no increase by the entry of all other Riuer. How from a very little Seed, there groweth out a body of wonderfull greatnesse, and how euen those things which seeme most incertayne and confused, I speake of Clouds and Raines, of the claps of Thunder and Lightning, of fires and flames that enforce their passage thorow the toppes of the highest Mountaynes, of the Earth-quakes which sinke and open the ground, and other accidents, which that part of Nature which is most stormie and tem-

Having approued that there is a Providence, he sheweth in this chapter, by consideration of all creatures both high and low, that it is impossible that they should be without a most wise mouing cause, since the effects they haue are so admirable.

pestuous, may moue about the earth, how sudden and v unexpected fouer they be, are neuer raised without reason. They haue their causes as well as they, which, as we see, doe suddenly and miraculously breake forth in some strange and vnaccustomed places, such as are the sources of hot waters in the miditt of some riuers, and new Isles that raise themselves out of the depth of a large sea. Furthermore, if a man will obserue it, how the sea-shores vpon the ebbs of the waters, become naked and discovered; and how anon after, vpon the flood, the waters returne and couer them againe, he will beleeue that by a certaine blinde volutation, the waues are contracted and buried one within another, sometimes enlarged, and with swift streames returne into their bed. Although, in truth, they increase by little and little, and at a certaine day & houre become more great and small, according to the estate & disposition of the Moon, which causeth the flux and reflux of the sea. But leaue we this discourse vntill another time, and the rather because thou doubtst not, but complainest of Providence, I will reconcile thee to the gods, who are fauorable to those that are good men: for Nature suffereth not, that those things which are good, should be hurtfull to the good. *Vertue hath contracted an amiable friendship betwixt good men and God. Say I friendship? Nay rather a kindred and likeness, because a good man onely differeth from God but in time; he is his scholler, his follower and his true childe, whom that magnificent parent, a seuerer exactor of vertues, bringeth vp to hardnesse, as austere fathers doe their children. When as therefore thou shalt see good men, and such as are acceptable to the gods, traualle, sweat, and ascend high places: and contrariwise, the euill play the wantons, and flow in pleasures: thinke with thy selfe, that we are delighted with the modestie of our children, and the libertie of our gibing slaves: that the one are restrained vnder a seuerer discipline, whilst the other are supported and maintained in their impudence. Know thou that God doth the like. He maketh not a good man a wanton: he proues him, he hardens him against afflictions, he polisheth and fashioneth him to the end he may serue him.

C H A P. II.

BVt why doe many aduersities befall good men? No euill may happen vnto a good man: contraries cannot be mixed together. Euen as so many riuers, so many showres powring from the heauens, so many springs of medicinable fontaines, sweeten not the saltnesse of the sea, much lesse alter it: so the shocke of aduersitie peruertereth not the courage of a virtuous man. He continueth one, & whatsoever happeneth, he turneth it to his good. For he is more powerfull then all external things; nay more then this, he apprehendeth them not, but surmounteth them, and continuing peaceable in himself, he resisteth all contrarie incumbrances. He accounteth his aduersities, his exercises. What man is he that hath his minde intended and setled vpon honestie, that is not desirous of convenient labor, and is not ready voluntarily to expose himselfe to dangers? What industrious man reputeth not idleness to be a punishment? We see that wrasslers, who haue a care of their strength, doe contend with the strongest whatsoever, & importune them, who fashion themselves to those exercises, to vse their vttermost forces against them: they suffer themselves to be beaten and bruised, and if they finde no single man that may equal them, they offer themselves

vpon the entrance of the matter, he proueth by most strong arguments, enriched with excellent similitudes, and notable examples, that afflictions are honorable, pleasant, and necessary to virtuous men; and that they are necessary to be effected pernicious.

selues to encounter with many at once. Vertue hath no vertue, if it be not impugned; then appeareth it how great it is, of what value and power it is, when by patience it approueth what it may. Thou art to conceiue that good men ought to doe the like, that the greatest and sharpest aduersities must not astonish them, and that they ought not to complaine of Fate. Whatsoever befall them, let them take it in good part, and turne it to their good. It importeth not what burthen thou bearest, but with what courage thou endurest it. Seeke thou not what difference there is betweene the fathers loue, and the mothers cockering. The Fathers command them to rise early, to follow their studies diligently, and on holy dayes likewise they suffer them not to be idle; sometimes they enforce sweate from their browes, and teares from their eyes. But their mothers nestle them in their bosomes, and keepe them out of the Sunne; they neuer suffer them to crie, to be sad, or to labour. God hath a fatherly mind towards good men, and he loueth them strongly. And let them, saith he, haue labours, losses, and paines, to the end they may recover a true strength. The bodies that are ouer-fattened doe languish in idlenesse, and not only too much ease, but also their owne greafe and weight maketh them sinke vnder it. Vntainted felicitie can suffer no affliction, but if a man striveth continually against his owne calamities, he accustometh and inureth himselfe to aduersities, neyther giueth he place to any dolor, but although he be cast downe, yet fighteth he on his knee. Dost thou wonder that God, who loueth good men so intirely, who would that they should be the best and most excellent aboue all others, doe assigne them fortune to fight withall? I, for mine owne part, wonder not, that the gods sometimes take pleasure to behold worthy men wrastling against some aduersitie. Sometimes it delighteth vs, if we behold a young man of a constant resolution, that encountereth a wilde beast with his hunting staffe, that dreadlesse withstandeth the incursion of a Lion, and the more pleasing is the spectacle vnto vs, the more valiantly he behaueth himselfe. These are not those things that may conuert the face of the gods towards vs, but childish pastimes of humane leuitie. But wilt thou see a spectacle that meriteth, that God should intirely behold the worke? fix thine eye vpon it, behold a couple of combatants worthe the presence of God: that is to say, a generous man planted before aduersie Fortune, challenging her hand to hand. I see not, say I, what thing *Iupiter* hath more admirable vpon the earth, if he would fix his mind vpon the same, then to behold *Cato* remaining firme and resolute, after his confederates had been more then once defeated, and inuincible amidst his countries ruines. Although, saith he, that one only man be Lord of the whole world, although he haue legions and garrisons in euery Prouince, though the Seas be covered with his ships, and *Cæsars* troups stop vp all the passages; *Cato* hath a meanes to worke his libertie, with one hand hee shall make a broad way to his libertie. This **word*, which during the ciuill warres, hath remained iust and innocent, shall finally performe some good and noble actions, and giue *Cato* libertie, who could not giue his countrie freedom: my soule execute thou that act which thou hast long time meditated vpon; deliuer thy selfe from these worldly busineses. *Petrus* and *Imba* haue already encountered, and each are slaine by one anothers hands. A stout and worthy conuenion of destinie, but such as becometh not our greatnesse. It is as shameful a thing for *Cato* to require death, as to beg life at any mans hands. I assure my selfe, that the gods with great ioy behold, when this great and wortheie personage, a powerfull protector of himselfe, travelled to saue others, and gaue them meanes to escape: who likewise in

*But thus which Seneca praefers so highly in a man that flows himselfe, is but a Paradox of the Stoicks, refuted expressly by Nature, by the law of Nations, and condemned by the expresse word of God: for it is vnconformable for a living man to forsake this prison of his bodie, at his owne indolent pleasure.

*The flourishing Captaine and Lord of our times, is so affluence in the day, the house, and the meane; Neither is it the act of a generous man to lose courage, and to thinke that his affaires stand so desperate, that he must discharge himselfe of his life, as thereby hee preiudice his owne soule, and his neighbors estate.

that last night of his life, followed his studie, whilest he thrust his sword into his belly, whilest he scattered abroad his bowels, and with his hands drew out of his bodie that so blessed soule of his, vnworthe to be contaminated by the sword. Whereupon I am driuen to beleue, that the wound was not large and deepe enough. It sufficed not the immortal gods to behold *Cato* once, vertue was retained and reuoked, to the end that in a greater difficultie hee might approue her selfe. For there is more greater resolution in dying the second or third time, then in dying at the first. And why should they not willingly behold their darling escaping by so noble and memorabla a death? Death consecrath those whose end they praise, who feare to vndergoe the like.

C H A P. III.

But now in the proceesse of my discourse I will shew how far they are from miseries that are reputed for to be: for the present I tell thee that those which thou callest difficulties, aduersities, & abominable, are first of all for the good of those to whom they happen, & afterwards for other mens good of whom the gods haue more care then of euery one in particular. Secondly, that nothing befalleth good men but that which they would, and that they should deserve that euill should light vpon them if they would not. Hereunto will I annex, that these things are done by Fate, and in as much as virtuous men are good, all that which befortuneth them is good: consequently I will teach thee, and make thee confesse that thou oughtest neuer to say, I haue pittie of such a good man, for a man may terme him miserable, but indeed he is not, nor cannot be. That which I spake first, seemeth to be the most harshlest of all that which I haue propounded; that those euils which we quake and tremble at, turne to their good, to whom they happen. Is it for their good, sayest thou, to be banished, to be brought to povertie, to be deprived of their wiues and children, and to beinforced to burie them, to be defamed, and weakened? If thou be astonished hereat, thou wilt wonder more if I approue it to be for their good, that some are cured by Iron and Fire, and by hunger and thirst likewise; but if thou bethinke thy selfe that for remedie sake, some haue their bones scaled and scarified, their veines taken out, and some of their members cut off, which without the hazard of the whole bodie could not be left on; thou wilt suffer this likewise to be proued, that some incommunities are for their good to whom they happen, as much in truth as there are some things which being praised and desired are hurtfull to those that long after them, as ouer-eating and drinking, and such like pleasures, which engender cruelties, trouble the braine, and kill the bodie. Amongst diuers notable sayings of *Demetrius* the Stoick, I remember me of one, which as yet foundeth and singlet in mine eares; *There is nothing*, saith he, *more vnhappie then that man that hath neuer bene touched with aduersitie*: for he hath not had the meanes to know himselfe. Although all things he could desire had befallne him, yea, before he could desire; yet haue the gods thought euill of him. He seemed to be vnworthe that fortune should at any time be ouercome by him, which disdained to attempt any recraunt or coward: as if he said, Why should I admit of such an aduersarie? he will presently lay downe his weapons, what need I employ all my power against him? A slight threat will make him flie, he cannot abide to looke vpon me. Let another

Secondly, he proueth that euill, that is to say, affliction, turneth to be good, to be virtuous. The first reason is, That as to heale the bodie we sometimes torment and maim the same, so doth God in regard of the righteous. Secondly, that those that are alwaies in prosperitie, are in worst account with God; in that they haue not the courage to encounter fortune.

* See Titus and Plutarch in the life of Publilius.

a See Plutarch in Pyrrhus life, and Titus Livius.

b See the Epitome of Titus Livius, lib. 70. and Valerius Maximus lib. a. cap. 10.

Titus Livius, Publius Valerius Maximus, and Cicero die all of them male honorable men; as of this man, to whose magnanimity Seneca opposed Maccenas delicacy.

nother man be sought for, with whom I may enter combat. I am ashamed to encounter with a man that is ready to be conquered. The Fencer thinketh it a disgrace for him to be matched with his inferiour, and knoweth that he is overcome without glorie, that is conquered without danger. The like doth fortune, she seeketh for the strongest to match her, some passeth she over with a scorn, she attempteth the most confident and courageous sort of men, against these employeth she her forces: she tryeth her fire vpon * *Maccius*, pouertie in *Fabritius*, banishment in *Rutilius*, torments in *Regulus*, poyson in *Socrates*, death in *Cato*. Euill fortune seekes out no man except he be a great one. Is *Maccius* vnhappy, because with his right hand he grasped his enemies fire, and chastised the error he committed by burning of his hand, putting that enemie to flight by his scorched fist, whom with his armed hand he could not vanquish? What then? should he haue bene more happy, had he warmed his hand in his Mistresses bosome? Is *Fabritius* vnhappy for digging vp his garden, at such times as he had no publike charge? for waging warre as well against riches as against *Pyrrhus*? for sipping by the fire vpon those rootes and hearbes which he himselfe being an old man, who had triumphantly entred Rome, had gathered in cleaning and weeding his garden? What then? should he haue bene more happy if he had filled his belly with fishes, fetched from a farre and forraigne shore, and of Fowles fetched from a strange Country? If he had whetted the dulnesse of his longing stomach with shell-fish, fetched from the higher and lower Seas? If he had inuironed with a great heape of apples the most huge favage beast, which cost many men their liues before he was killed. Is *Rutilius* vnhappy, because they that haue condemned him shall bee condemned in all ages, who more willingly suffered himselfe to bee rauished from his Country, then to be remitted of his exile? because he alone opposed himselfe against the Dictator *Scylla*, and when he was recalled, not onely kept backe, but fled farther off. Let they, saith he to *Scylla*, whom thy great fortune entangleth in Rome, thinkethis, that they behold a riuer of bloud in the Market-place, and aboute the Lake of *Seruilus* (for that was the place where they dispoyled those whom *Scylla* by publike Proclamations had condemned to die) the heads of Senators, and the troupes of Murderers, running thorow the streetes of the Citie, and diuers thousands of Romane Citizens, murdered in that place for thou hast thopt them vp, with promise to saue their liues, and notwithstanding trayterously causing them to be slayne; let those that cannot endure to be banished, feed their eyes with such spectacles. What then? Is *Lucius Scylla* happy, because that in coming down to the market-place, his guard made him way with their weapons? because he suffered the heads of Consuls to be hanged vp, and maketh the *Quæstor* pay him the price of euery head which is taxed in his Proclamations; and all these things doth he that made the Law *Cornelia*. Let vs come to *Regulus*; what harme did Fortune to him in making him the patterne of fidelitie and patience? The nayles fasten and pierce his skin, and on what side soeuer he turneth his wearied body, he lies vpon his wounds; neyther can he close his eyes, but watcheth incessantly. The more torment he hath, the more glorie shall bee his. Wilt thou know how farre off he is from repenting himselfe for estimating vertue at so high a rate? Cheere him vp, and send him backe againe to the Senate, he will be still of the same opinion. Thinkest thou therefore that *Maccenas* is more happy, who could not sleepe but by the harmonie of pleasing mulique that foundeth a farre off by reason of his ialousie, and because he was strangely tormented

ted with the crosses of his fantastique wife, which vpon euery slight occasion threatned him with diuorce. Although he drowne himselfe in wine to make him drowlie, and by the noyse of water, poured out of one bason into another incite his eyes to sleepe: be it that hee charme his sorrowes with a thousand pastimes, he slept as little on his feather-bed, as *Regulus* on the gibbet. But the one comforted himselfe, because he suffered for honestie that affliction he endured, and his patience regarded the cause of those torments. The other spent in delights, and broken with too much ease, is more tormented with the occasion then the euill it selfe, which he endureth; vices haue not gotten so strong a possession of mortall men, that it is to be doubted, if so be the destinie would giue them their choice, whether diuers had not rather resemble *Regulus*, then be borne *Maccenas*. Or if there were any that durst say that he would be borne *Maccenas* and not *Regulus*; the same man, although he hold his peace, had rather be borne * *Terentia*. Thinkest thou that *Socrates* was badly handled because he drunke that potion which was publicly mixed, no otherwise then if it had bene a medicine of immortalitie, and dispoied of death till death leaied him? Thinkest thou that he was ill dealt withall, because his bloud was congealed, & that by little and little the force of his veines failed him? whilst cold in the extremitie stole vp to his heart by little and little? how much more rather ought we to eniue his felicitie, then those who are serued in precious stones, wherein an olde and decayed Minion of his trimmed vp to endure all things, poureth vp from aboute the melted Snow into his golden cup? These men, whatsoeuer they drinke, they vomit and cast it vp againe, with a certaine loathing, and are constrained to retast their bitter spiritle. But *Socrates* swalloweth the poyson voluntarily and joyfully. As touching *Cato*, there is sufficiently spoken, and the whole consent of men wil confesse that he attained the greatest felicity, whom God made choise of to crush & conquer those things that were to be feared. Are the displeasures of great men grievous? Oppole him alone to *Pompey*, *Cæsar* and *Crassus*. It is a grievous thing to be outstripped by men of no worth in dignity and honor, but *Cato* disdaineth not to come after *Vatinius*. It is a grievous thing to be an actor in ciuill warres; but *Cato* in a iust quarrell will fight in euery corner of the world, although the issue be both strange and miserable. It is a grievous matter for a man to murder him selfe, yet will he doe it. What shall I, saith Nature, get hereby? This, that all men may know that these are not euils, which I thought *Cato* worthe of.

CHAP. IV.

Rosperitie falleth into the hands of the common fort, & berideth those of basest spirit: but to yoke and master calamities and mortall terrors, is the propertie of a great man. But to be alwayes happy, and to passe away life without any pressure of the minde, is to be ignorant that affliction is one part of mans life. Thou art a great man; but how shall I know it, if Fortune giue thee not leaue and meanes to make prooue of thy vertue? Thou wentest to the Olympian games, but no man but thy selfe: thou hast the crowne, but not the victorie. I applaude not thy fortune as if thou wert a great and valiant man, but as if thou hadst gotten some Consulate or Prætorship. Thou art increased in honour. The like can I say to a good man; if some misfortune hath not giuen him any occasion,

Thimias Maccenas' antiseptic and antibiotic wife.

In the third place he sheweth, that afflictions are honourable, and that the greatest of men as it were et cetera.

occasion, whereby to make shew of the lively forces of his mind. I repute thee wretched because thou wert neuer wretched, thou hast past thy life without an aduersary. No man, no not thy selfe shall bee able to know thy value: for to the end a man may well know himselfe, hee ought to make prooffe of himselfe. No man knoweth his owne ability except he make tryall thereof. And therefore some men haue wilfully and vnprovoked exposed themselves to miseries, and sought an occasion to make their vertue (already declining and growing to obscurity) more glorious & esteemed. Great men, say I, doe reioyce as much in aduersities as valiant Souldiers doe in War. I heard a Fencer in *Caius Casars* time, complaine of the rarenesse of rewards: How faire an age, saith he, is past; vertue gapeth after danger, and thinketh on that which she intendeth, not that which she is to suffer, because that which she is to suffer is a part of her glory. Valiant Souldiers glory in their wounds, & ioyfully shew the blood that runneth from them, if it be spent in a good cause. Although they doe the like who returne in safety from the batell, yet is he more respected that returneth wounded. God, say I, hath a care of those men whom hee desireth to make the most honest, as often as hee giueth them an occasion to doe any thing stoutly and manfully, to the performance whereof there needeth some difficulty and danger. Thou shalt know a Master of a Ship in a Tempest, and a Souldier in the Batell: how can I know how thou art addressed against pouerty, if thou aboundest in riches? How can I know what constancy thou hast against ignominy, infamy, and popular hate, if thou grow old amidst the applauses of every man? if an inextinguishable fauor seconded by a certaine inclination of mens minds towards thee, attendeth thee perpetually? Whence know I that thou wilt patiently endure the losse of thy children, if I see thee laugh when they come into the World? I haue heard thee comfort others, but then would I willingly haue seene thee, if thou hast comforted thy selfe, if thou hast commanded thy selfe to grieve no more. Feare not these things, I beseech you, which the immortal gods vse as spurres to quicken and awaken our mindes. Calamities are an occasion of vertue. Iustly may a man terme them miserable, that are furred with too much felicitie, who are detayned in an idle tranquillity, as a Ship in a calme Sea; whatsoever shall befall them will bee new vnto them. Calamities presse them most shrewdly, that haue neuer had experience of them. A tender necke hardly brooketh the yoke. A yong Souldier waxeth pale vpon the feare of a wound. An old beaten Souldier doth boldly see himselfe bleed, who knoweth that oft-times in losing his blood he hath conquered his enemy. God therefore animateth, reknowledgeth, and exerciseth those whom he approueth and loueth: but those whom he seemeth to fauour and spare, hee reseruet them by reason of their weaknesse, for the euils to come, for it is folly to thinke that any one is exempt. He whom thou thinkest so assured in his happinesse, shall haue his turne, and taste the same cup; whosoever seemeth dismissed, is but deferred. Why doth God afflict the best men with sicknesse, and other incommodities? Why in the Campe are the Souldiers of greatest value, commanded to execute the exploits of greatest danger? The Generall sendeth out the most cholen troops to charge the enemy with an onslaught by night, either to skout the way, or to drue some forces from their trenches. None of those who fall out, saith, *The Generall hath done me wrong, but he hath honoured mee.* Let them say the like, whosoever are commanded to suffer that, for which fearefull men and cowards weepe. *We haue beene thought worthy by God to be esteemed such, in whom he might make tryall, how much humane nature may suffer.* Fly delights, flye

*These in which
God afflicteth
good men.*

flye from effeminate felicitie, whereby our mindes are mollified, except something happen that may admonish them of their humane condition, who are, as it were benumbed with perpetuall drunkennesse. He that hath been alwaies defended from the winde by his glasse windowes, whose feete are kept warme by much wrapping, who supbeth not except it be in his house, is not without danger of catching colde vpon the smallest breath of winde. Since all excellencie is hurtfull, an vnmeasurable prosperitie is most dangerous: It moueth the braine, distracteth the minde with vaine resemblances, and spreadeth many mists betwixt truth and fallhood. Why should it not be better to endure perpetuall infelicitie, which animateth vnto vertue, then to burst with infinite and immoderate prosperitie? Death is not so tedious as too long falling, and too much cruditie cracketh the bodies. The gods therefore beaue themselves towards good men, as the Masters doe towards their Schollers, who require more labour at their hands, of whom they haue the greatest hope. Beleeuest thou that the Lacedemonians hated their children, who make trial of their disposition and nature, by whipping them publicly? Contrariwise, those fathers exhort their children to suffer the ierks of their whips confidently, and entreat them, being torne and halfe dead with their scourgings, to perseuere, and to endure wounds vpon wounds. Wonder we that God maketh trial of the most generous spirits by aduersitie? Vertuous instructions are neuer delicate. Dost Fortune beate and rent vs? Let vs suffer it. This is no cruelty, it is but a conflict. The more we aduventure it, the stronger shall we be. The hardest part of our bodie is that which trauaileth most: wee must offer our selues to the hands of Fortune, to the end she may make vs more confident to encounter her. By little and little she will make vs as strong as her selfe. To be continually in danger, maketh a man set light by danger. So are Sailors bodies inured to brooke the Sea; so are Husbandmens hands hardened; so are Souldiers armes strengthened to dart their weapons, so are their members made nimble that runne races. That in euery thing is most strongest, which is most exercised. By contemning the power of euils, the minde attaineth patience, which thou shalt know what it can effect in vs, if thou consider how much labour effecteth in naked bodies, and such as are strengthened by necessitie. Consider all Nations which liue vnder the peace and confines of the Romane Empire. I mean the Germanes, and all those that dwell about Ister, and those wandering nations of the Scythians, where perpetuall winter, & a thick aire continually presseth them; a barren and malignant soile sustaineth them: they defend themselves from thowers, with leaues and beds of thatch, they trauell ouer riuers hardened with ice, and take their repast vpon the flesh of wilde beasts. Seeme they wretched vnto thee? Nothing is miserable that Nature hath brought into a custome, for by little & little those things become pleasant vnto them, which began vpon necessitie. They haue no houses, they haue no biding place, but that which wearinesse hath allotted them for a season. Their meate is homely, and gotten by their owne hands: the aire is extremely cold, and their bodies are naked; this which seemeth calamitie vnto thee, is the life of so many Nations. Why wonderst thou that good men are shaken, to the end they may be confirmed? There is no solide or strong tree, that hath not bene often shaken by the winde, for by the often shaking thereof it is strengthened, and fastneth his roote more assuredly. They that grow in the low valleyes are the weakest. It is therefore profitable for good men, to make them more assured to be alwaies conuersant amongst dangers, and to endure those accidents

*A perpetuall
happinesse
is a
disease, a
sickness,
a
maim.*

*Exercise maketh
dangers slight.*

*The last proofe
enriched with
an excellent
figure.*

accidents with a constant minde, which are not euils, except to him that importeth them badly.

C H A P. V.

For the fourth
principal confi-
dation, we
shew that the
wee vices are of
fl. c. 4. for the
and are in tra-
dition of all men.

* The one of
those by whose
misdeeds blind,
and the other
lost his eyes by
fire.



Et vs adde now, how for the good of all men, euerie one of the better fort (if I may so speake it) beare armes and performe actions. God hath the same intention that a wife man hath, which is to shew, that those things which the common people long after, and which they are afraid of, are neither good nor euill. But they shall appeare to be good, if he bestow them on none but good men; and to be euill, if he hath reserved them only for euill men. Blindnesse were detestable, if no man should lose his eyes, except they were pulled out. Let therefore *Appianus* and *Metellus* want their sight, and be miserable herein. Riches are not the true good, & therefore let *Ellius* the bawd enioy them in such sort, as they who haue giuen him money in the temples, may see it in the brothel-houfe. God can by no better meanes raduce those things, which we so much couet, then in bestowing them on men most infamous, and detaining them from men most vertuous. But it is an iniult thing, that a good man should be weakened, banged vp, or imprisoned; and that euill men should walke, with whole, healthfull, and effeminate bodies. What then? Is it not an vnreasonable matter, that valiant men should take armes, should watch in the trenches, and haue their wounds but newly bound vp, should maintaine the breach, whilst lasciuious men, and such as professe wanton lust, sleepe securely in the Citie? What then? Is it not a most shamefull matter, that the most noblest Virgins should be awakened at mid-night to celebrate the sacred ceremonies, and that Harlots should enioy their quiet sleepes? Labor summoneth the best. The Senate oft-times is all day long in counsell, when at that time the basest companions whatsoever, eyther take their pastimes in the fields, or lie hidden in an Alehouse, or lose their time in chatting amongst their companions. The like is done in this great Common-weale of the world, good men must labor, they employ their time, and are employed by others, and are not inforcedly drawne by Fortune, but they follow her, and walke by her, step by step, and had they knowne it, they had outstript her. And I remember likewise, that I haue heard this manly speech of *Demetrius* that worthy scilow: *In this one thing, O immortal gods, I can complaine of you, that you haue not made knowne vnto me what your will was. For, of my selfe, I had first of all come vnto these things, to which bring now called I present my selfe.* Will you take my children from me? haue brought the vp to that end. Will you haue a part of my bodie? Take it to you. I promise no great matter, I shall shortly leaue the whole. Will you haue my spirit? Why not? I will not deferre to restore that vnto you, which you haue bestowed vpon me. I will willingly satisfie whatsoever you request. * What is it then? I had rather present it you, then deliuer it vnto you. What need had you to take away the same? you might haue commanded it, neyther now shall you take it away, because nothing is taken away, but that which is taken from him that delayneth the same. I am not compelled, I suffer nothing vnwillingly; neyther am I a slave vnto God, but assent vnto his will, and so much the rather, because I know that all things happen by an eternall and vnchangeable ordinance of God. Destinie leadeth vs, and the first howre of euerie mans birth, hath governed all the rest of his life.

* A narrative of
the St. rich, rou-
ching Deshaile,
for the vnto-
standing who of
the Relierye
haue recourse to
S. Augustine in
his ninth Booke
de Cititate
dei, and fifth
chapter, where
they first haue
written after
him.

life. One cause dependeth vpon another, and the long order of things draweth with it all that which is done in publike or in private. Therefore is each thing to be endured constantly, because all things fall not out (as we * imagine) but come. Long since it was decreed, whereat thou shouldest ioy or sorrow, and although euery mans life seemeth to be distinguished in different and great varietie, yet notwithstanding all cometh to one poynt, we haue receiued those things which will decay, and we our selues must dye. Why are we so displeased? Whence groweth our complaint? We are ordained hereunto. Let Nature vse our bodies how she list. Let vs merrily and constantly thinke thus, that we lose nothing of our owne. * What is that which is proper and becoming in a good man? to commit himselfe to the hands of Destinie. It is a great solace to be carried away with the whole world. Whatsoeuer it be that hath commanded vs to liue thus, and to die thus, by the same necessitie rieth the gods. An irrevocable course carrieth away together both humane and diuine things. The same Creator and Governour of all things hath written the Fates, and he himselfe followeth that which he hath written, he hath once commanded, and alwaies obeyeth. Why therefore was God so vnusuall in distributing Fate, that to good men he alloteth pouertie, wounds, and cruell death? The work-maister cannot change his matters, it is subiect to suffer this. Some things there are that cannot be separated from other things, they cleaue the one vnto another, and are indiuisible. The spirits that are weak, or like to grow dull, or to fall into a watchfulnesse like vnto sleepe, are framed of flow elements. To frame a man that should make himselfe spoken of, there needeth a stronger Fate. His iourney must be no ordinarie way. He must trauell high and low, he must haue stormes, and must gouerne his ship in a swolne Sea; hee must shape his course against Fortune. He shall haue many hard and dangerous accidents to confront him, but such as he himselfe may smoothe and make plaine. Fire trieth gold, and aduersitie valiant men. Behold how high vertue should ascend, and thou shalt know that the must not goe in securitie.

* That is, things
happen not by
chance, but are
made and come
by an immuta-
ble decree.

* To compare
this vision, he
relateth on the
Paradox of the
Stoicks, who saye
the first cause,
which is God, to
secondarie cau-
ses, whereas
Christian Philo-
sophie teacheth
of the contrary,
and himselfe
heretofore hath
sufficiently an-
swered heretanto

*The first which with vnwearied Steedes I clime,
Is such a iourney, that their ceaselesse toyle
Can scarcely reach before the narrowes prime:
The next in highest beane'n, from whence the soyle
And spacious seas, I see with dreadfull eye,
And fearefull heart: the next whereto I lie,
Is sleepe, and prone, and craves a cunning guides;
And then doth T HETIS shake her selfe for dread,
Leit headlong I should fall, and downward glide,
And burie in her waues my golden head.*

2. Metamorph.

When the generous yong man had heard these things, I like, saith he, the way, and will attempt it. Is it such a matter to shape so faire a course, and to fall afterwards? The father notwithstanding desired not to terrifie his too forward minde, thus:

*And that thou maist continue in the way,
Be carefull lest thy posting Steedes doe stray:
Yet shalt thou passe by Taurus who will bend
His hornes to crosse thee, whither thou dost tend.*

X x 2

Th. Amo.

*Tib' Aemonian Archer, and the Lion fell
Shall stay thy course, and fright thee where they dwell.*

After this he saith, *Coople thy granted scame.* I am animated by these things, wherewith thou thinkest to affright me. I am resolu'd to stand there, where the Sunneit selfe shall tremble. It is the part of a base and recreant minde to trauell in securitie: Vertue alwaies chimereth hard and difficult pathes.

CHAP. VI.

BVt why doth God permit that good men should suffer wrong? Vndoubtedly he permitte it not. He remoueth all evils from them, hainous finnes and offences, cursed cogitations, greedie counsels blind lusts, and auarice that couereth another mans fortunes, he defendeth and restraineth them. Doth any man require this at Gods hands, that he should take paine also to keep good mens budgets? They acquit God of this care, they contemne externall things. *Democritus* cast away riches, supposing them to be the burthen of a good minde. Why wonderst thou therefore, if God suffer that to happen to a wife man, that a good man sometimes would wish, that he might sometimes ligh vpon? Good men lose their children. Why not? When as the time will come that they themselves must die. They are banished: Why not? When as sometime they forsake their Countrey, with this resolution, neuer to see it againe. They are slaine: Why not? when as sometimes they themselves will lay hands on themselves. Why suffer they some aduerities? To the end they may teach others to suffer the like. They are borne to be a patterne. Thinke therefore that God saith: What cause haue you, who haue taken pleasure in vertue, to complaine of me? I haue enuironed some with deceivable goods, and haue mocked their vaine mindes with a long and deceitfull dreame. I haue decked them with Gold, Siluer, and Iuorie, but inwardly there is nothing good in them. These whom you admire for their happinesse, if you looke into them, not according to their exteriour greatnesse, but their interiour weakenesse, they are miserable, base, filthy, and like their walls, onely painted on the outside. This is no solide and sincere felicitie, it is but a cruft, and that a thinneneone. Therefore as long as they may stand vpright, and not shew themselves but where they list, they shine and abuse the common eye. But if anything happeneth, that troubleth and discouereth them, then shalt thou see a sea of villanie and filth hidden vnder their borrowed brightnesse. I haue giuen you true and permanent goods. The more you examine and looke into them euerie waies, the better and the more greater will they appeare to be. I haue permitted you to contemne those things which are to be feared, to loath those things that are to be desired; you shall not shine outwardly, *your goods are turned inward. So the World contemneth his exteriour parts, and contenteth himselfe with the contemplation of himselfe. I haue placed all good inwardly. It is your felicitie, not to want felicitie. But diuers pittifull, dreadfull, and intollerable things fall out. Because I could not deliuer you from these evils, I haue armed your minds against all things. Suffer manfully, this is the way whereby you may walk before God, he is without the patience of euill, you aboute the patience. Contemne pouertie, no man listeth lo poore

*The gift and
of nuptiall paynes,
wherein he flourisheth
that there is
no evil but in
vice. Whence it
followeth, that
the vertuous man
dare no evils,
and that this
name might not
be given to a
filian.*

** Again, he
returneth to his
Paradox, saying
God vniu'secra-
dize causes.*

as he was borne. Contemne paine, it will either be ended, or end vs. Contemne Fortune. I haue giuen her no weapon to wound the minde. Contemne death, which either endeth you, or transferreth you. * About all things I haue taken order that no man should keepe you liuing against your will. If you will not fight you may fle: therefore of all things which I would haue necessarie for you, I made nothing more easie then death. I haue planted the soule in a declining place, whence a man may deliuer it: consider now and you shall see how short the way is vnto libertie, and how readie it is. I haue not prefixed you so long delayes in your departure, as I haue giuen at your entrance; otherwise Fortune had held a great dominion ouer you, if a man should die as slowly as he is borne. Let euerie time and place teach you how easie a thing it is to renounce Nature, and to returne her that fauour she hath bestowed vpon you: learne you death amidst the altars, and the solemne rites of those that sacrifice whilst life is wished for. The bodies of the fastest Bulls are slaine with a small wound, and the stroake of a mans hand murdereth the Beasts of the greatest strength. The ioynt that ioyneth the necke to the head, is diuided with a thinn knife, and when the nerves that tie them both together are cut, that great masse of the bodie falleth downe. * The spirit is not hidden ouer-deepe, neither need we to draw it out with hookes: we need not inflict deepe wounds in our entrailes, death is at hand. I haue destined no certaine place for these strokes: life may finde issue by any place whatsoever. Euen that which is called death, whereby the soule departeth from the bodie, is so short, that the most sodaine swiftnesse thereof cannot bee apprehended. Whether a man stranglenth himselfe, or stop his breath by drowning himselfe, whether falling vpon the pavement, a man dasheth out his braines, whether by swallowing downe quicke coales of fire, he intercepteth the course of the departing soule, whatsoever it be it hasteneth. What doe you blush? why feare you that so long, which is done so soone?

(**)

The end of the Booke of Providence.

X x 3

A

** Another Pa-
radox, placing
death in the po-
wer and will of a
man, whereas
man ought to at-
tend the same
from the will-
ance of God:
Hence this as
an Ethique
error, gather the
flowers, let the
weedes passe.*

** Death is easie
indeed, but ad-
versely adde
thereunto, if it
happen in such
sort, and at such
time as pleaseth
God.*



A TREATISE OF ANGER.

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS

S N E C A,

To his Friend NOVATVS.

The first Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THE Bookes of *Anger* seeme to be written amongst the first Bookes of Philosophy, vndoubtedly amongst those which we haue: we gather the same out of SENECAES owne word in his third Booke and eighteenth Chapter; At this time CAIVS CAESAR caused SEXTVS PAPINIVS, whose father was Consul, and BELENIVS BASSVS who was Tresurer, to be whipped. Hee saith at this time, euen now but newly done, nay more, whilst CALIGVLA himselfe was liuing, out of the Chapter following: That which thou so much admirest was vsuall and ordinary with this Beast; he liueth for this, he watcheth for this: vndoubtedly all these things were spoken by a man that is, not that was. He wrote at that time therefore, but he published it not, the more his wisdom, although as I suppose he did it shortly after his death.

The Argument is as the Title testifieth; How to know *Anger*, and afterwards to eschue it. The first Booke therefore hath the description thereof, and the losse some habit and face of such as are angry: then certayne definitions: then questions, whether man onely be subiect therunto? He maintayneth it: Whether it bee according to Nature? He denyeth it with the Stoicks. Whether it be profitable, especially if it be tempered? This likewise denyeth he, and dinersly dispatcheth against the Peripatetiques: that neither the minde nor the strength is whetted thereby. That we ought not to be angry, no not with those that are euill; neither at the death of our Father, nor at the vanishing of our Mother; yet that they are to bee

bee defended and reuenged. To conclude, that this is a signe, not of a great, but of a weake minde. The Bookes art in part very excellent and eminent in the whole, scarce distinct, but confusd in repetitions and digressions.

CHAP. I.



Thou hast required of me, * Nonatus, to write vnto thee how wrath might bee pacified, neither without cause seemest thou vnto mee to haue feared this affection especially, which is the most cruell and enraged of all others: for in the rest there is somewhat that is pliant and pleasing, but this is alwayes violent and full of immoderate sorrow, of armes, of blood, of punishments, incensed with more then humane desire, neglecting her selfe so she may hurt another, rushing in vpon the sharpest weapons, and greedie of reuenge, and

complotting murders. Some therefore of the wiser sort haue said, that * Anger is a short madnesse, for shee is a little Mistris of her selfe as the other: she forgetteth all respect, neglecteth friendships, intent and obliuious in that shee hath vnderaken, and neglectfull of reason, and incapable of counsaile: shee is transported by vaine pretexts, stupid in the presence of equitie and veritie, properly resembling the ruines of Houses, which breake themselves vpon that ruine which they themselves haue beaten downe. And to the end thou mayest know that they who are surprised with Anger are truly madde, consider a little their countenance, and the manner of their behaviour. For euen as these are certaine signes of confirmed madnesse, to haue a bold and threatening countenance, a heauie brow, and dreadfull face, a swift and disordered gate, vnquiet hands, changed colour, and frequent and deepe sighes: so those that are angry haue the same signes. Their eyes sparkle and shine, their face is on fire thorow a reflux of blood that boyleth vp from the bottom of their breasts, their lippes quier, their teeth grate, their haire startleth and standeth vpright, their breath is inforced and wheeleth, they wrest and cracke their fingers, their speech is interrupted with plaints and grones and muttering, which a man may hardly vnderland. They often clap their hands, and stampe the ground with their feet; their whole bodie startleth, and is shaken, their actions are full of furious menaces. In briefe, they haue a dreadfull and horrible countenance, resembling such men that disfigure and puffe themselves vp after a strange fashion. Thou canst not say whether it be a more detestable or deformed vice: the rest wee may hide and nourish in secret; Anger discouereth her selfe and appeareth in the countenance, and the greater it is, the more manifestly discouereth she her impatience. Seest thou not in brute beasts whatfoeuer, that as soone as they are addressed to hurt, there are certaine signes as fore-runners of their intention; how all their bodies giue ouer their peaceable and accustomed habit, and how they exasperate their naturall fiercenes? The Boares some and gnash their teeth: the hornes of Bulls are tossed in the Ayre, and by the trampling of their feet the sand is scattered: the Lions roare, the incensed Serpents haue swelling neckes, mad dogs haue a dreadfull look. There is no liuing creature so cruell and pernicious

* Nonatus was Iunius Gallus his adopted Son.

* He describeth Choler in this place very fitly according to Themistius.

cious whatfoeuer, that discouereth not some new furie, as soone as displeasure hath seized him; neyther am I ignorant that other affections also are scarily hidden; and that luit, feare, and boldnesse make shew of themselves, and may be fore-knownne. For there is none so vehement and inward thought, that bewrayeth not it selfe in the countenance. What difference then is there? but that other affections doe appeare, this is eminent.

CHAP. II.

BT now if thou wilt consider the effects and damages thereof, there is no plague that hath ruined and cost the World more then this. Thou shalt see Murthers, Imprisonments, shamefull and mutuall reproches of guilty men, sacking of Cities, ruines of whole Nations, heads of Princes and great Lords taxed and the wals of a Citie, but whole spaces of Regions shining with hostile flame. Behold the foundations of the noblest Cities, now scarcely knowne, these hath wrath ouerturned. Behold the Desert and vnhabited, extended to many thousand paces; these hath wrath dispoyled. Behold so many great Chieftaynes, whose memorie remaineth as yet seruing for examples of humane miserie: one of these hath wrath murdered in his bed, another hath wrath slaine at the Table, without any respect of the sacred rites of the same, another hath the stabbed in the midst of the lanes, and in the market-place in the sight of all men: the hath commanded another to offer his throat to the murderous hands of his sonne; another to haue his kingly throat cut by the sword of his slaue, another to haue his members distended vpon the Gibbet. And as yet haue I but reckoned vp some particular mens punishments. But if thou please (pretermittting those whom Anger hath thus massacred man by man) to behold whole Armies put to the sword, the people of a City murdered by soldiers, expressly sent to that purpose, and whole Nations exterminated without sparing great or small, as if the gods cared not for vs, or they contemned their authority. But as touching the Fencers, why is it that the people are so iniustly incensed against them, that they repute it to be an iniurie done vnto them, if the Sword-players kill not one another speedily? shewing by their countenances, gellures, and heate, that they suppose themselves to be neglected, making themselves by this meanes of Spectators mercilesse Enemies. Whatfoeuer it be, this is not wrath, but a passion resembling wrath, such as is that of children, who if they haue false will haue the Earth beaten, and oftentimes they know not with whom they are angry; yet are they only angry without cause and without iniury, and yet not without some appearance of iniurie, nor without some desire of reuenge. They are deluded therefore with counterfeit beatings of the Earth, and are pacified by the fayned teares of those that would kill them, and by a dissembled forme of reuenge their fayned sorrow is extinguished.

CHAP.

That Choler and anger is a hurtful to us, be approved by example, and by the effects and discourses testeth, as using syllables cruelties, and the Tyrannical tyrannies for an example of hatred thereof is all men.

CHAP. III.

WE are oftentimes displeased (saith hee) not with those that haue hurt vs, but with those who hereafter are like to hurt vs, to the end thou mayest know that Anger proceedeth not onely from an iniurie already done. True it is, that we are angry with those that should hurt vs, but those that harm vs in their very thought and he that is to doe vs an iniury, hath already done it. To the end thou mayest know (saith he) that wrath is not a desire of reuenge, oftentimes the weakest are displeased with the strongest. Neither with they for reuenge, which they hope not to see. We haue formerly said that wrath was a desire, and not a power to reuenge; but men desire such things as they cannot effect. Furthermore, no man is so humble and base, who cannot hope to see Iustice done vpon his greatest aduersary: we haue power enough to hurt. *Aristotles* definition differeth not very much from ours; for he saith, That wrath is a desire to displease those that haue displeased vs. It were a long matter to discourse what difference there is betwixt this definition and ours: against both it is said that beasts are incensed, yet are they not prouoked by any iniurie, neither desire they the punishment or paine of any other beast: for although they reuenge themselves, yet is it not with a desire of vengeance. But we must answer, that wild beasts, and all other creatures, except man onely, doe want Anger. For whereas it is opposit to reason, yet doth it neuer grow in any one, but such in whom reason hath place. Brute beasts haue their assaults, their rage, their fiercenesse and incursion; yet haue they Anger no more then lecherie, and in some pleasures they are more intemperate then man is. Thou must not giue credit to him that saith:

*The Beare remembers not his wrathfull ire,
The Hind doth scarcely trust her swift retire:
Nor Beares to prey vpon the mighty beads.*

By this word Anger, he intendeth emotion, or incitation. They know no more to be angry, then how to pardon. Dumb beasts want humane affections, but they haue certain impulses which resemble the same. Otherwise if loue were in them, hatred should be in them also: if friendship, enmitie: if dissention, concord: whereof some markes doe appeare in them. But good and euill are onely proper to the hearts of men. Wisdome, diligence, and cogitation, are only granted to a man, and brute beasts are not only not partakers of humane vertues, but are also exempted from their vices. All their forme both exterior and interior is vnlike vnto mans. Their vnderstanding is grosse and imperfect, their voyce strange, confused, and without any signification; their tongue is tyed, and hath no diuersities of sounds, neither can it distinctly speake and pronounce. The beast then receiue the object of that which shee seeth, and the kinds of all things that incite her vnto furie, but shee receiue them troubled and confused. Thence commeth their springings and vehement assaults, which may not bee called either feares, or cares, or sadnesse, or displeasures, but some things like vnto these. Therefore is it that they are quickly appeared and are changed into a contrarie estate, and after they haue most indignedly executed their crueltye, they returne vnto their pasture and fodder, and after a cry and furious course, they seeke out their rest and sleepe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

WE haue sufficiently declared what choler is, whereby it appeareth that betwixt it and inueterate wrath there is such a difference as is betwene a man that is drunke, and a drunkard: betwene a man that is frightened and a coward: A man may bee displeased, yet not cholerike, but choler can neuer be void of Anger. As touching the other kinds of choler, which the *Græcians* expresse by diuers other names, I let them passe because wee haue no proper words to expresse them, although that we say, Behold such a one is implacable and austere, is also quarrellsome, furious, a brawler, reuengfully wrathfull, implacable. All which are kinds and differences of Anger: amongst these thou mayest ranke the peeuisshnesse, which is a delicate kind of Choler. For there are some displeasures which are appealed with brawling, some that are ordinary and no lesse obdurate, some spaiing in words and violent in execution, some that discouer their bitterness in the multitude of words and curses; some passe not further then plaints and reproches, some others are profound and weighty, and are fixed deeply in the thought. There are a thousand sorts of euils in this euill, so diuerse, and spread into so many branches.

Differences of Anger.

CHAP. V.

WE haue examined what wrath is, and whether it might seize any other creature then a man, wherein it differed from displeasure and of the kinds of the same. Let vs now enquire whether wrath be according to nature, whether it be profitable, & whether in any sort we ought to retrain the same. It will manifestly appeare whether it be according to nature if we consider a man, for there is nothing so peaceable, and gouerned as he is, as long as his minde is gouerned and pacified: but what is more cruell then Anger? what creature, is more louing toward his like then man is? what is more hatefull then wrath? A man is borne to helpe other, wrath for the general ruine of all. A man desireth nothing more then company, wrath searcheth solitude; the one will assist, the other will hurt, this desireth to shew himselfe kinde, though it be but to strangers, the other to endanger familiars. A man is ready to hazard his owne life to secure anothers. Wrath is ready to hazard danger, prouided, they may hazard some other with her selfe. Who therefore is more ignorant of the nature of things, then he that to her best and commendablest worke which is man, assigneth this so savage and pernicious a vice? Wrath as we said is greedy of vengeance, and that desire of reuenge should be in the most peaceable heart of a man, is a thing which is not consonant to his nature. For humane life consisteth vpon benefices and concord, it is not then by threats but by mutuall amitie that men are allied and tyed to assist one another. What then? Is not chastisement sometimes necessary? Why not? but this must be sincere and with reason. For it hurteth not but healeth vnder a resemblance of hurting. Even as to straighten the stauies of our lauelings, which are waxen crooked, wee burne them and ply them in a vice of Iron or Wood, not to the intent to breake them, but make them more euen and straight: so correct we our wits being depraued with vice,

Whether Anger be a thing natural, profitable, and to be restrained.

* It is not natural.

*An excellent
Similitude.*

with the paine both of bodie and minde. And in like sort, as the Physician, hauing some light infirmities in cure assayeth: First, to change some little of the ordinarie custome of the sicke, to prescribe his Dyer, his drinke, his exercises, and to confirme his health by the only changes of the order of his life. Secondly, hee endeouret to bring this to passe that this meanes may profit, and if it happen other wayes, hee diminisheth and curteth off some things; and if this be not enough he forbideth the sick-man all meates, and rectifieth his bodie by enioyning him abstinence: and if these gentle remedies haue effected nothing, hee openeth a veine, and if any members be harmefull one vnto another that cleaue vnto the same, and spread their euill thorow the bodie; he diuideth them, and there is no cure that the sick-man suppoeth grievous, if the effect of the same bring him health: In like sort it becometh the Magistrate, who is the conseruer and maintayner of the Law, to heale mens mindes, by gentle words and perswasions as much as in him lyeth, perswading his subiects to doe that which is commanded them, and imprinting in their thoughts the loue of Iustice and honestie; in briefe, propoling for the reward of Vertue, the hatred of vice: and afterwards hee ought to vse sharper words, contenting himselfe as yet to aduertise and threaten. Finally, he must haue recourse to punishments, and yet such as are light and reuocable. The extremest punishments hee ought to inflict for the greatest faults: to the end that no man may perish except it be he that is put to death, and for whom it is expedient to dye.

*The cure of the
Magistrate, pro-
perly applied to
that of the Phi-
sician.*

CHAP. VI.

*The difference
betwixt a Magi-
strate and a
Physician.*

IN this one thing hee differeth from the Physicians, because they suffer those to depart in peace, whose life they could not saue and recouer; the other contrariwise condemneth the Malefactor disgracefully, and forcibly driueth him out of the World, not because he taketh pleasure to put any man to death, (for far off is a Wiseman from such barbarous crueltie) but to the end that those who are condemned to death, should serue for an example to the liuing, and that the Common-wealth might make vse of their death, who during their life, would be profitable to no man. The nature of man therefore is not to delight or affect punishment, and therefore is not wrath according to the nature of a man, because it is desirous of revenge. I will propose in this place an Argument of *Platoes*. For who forbiddeth vs to make vse of other mens reasons, in as much as they make for vs? A good man (saith he) doth not hurt, it is the punishment that hurteth, punishment therefore doth not become a good man. And consequently, neyther choler, because punishment is agreeable to the same: If a good man take no pleasure in punishing, neyther will hee take pleasure in that affect, to which punishment is a pleasure. Therefore wrath is not naturall.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

IS not wrath therefore to be admitted, (although it be vnnatural,) because that oft-times it hath bene profitable? It rayseth and inciteth mens minds, neither doth Fortitude performe any worthy action in warre, except hereby mens hearts be inflamed, and this instigation hath wherred and animated valiant men to attempt dangers. Sometherefore thinke it requisite to temper wrath, and not to extinguish it, and that being taken away which is exuberant, to reduce it into a laudable forme; and to retayne that without which the action would languish, and the force and vigour of the spirit be resolued. First, it is more easie to exclude such things as are pernicious, then to gouerne the same, and not to admit them rather then to moderate them when they are admitted. For when they haue put themselves into possession, they are more powerfull then their guide, and suffer not themselves eyther to be diminished or cut off. Againe, reason it selfe to whom the reines & authority are deliuered, is so long powerfull, as long as she is separated from passions; But if these intermixeth her selfe, and be defiled with them, she cannot restraine those whom she might haue remooued. For the minde being once mooued and shaken, is addicted to that whereby it is driuen. The beginning of some things are in our power, but if they bee increased, they carry vs away perforce, and suffer vs not to returne back, euen as the bodies that fall headlong downeward, haue no power to stay themselves. Euen as those that are cast downe, retayne or stay themselves in their fall, but an irreuocable precipitation hath cutt off all counsaile, and all meanes of remedie, neyther is it possible to keepe themselves from attayning thither, whither had they their choice they would not arriue. So the minde if it hath plunged it selfe in wrath, loue, and such like affections, is not suffered to restrayne the fall, but it must needfly fall out that the weight of his wickednesse, and his nature prone and inclined to vice, must needfly carry and precipitate him to the bottom.

*He proueth now
that Anger is
not profitable.*

*A 2^d Similitude
to confirme his
second proposi-
tion.*

CHAP. VIII.

IT is best therefore forthwith to despise the first assault, and resist the beginnings. And to endeouour that we fall not into Anger, for if the beginneth to transport vs, it is a hard matter to recouer the right way. Because reason hath no place, as soone as passion hath gotten the vpper hand, and Will hath giuen him any interest, then will the afterwards do, not what thou permittest, but what he pleaseth. First of all say I, the Enemy is to be driuen from our borders, for when he is entred and hath gotten the gates, hee taketh no condition with his Captiues. For at that time the minde is not rettyred, neyther exteriorly examineth these affecti- ons, to the intent thee suffereth them not to haue further progresse then they should, but is changed her selfe into passion; and therefore can the not reuoke that profitable and wholesome vigor, which is already betrayed and weakened. For as I said, these haue not their distinct and severall seates, I meane passion (which is a change in the Soule from good to euill) and reason (which is a change from euill to goodnesse. How therefore shall reason which hath giuen

*The remedies of
the precedent
difficultie.
A reason that
ought to be care-
fully observed
and marked.*

Yy

place

place vnto Anger, and is seized and oppressed with vices, rise againe? Or how shall she deliuer her selfe from confusion, she is false into; by reason of those violent passions wherewith she is intermixed and oppressed? But some (saith he) containe themselves in Anger. Is it in such sort that they accomplish nothing which choler commandeth, or doe they obey the same some wayes? If they doe nothing, it appeareth that wrath is not necessary in humane actions, whom you preferred as if she had somewhat more greater efficacy then reason. In conclusion, I aske this question, whether shee bee stronger or weaker then reason? If stronger, how may reason giue her a Law and retrain her, considering that they are but feeble things which obey? If weake, reason of her selfe is sufficient without her to effect things, neither desireth shee the helpe of so powerlesse a passion. But some that are angry, are their owne men, and containe themselves. How? Then when Anger is already pacified, and remitteth of her owne accord. Not when she is in height of her feruour, for then is she stronger. What then? Doe not some men in the height of their displeasure, suffer those to depart safe and secure whom they hate, and abstaine from hurting them? But how? After that a second passion hath repulled the former, or feare or pleasure hath commanded this or that, wrath sayeth it selfe, not for the reuerence she oweth vnto reason, but by reason of a feeble and euill accord which the passions haue amongst themselves.

CHAP. IX.

C O conclude, it hath nothing profitable in it selfe, neyther doth it whet the courage in Warlike exploits. For Vertue which is contented with her selfe, must neuer bee assisted by vice. As oftentimes as she is to attempt any thing, shee is not angry, but rayseth her selfe so farre forth as she thinketh it necessary; shee is both intended and remitted no otherwise then those Arrowes which are shot out of Engines, are in the power of him that shooteth, how farre they shall bee shot. Anger saith *Aristotle* is necessary, neyther can any thing be atchieued without her, or shee encourage the minde, and enkindle the spirit: But wee are to vse her not as a Captaine but as a Souldier: which is false. For if she giue eare to reason, and follow the way shee is directed, then is it not Anger whose propertie is contumacie: but if she resist and is not quieted when she is commanded, but passeth further with pride and fury, she is as vnprofitable a Minister of the minde as is the Souldier that retreth not to his colours when the retreat is sounded. If therefore she suffer her selfe to be kept in measure, she must be called by another name, she ceaseth to be wrath, that is to say, vnbrideled and vntamed. If she suffer it not, she is pernicious, neither is she to be reckoned amongst the number of helpe: So that either she is not Anger, or else she is vnprofitable: For if any man exacteth punishment, not being greedy of the punishment it selfe, but because he must, he is not to be numbred amongst those that are Angry. That man shall be reputed a profitable Souldier, who knoweth how to obey counsell, as for affections, they are as euill Ministers as they are Captaines. Reason therefore will neuer take to her assistants, improuident and violent passions ouer whom she hath no authority, and whom she neuer may retrain except she oppoeth their equals and likes vnto them, as feare to Anger, Anger to cowardise, desire to feare.

CHAP.

A continuation of the question and answer.

Learn here the use of Anger.

CHAP. X.



Arre be it from vertue to be reduced to this extremity, that reason should be constrained to haue her recourse to vices. Here cannot the mind remayne in any certaine security; he must needs bee in perpetuall agitation and trouble, who is secure in his euils, who cannot be strong except he be wrathfully, nor industrious except he desire, nor quiet except he feare; he must liue in a Tyranny that becomerh a slave to any passion. Are you not alhamed to thrust Vertues vnder the protection of vices? Moreouer, reason loseth her power if she can do nothing without passion, but beginneth to be equall, and like vnto her. For what importeth it, whether passion bee an inconsiderate thing without reason, or that reason be feeble, and of no force without passion? All comes to one, the one cannot be without the other. But who will endure that passion, should bee equall with reason? Choler (saith he) is a profitable passion, if it be small and litle: yea if she be profitable by nature: but if she be incapable both of government and reason, she shall attaine this only thing by her moderation; that the lesse she is, the lesse hurtfull she shall be. Therefore a light passion is nothing else but a small euill.

An answer to Aristotle's opinion, who in his Ethics saith that choler is necessary.

CHAP. XI.



Against our Enemies (saith he) Anger is necessary. At no time lesse then that, wherein our passions should not be vnbridled, but obedient and moderate. For what other thing was it, that crushed and confounded the Barbarians so strong in their bodies, so patient in their labours, but Wrath which is most pernicious to her selfe? Arte likewise defendeth the Sword-players, Wrath layes them open to danger. Furthermore what need wee Wrath, where Reason may doe the same? Thinkest thou that the Hunter is angry with wilde beasts, eyther when hee chafeth them as they flye, or assayeth them when they draw neere him? Reason doth all these things without Wrath. What hath so confounded so many thousand *Cimbrians* and *Tentons* that were spread vpon the Alpes, that the notice of so great an ouerthrow was not related to their friends by a Messenger but by Fortune, but that Wrath in them had the place of Vertue? Which as sometimes shee hath defeated and ouerthrowne those that met her, so oftentimes is shee the cause of her owne confusion. May a man finde out a Natiou more couragious, more forward and readie to incursions and charges, more desirous of Warre, then the *Almains*, who are borne and brought vp to Armes: who are onely diligent herein, and negligent in the rest? Is there a people more hardned vnto labour, and that endureth trauell better? For the most part they care not to make prouision of garments for their bodies to keepe them warme: neyther striue they to retyre themselves from the perpetuall fury of the Frost, which is in that Country; yet are they defeated and put to flight vpon the first charge, and before the Legions were scene, by *Spaniards*, *French*, *Asians*, and *Syrians*, who are but cold Souldiers in the Warre: being subiect by no other meanes to this disaster, but by reason of their wrath. So then, to these bodies, to these mindes that are ignorant

The continuation of the confusion of Aristotle's opinion.

See Marius life in Plutarch.

Yy 2 of

See Lince of the
Parthian War,
and Plutarch
in the Lives of
Fabius Maxi-
mus and Hani-
bal.

of delights, excess, and riches, give reason and discipline to guide them. But without farther debating in this kind, I must call to remembrance in this place the ancient custome of the old Romanes. By what other means did *Fabius* rescue the decayed forces of the declining Empire, but that he knew how to delay, how to lengthen out matters, and dally with the time? all which angry men cannot doe. The Common Weale had bene vtterly ouerthrowne, that then stood in great extremitie, if *Fabius* had dared so much as wrath perswade him vnto; but hauing for counsaile the consideration of the estate of Rome, and the forces he had vnder his government, which had they bene defeated eyther in the whole or in part, all the rest was vtterly ruined, hee layd wrath aside, and desire of vengeance; and hauing his minde fixed vpon the good of the Common-Weale and vpon the present occasion, he first of all furmounted choler, and after that *Hanibal*. What did *Scipio*? Hauing forsaken *Hanibal*, and the Carthaginian Armie, and all these with whom hee should be angry, did he not translate the War into Africa in so slow a manner that they who enuyed his Vertue, reputed him for an idle & dissolute man? What did the other *Scipio*? did he not beleager Numanium for a long time, and patiently digested both this his priuate griefe, and the discontent of the whole State, by reason that Numanium kept out longer then Carthage? Which while he trencheth about and shutteth vp his Enemy, he drew them to this extremitie, that they murdered one another.

CHAP. XII.



Rath then is neither profitable in Skirmishes or in Warre; for it is too prone to reuerie, and whilest the endeouoreth to harme others she hazardeth her selfe. That Vertue is most assured, that hath long time examined and gouerned her selfe, and hath bene guided by good and wise counsell. What then (saith he) shall not a good man be angry, if he see his father strooken, his Mother rauished? Hee shall not be angry, but reuenge and defend them. What, fearest thou that his piety towards his Parents is not an occasion more pregnant to incite him therunto then wrath is? We say after the same sort. What therefore? shall not a good man when he seeth his father or his sonne cut in pieces, weepe or fall in a fount? as we see it falleth out in women, as often as any slight suspition of danger doth awake them. A good man executeth his offices without confusion or feare, and in such sort will performe those things that are worthy a good man, that he will doe nothing that is vnworthy a man. Shall my father bee murdered? I will defend him. Is he slaine? I will bury him, not because I am forrie therefore, but for that I am bound thereunto. When thou sayst thus, *Theophrastus*, thou seekest to draw more stronger Precepts into hatred, & forsaking the Iudge hast recourse vnto the people; because in such accidents euery one is accustomed to be angry: thou thinkest that men will iudge that that ought to be done which hee alloweth of. Are good men angry at their iniuries? but they do the same, if warme water be not fitly mixed, if their glasse be broken, if their hooe be sprinkled with dirt. It is not pietie but their infirmite that moueth that Anger. We resemble those to children who will weepe no lesse for the losse of their nuts, then for the death of their Parents. It is the part of no pious but an infirme and weake minde to be angry for a mans friends. But this is a worthy mat-

The conclusion of
the reuelation
which is pre-
cedent, and an an-
swer to another
question.

A pretty refuta-
tion of Theo-
phrastus.

matter, and well becomming a man to shew himselfe a protector of his Parents, his Children, his Friends, and his Countrey: not by violence, or passion; but voluntarily, with iudgement and discretion, with prouidence, and moderation. For there is no affection so delirious of reuenge as wrath is, by reason whereof thee is wholly vnproper to that effect, being hindered by her violence and fury; even as euery passion is opposit and contrary to it selfe, in all that whereunto she is inclined, and whereunto she runneth hastily. And therefore, neither in peace, or warre, was it ever good. For she maketh peace like vnto warre; and in Armes forgetteth her selfe, that warre is common, and commeth into another mans power, whilest she is not in her owne. Furthermore, vices therefore are not to be entertayned and vsed, because at sometime they haue done some good: for feuers also doe cure some kinds of sicknesses, and yet not withstanding it were better to haue no feuers at all. It is an abhominable kinde of remedie to recouer health by the assistance of a sickness. In like manner, wrath although sometimes it hath beyond expectation profited, as venome, precipitation, and shipwrack haue done; yet it is not therefore to bee reputed a thing intirely profitable, for oft-times poysons haue preferred the life of diuers persons.

CHAP. XIII.



Moreouer those things which wee ought to esteeme good, are the better, and more to be desired, the greater they be. If Iustice be good, no man will fly, that it is like to bee better, if any thing should be taken from it; if Fortitude be good, no man will desire that it should be diminished in any part: and therefore wrath the greater it is the better it is, for who refuseth the increase of any good thing? But the increase of wrath is vnprofitable, and consequently the possession thereof is vnprofitable. It is no good thing that by increase becommeth euill. Wrath (saith he) is profitable: because it maketh men more hardie to fight. In this manner Drunkenness is profitable, for it maketh men more insolent and audacious, and many that haue drunken ouer freely, are more readie at their weapons. In this manner say, that both Frenzie, and Madnesse, are necessarie for valiant men: because oftentimes Furie maketh men more strong and able. What? hath not feare sometimes made a Coward valiant, and the feare of death likewise enkindled the weakest hearted men to the battell? But Wrath, Drunkenness, Feare, and such like, are but filthy and fraile prouocations; neither confirme Vertue which hath no need of vice, but doe sometimes a little quicken a slow and idle minde. No man is strengthened by his Anger, except he haue bene strong before his Anger. To them Anger assisteth nor, but supplyeth the place of Vertue. In brieue, if this passion were recommendable, it would follow euery one that were most perfect; but they that are most tetchie, are infants, old-men, and sicke men; and euery creature that is by nature weake and feeble, is ordinarily froward.

The increase of
wrath is unpro-
fitable, and
therefore wrath
it selfe.

CHAP. XIII.

*A new objection
of Theophras-
tus, touching
the art anger,
men conceive a-
gainst all men.*

IT cannot be (saith *Theophrastus*) but that a good man should bee displeased with the wicked. In this sence the better men should be the most cholericke. But contrariwise they should bee more peaceable, exempt from passions, and without hatred of any man. What reason might moue them, to hate sinners, considering that it is error which driueth them into these faults? But it is not the part of a Wiseman to hate those that erre, otherwise hee should hate himselfe. Let him berinke himselfe, how many faults he committeth against good manners, how many things hee hath done which require pardon? Then shall hee bee angry with himselfe. For a iust Iudge pronounceth not one sentence in his owne behalfe, another in anothers. A man (saith hee) is not to bee found, that can absolve himselfe; truth it is, that every man (saith he) is innocent, but it is in regard of witnesses, not of his conscience. How farre more humane were it for a man to shew himselfe gentle, and pacified to those that offend, and rather to reconcile them then to persecute them? It were better to leade them into the direct way, who for want of knowledge haue strayed out of it, then to thrust them out of the way. A man ought to correct him that offendeth by admonition, forcible reprehensions, friendly, but effectuall speech: to the end to make him better for himselfe and for others. In briefe, hee ought to chastise him without passion of choler. For what Physician is he, that will bee angry and displeased with his Patient, whom he would recouer?

*An answer
granted vpon
diuers reasons.*

CHAP. XV.

*That a man may
chastise, may
execute offen-
ders without be-
ing transported
by choler.*

BUt they cannot bee corrected, neyther is there any thing in them that is capable of good hope. Let those be exterminated out of the company of men, who are like to infect such who conuerse with them, and since this is the onely meanes, let them cease to be euill; but let this be done without hatred. For what cause haue I to hate him whom I then profit most, when I take himselfe from himselfe? Doth a man then hate his limmes when he cutteth them off? this is not Anger, but a miserable cure. Wee chase away mad Dogs, wee kill a restie and vntractable Oxe. Wee brand our scabbie Sheepe, for feare lest they infect the flocke; wee strangle monstrous Births; wee drowne our owne Children likewise if they be borne deformed and Monsters. It is not an act of wrath but of reason, to separate those things that are vnprofitable from those that are healthfull and profitable. There is nothing, which he that chastiseth another should more refraineth then from wrath, because that chastisement profiteth when it is done with iudgement. Thence it is that *Socrates* said vnto his slave, *I had beaten thee, had I not bene angry*. He deferred the admonition of his seruant till a more convenient time, and at that time he admonished himselfe. Whose affection shall be temperate, when as *Socrates* dare not trust himselfe to his wrath? There needeth therefore no angry corrector to chastise those that are wicked and doe amisse. For whereas wrath is an offence of the minde, he that is faultie himselfe, must not punish offenders.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.



WHat then, shall I not be angrie with a thiefe? Shall I not be displeased with a Witch? No; For I am not angrie with my selfe when I let my selfe bloud. I apply all sorts of punishment in stead of remedie. Thou that as yet hast made but an entrance into error, neither offendest grievously but frequently, shalt first of all be secretly, then publicly reproofed. If thou ingage thy selfe further in sinne, so as words may not correct thee, thou shalt be fined for thy folly; but if thy fault requireth some more forcible and feeling punishment, thou shalt be banished and sent to vnknowne places. But if thy malice increaseth, and waxeth obdurate, that thou haue need to vse more sharper remedies then the precedent; thou shalt be thrust into shackles, and lockt vp in prison. If thou become incurable, and thou growest to heape sin vpon sinne, if thou not onely layest hold on the occasions to doe euill (which neuer fayle those that seeke them) but that which is worst, if to doe euill, thou hast no other occasion but the wicked custome thou hast taken, thou hast drunke iniquitie, and art in such fort tainted and so deeply tintured with wickednesse inwardly, that it cannot finde issue out, except thou burst and die presently. Thou hast long time sought for death: poore man that thou art, we will gratifie thee, we will heale thee of this furie of thy spirit wherewith thou art tormented, and hauing made thee passe by the punishment of other men and thine owne, I will let thee see and feele the onely good which remaineth for thee, that is to say, death. Why should I be displeased with him whom I assist and greatly helpe at that time? To take a mans life from him, is sometimes to shew him fauor, and to doe him a good turne. If I were a well experienced Physitian, and should enter into an Hospitall, or some rich mans house, I would not ordaine one and the same medicine for diuers sick men. I see diuers vices in so different minds, & am appointed to haue the gouernement of a Citie, I must search out a medicine for euery one of their sicknesses. Shame must cure this man, trauell that man; the whip one man, necessitie the other, and the sword the last. Therefore, although in being a Magistrate, I ought to change my Garment, and cause the people to be assembled vpon the sound of a Trumpet, yet will I ascend the Tribunall, not moued or displeased, but with the countenance of an vpright Iudge, armed with the authoritie of the Lawes, and wil pronounce the sentence with a voice rather pleasing and graue, then furious: and peaceably yet seuerely will command the Hang-man to execute his office. And when I shall commaund any malefactors head to be strooken off; & when I cause the parricide to be sown into a sacke, and afterwards to be cast into the water; and when I iudge the offending Souldier to passe the pikes; and when I command the Traitor and publique enemy to be cast downe from the Tarpeian rocke, I will be so farre from wrath, and so temperate in my minde, as when I kill Serpents or other venomous beasts. But wrath is necessarie for him that will punish. What, thinkest thou that the Law is angrie with those she knoweth not? whom shee seeth not? whom shee hopeth not to be? We ought therefore to put on his affection, which is not displeased, but onely defined. For if it be conuenient for a good man to be angrie for euill deedes, it shall be as lawfull for him to eniue the prosperitie of euill men. For what is more vnworthie then that some men flourish, yea and such who abuse the indulgence of Fortune, for whom no fortune may be found out euill enough? But as well shall hee see their commodi-
ties

*An answer to
other objections.*

*Of the order
that ought to be
observed in
punishing ma-
lefactours.*

*An amplification
of that example
above written,
and an answer
to the precedent
objection.*

ties without enuie, as their haynous offences without wrath. A good Iudge condemneeth that which is euill, and yet hateth it not: What then? Shall not a wife man when he hath such a like thing in his hands bee touched in minde, and more troubled then ordinarie? I confesse it, he shall feele some light motion. For as *Zeno* saith, when the wound in a wife mans Soule is healed, yet remaineth there some scarre. So then, he shall feele certaine touches of suspition and shadowes of passion, yet without any passion. *Aristotle* saith, that some affections, if a man vse them well, serue in steade of Armes; which should be true, if they might be vled and laide aside as warlike instruments, at the pleasure of him that putteth them on. These Armes which *Aristotle* giueth Nature, fight of themselves, and expect not that a man should make vse of them; they gouerne and know not what it is to obey: vertue hath no need of instruments. We are sufficiently furnished by reason, wherewith nature hath fitted vs. Since it is that hath giuen vs a weapon, firme, perpetuall, obsequious, and certaine, and such as cannot be reinforced against the Master. Reason of it selfe is sufficient enough, not only to foresee, but to execute any action. For what is more fond then that reason should seeke assistance from wrath: a stable thing from an vn certaine: a faithfull from a perfidious, a whole from the sicke? Moreouer, as touching the actions themselves, wherein the helpe of Anger seemeth to be most requisite, reason of it selfe is more stronger. For hauing marked out that which the ought to do, she remaineth alwaies settled in her resolution, and being vnable to finde out any thing better then her selfe to change her, she departeth neuer from her place. Contrariwise, pittie hath oftentimes driuen wrath out of doores, for this passion hath no solid strength, but only a tumor; and vseth violent beginnings, no otherwise then the windes which arise from the earth, and being entertained by the fouds and marishes, are vehement, but not permanent. It beginneth with a great violence, and afterwards fainteth being wearied before her time; and when she hath inuented nought else but crueltye, and new kinds of punishment, when execution is to be done, she is pacified, and becommeth gentle. Affection quaieth quickly, reason is equall. Morouer also, where wrath perseuereth sometimes, if there are many that haue deserued death, after the bloud of two or three, the beginneth to be calmed. The first assaults of her are sharpe, euen as the venomnesse of Serpents are hurtfull, that creepe from their dennes: her teeth are harmelesse, when as often byting hath spent them. They therefore suffer not equally, who haue offended equally, and oft-times he that hath offended the least, suffereth the most, because he is the object of the latest anger, and is wholly vnequall: sometimes it extendeth it selfe farther then it should, sometimes it resisteth more then it ought. For the flattereth her selfe, and iudgeth as the list, and will not heare, and leaueth no place for excuse, and retaineth that which the hath apprehended; and suffereth not her iudgement to be taken from her, although it be euill. Reason giueth place to either part, and time likewise. Afterwards the demaundeth a terme for her selfe, to the end she may haue time to discusse the truth; wrath is hasty. Reason will haue that iudgeth which is rightfull, wrath will haue that seeme rightfull which the iudgeth. Reason respecteth nothing but that which is in question; wrath is moued with vaine things, and such as are nothing to the purpose. An assured countenance, a firme voyce, a free speech, an exquisite garment, a delay without delay, a fauour of the people, exasperateth wrath. Oftimes in despite of the Aduocate she condemneth him for whom he pleadeth. And although the truth be laid before her eyes, she lo- ueth

If the wife man
ought to be mo-
ued, and how.

That which the
Stoics doe inue
maintaineth, or
the examination
of Affections co-
pays in touch-
ing passions.

The desires
of Reason and
Wrath.

ueth and maintaineth error, she will not be reprov'd, and in euill enterprises she esteemeth it more honest to be obdurate, then to repent her selfe. *Cato* *Piso* was in our memorie a man exempt from many vices, yet extremely cholericke, and such a one as tooke pleasure in his austeritie. He being displeased, when he had commanded a Souldier to be brought before him, who had returned from his pillage without his companion, as if he had murdered him whom he could not bring in person, when he was requested time to finde him out, denied it him, and condemned him to die. This Souldier, thus sentenced, being brought without the trenches, already tendered his necke vnto the hangman, when suddenly his fellow Souldier appeared, whom men supposed to be slaine: whereupon the Centurion who had the charge to see the execution done, commanded the Hangman to put vp his sword, and after brought him to *Piso* who was condemned, to the end he might make proofe of his innocencie, since Fortune had afforded him the meanes. The other Souldiers flocked about these two, who embraced one another to the content of all their companions. But *Piso* incensed with choler, ascended the Tribunal seat, and commanded both the Souldiers to be led to death: both that Souldier that had not slaine his fellow, and him that was not slaine. What indignitie is this? Because the innocencie of him that was condemned was manifest, both perished. *Piso* added the third. For he commanded that Centurion who had brought backe him that was condemned, to be led to execution. Here three were appointed to die in one place for one mans innocencie. Oh how cunning is wrath to fauour causes of furie! I command thee, saith he, to be led to death, because thou art condemned; thee, because thou wert the occasion of thy fellow Souldiers death; thee, because being commanded to see him executed, thou didst not obey thy Commander. He deuised how to finde three crimes, because he found none. Wrath, say I, hath this euill in it, it will not be gouerned. She is angrie with truth it selfe, if she seeme in any sort opposite against her will. With crie, tumult, and iactation of the whole bodie, she persecuteth those whom she hath resolved to iniurie with reproches and curses. This doth not reason, but if it must needs be so, silently and quietly, the ruineth whole houses from their foundations, and destroiet whole families that are enemies to their Country. With their wives and children, she raceth downe their houses, and leuelleth them with the earth, and obscureth their names that are enemies to libertie. This doth she not with foaming at the mouth, nor shaking of the head, neither doing any thing that is vn decent for a Iudge, whose looks, at that time especially, ought to be most pleasing, and staied when he pronounceth matters of consequence. What needst thou, saith *Ierosime*, when thou art intended to strike any man, to bite thy lip first? What if he had seene the Proconfull leaping from the Tribunal, and taking away the Sergeants rods, and renting his garments, because the garments of such as were condemned, were not rent off soone enough? What needst it to ouer-turne the table, to brake and fling away the pots, to beate ones head against the pillars, to teare his haire, and to thumpe his thigh and breast? How great is that anger thinkst thou, which because it is not so sodainly vented against another as a man would, reflecteth vpon her selfe? He is therefore held by his Neighbours, and intreated to pacifie himselfe, none of which things doth he who is void of anger, but inioyneth euerie one his deserued punishment. Oft-times dismisseth he him whose guiltinesse and forfeit he hath apprehended, if by confessing the act he promise great hope of amends; if he vnderstand that the offence grew not from the malice of his

A notable exam-
ple concerning
that which the
stoics say, that an-
ger ought not to
be induced with
reason because
shee euery thing
doth it.

Note this you
that are disgi-
strates.

An advertisement for Magistrates to beware of anger which cannot make a man more magnanimous.

his heart, but, as they say, was committed and not complotted with sinister intent. He will give such a pardon as neither shall be hurtfull to those that receive the same, nor to those that give it. Sometimes will be repress the greatest offences committed by infirmities, and not by cruelty, more gently then other lesse in them be some hidden, covered, and inexterate craft. He will punish the same fault in different men, after a different manner: if the one have committed it through negligence, the other studied to doe hurt. He will observe this alwaies in every judgement and execution, to ordaine one sort of punishment to correct the euill, another to cut them off. And in both these shall he consider, not those things that are past, but those things that are to come. For, as *Plato* saith, No wise man punisheth for euill doing, but lest wee should fall to euill doing. For those things that are past cannot be recalled, those things that are to come may be prevented: and those whom he would make examples of for some cursed crime, he executed them publickely, not only to the end they may die, but that others might be deterred from doing euill, by beholding the execution. Each one ought to weigh and consider these reasons. Thou seest how much a Magistrate should be exempt from all passion, when he undertaketh a thing of so great consequence, as the life and death of men that are vnder his hands. The sword is indiscreetly committed to a furious mans hands. Neither ought we to thinke this, that wrath addeth any thing to the greatnesse of the minde. For that is no greatnesse but a swelling: neither to Lodies that are intended by abundance of bad humors, is the sicknesse an increase, but a pestilent plentie. As they whom anger (which is a passion vile and base) puffeth vp, and raiseth aboue the thoughts of other men, make themselves beleue that their thoughts are sublime and high, whereas there is nothing firme in all that which they doe, but as they have builded in the ayre, so sinketh it and falleth of it selfe. Wrath hath no assistance or stayner, she proceedeth not from any thing that is permanent and durable, but is windy and vaine, and differeth so farre from greatnesse of minde, as audaciousnesse from fortitude, insolence from confidence, sadnesse from austeritie, and crueltie from feueritie. There is a great difference betwixt a constant and a proud minde. Wrath enterpriseth nothing that is great or worthy. Contrariwise, in my judgement, it is a token of a dull and vnhappie man, and guilty of his owne weaknesse, to be sorrowfull oftentimes. Even as those bodies that are exulcerated and sicke, complaine if they be touched neuer so little, so is it a womanish & childish fault: (yet is it incident to men) for men likewise haue childish and womanish wits. What then? are not some words vttered by angrie men (who haue not the true knowledge of magnanimity) which seeme notwithstanding to proceed from a great & generous mind? As that most dire and abominable speech, *Let them hate me, so they feare me*. Know that this was written in *Syllas* time. I know not whether will were worke for him, either to be hated, or to be feared: *Let them hate me*. He forethinketh that which will happen, that his subiects will curse, betray, and oppresse him. What addeth he hereunto? The gods confound them; so worthie a remedy hath he found out for hatred. *Let them hate*. What? whilst they obey? No: whilst they approue? No. What then? So they feare, so would not I haue him be beloued. Thinkest thou that this is spoken with a great spirit? Thou art deceived; for this is not greatnesse but cruelty. Thou art not to giue credit to wrathfull mens words, whose boasts are great and threatning, but inwardly their hearts are crauen and coward. Thou must not repute that to be true which is spoken by *Linie* that eloquent man, of him, *A man that had a minde*

minde rather great then good. These cannot be separated, either it shall be great and good, or it shall not be great; because I meane the greatnesse of a man that is vnshaken, and inwardly solide, and euen and equall from one end vnto another, which cannot be in euill mindes. For they may be terrible, tumultuous, and dangerous to death, but they shall not haue greatnesse whose foundation is strength and goodnesse: yet in speech, in action, and all outward appearance they will make shew of great courage. They will let slip some words, which thou wilt suppose to be worthie and witty, as *Caius Cesar* did, who being angrie with the heavens, because it thundred whilst his plaiers acted, whom he imitated more diligently then he beheld them, and because his banquet was interrupted by lightning, that was scarce rightly aymed, he challenged *Iupiter* to fight with him without delay, pronouncing this Verse in *Homer*:

Either kill mee, or I thee.

What madnesse was it? he thought that either *Iupiter* could not hurt him, or that he could hurt *Iupiter*. I cannot imagine but that this speech of his was of some great moment to incense the hearts of those that had conspired against him, for they supposed it to be an insufferable matter to suffer him, who could not indure *Iupiter*. Then there is nothing great or noble in wrath, no not when it seemeth to be most vehement and despiteth both men & gods: or if any man supposeth that wrath produceth a great mind, let him say as much of dissolute-nesse. Shee will be carued in Iuorie, clothed with purple, covered with gold, transfere one Countrey to another, shut vp Seas, precipitate Riuers, hang forests in the aire. Let Auarice also be esteemed generous: she lyeth vpon heaps of gold and siluer, her pastures and lands are tilled vnder the name of whole Provinces. And vnder euery one of her farmers she inioyeth a greater quantity of land, then the Provinces that were allotted to those that were Consuls. Let Lust likewise be reputed to be a worthie thing. It swimmeth ouer Seas, geldeth troupes of yong children, maketh the wife without apprehension of death to be murdered with her husbands owne hands. The same may wee say of Ambition, that shee is magnanimous, and contenteth not her selfe with yearly honours, but will, if it may be, fill all the moneths and daies of the year with one name, and plant her Armes through all the world. It skils not how farre all these proceede and extend themselves, they are trifles, they are miserable and depressed. Only vertue is great and excellent, for there is nothing great except it bee pleasing and peace-able likewise.

(*)

The end of the first Booke of Anger.

A TREATISE OF ANGER,

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SNECA,

To his Friend NOVATVS.

The second Booke.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

*I*T hath two parts, the first containeth certaine questions of Anger, the other remedies against the same. The first question is, Whether Anger proceed from passion onely. He denieth it; and proueth that both the minde and iudgement are necessary thereunto. She therefore giueth eare vnto reason, and may be restrained, which could not be if she were from that only, and not from nature. By the way he proposeth a Stoicall difference betwixt motions and affections, thus he prosecuteth to the fourth Chapter. Then addeth he another question, Whether cruelty and fiercenesse proceede from Anger; he denieth it, and saith that it is a different affection, yet that it often-times hath his beginning or nourishment from often displeasure. After this in the VI. Chapter, whether a good man be displeased with the offence or the offender? He denieth, and dischargeeth a wise man from all this affection, vntill the XI. Chapter. From thence he enquireth whether wrath be profitable, because it delivereth a man from contempt, and terrifieth the enill? He doth not admit it, and confesseth that it is feared which is not good or to be desired by a good man. For both wild beasts and sicknesses are feared. This vntill the XIII. Chapter, and in it he confesseth that Anger may be sained, and yet not used by a wise man. Neither that she resideth in a simple and generous mind, because the free and unconquered nations haue the same, yea such as are savage and incapable both of learning or reason. At length in the XVIII. Chapter, he profitably passeth ouer to the remedies of Anger, he dilateth these two things. That we should not be angry, and that we should not sin in our Anger, lest we fall into the same. Such and such an education is requisite; at last he willet vs to impugn the first causes of wrath, and aduises to use counsell & time. Then that suspicions are to be drinen away, & excesses avoided. Not to be angry with things that are insensible, with men of weak iudgement, with those things which are done by nature, or for our good. He aduise vs to see & acknowledge our faults, whereby we may become more equall & iust to others. Not to be leene rashly, and to examine those things that are beleened, by the mind of the doer. Especially that pride is to be laid aside, and good opinion of a mans selfe

which maketh men wrathfull and reuengefull. To suffer rather or to dissemble, and to abstaine from so filthy an affection, whose deformitie is expressed in the minde and countenance. These are profitable lessons, let them be read and remembered.

CHAP. I.



The first Booke, *Nonatus*, hath comprehended matters more facile, because it is an easie matter to run head-long into vices, considering our inclination and disposition thereunto. But now we must vnfold the smaller parcels of this discourse. For the question is, whether Anger beginneth vpon iudgement, or by impulsion, that is to say, whether he be moued of her selfe, or whether he resemble the most of these passions, which take root in vs before we are aware. But we must subiect this dispute to these questions, to the end

that she may be likewise raised to more high considerations. For in our bodies, our bones, nerues, and ioynts, which are the foundation of the whole, and other instruments of life scarce seemly to behold, are first formed and ordained, and afterwards these, whence the grace of our countenance and face doth proceed. And after all these, the colour (which about all things rauilith the eyes) is the last thing which spreadeth it selfe thorow-out our perfect bodies. It is not to be doubted but that a certaine appearance of iniurie offered, moueth anger: but the question is, whether wrath presently followeth after this appearance, without consent of the minde, or whether it be moued by the assent thereof. But our opinion is that she dare doe nothing of her selfe, but by the approbation of the mind. For to conceiue an opinion of iniurie received, and to desire to be reuenged, and to vnite both these things together, that is to say, that they ought not to haue beene angrie, or that he ought to take reuenge; this is no motion that may incite it selfe without our will. The aboue named motion is simple, that whereof we speake is compound, and containeth diuers heads. He hath vnderstood somewhat, he is displeased, he condemneth the same, he reuengeth himselfe, this cannot be done, except his mind which was touched therewith, yeeld some consent.

CHAP. II.



Hitherto, hast thou, appertaineth this question? To the end we may vnderstand what wrath is. For if she be bred in vs against our wils, she will neuer submit vnto reason. For all those motions which are done against our will, are inuincible, & inevitable, as shiuering when we are sprinkled with cold water, a starting backe vpon tickling: when we haue heard some heauie message, our haire standeth vprihts when immodest words, shame coloureth our countenance; and a swimming of the head followeth those that looke downe from some high places. Because none of all these are in our power, there is no reason that counselleth vs to expose our selues there against. Wrath is driven away by good precepts. For it is a voluntarie vice of the minde, not of those which happen by a certaine condition of humane kinde, and therefore they befall the most wisest. Amongst which

He intrencheth into a more passionate and dissembled fury, as the flower of Anger.

Colder is the spring of our conceits.

which that first motion of the minde is to be placed, which moueth vs after the opinion of iniurie. This motion attendeth vs euer amongst the idle acts of a play, and vpon the reading of Ancient Historie. We seeme oftentimes to be angrie for banishing *Cicero*, and with *Anibonic* for killing him. Who is not agrieved at *Marius* Armes, and *Syllas* proscriptions? Who is not displeased with *Theodotus* and *Achillas*, and that boy *Platonicy*, for doing a hainous murder vnfitting his yong yeares? A long sometimes and a sodaine straine of Musicke animateth vs, and that warlike sound of the Trumpet moueth our minds, and a dreadfull picture, and the dolefull sight of iust mens punishment amazeth vs. Thence it is that we laugh with those that laugh, and in the companie of those that mourne, we are heauie, and are inkindled by beholding other mens fight, which are not wrathes, no more then that is sadnesse which contracteth our brows vpon the sight of an enemy that hath suffered shipwreck; no more then is that feare which astonisheth the Readers mind, when he ouerlooketh the storie, how after the battle of *Cannas*, *Hanibal* aproched the wals of Rome. But all these are the motions of such minds as are willing to be moued, neither are they affections, but beginnings and eiaies of those affections. For so doth the Trumpet refresh the Souldiers care, who hath a long time liued in rest, and walked in his long robe, during the time of peace; and so doe warlike horses pricke vp their eares vpon the clattering of Armes. They say that *Alexander* the Great, whilst *Xenophantes* sung, laid hand on his weapons.

CHAP. III.



One of these things, which casuallie impell the mind, may be called affections. These, if I may so speake it, the mind rather suffereth then doth; That therefore is affection, not to be moued with the resemblances of things that are offered: but to suffer himself to be led by them, and to runne after this casuall motion. For if any man suppose that palenesse, and trickling downe of teares, and silthie pollution, or a deepe set sigh, or eies sodainly incensed, or any such like thing, is a token of the affection and a signe of the minde, he is deceyued, neither vnderstandeth he that these are the agitations of the bodie. And therefore the stoutest man sometime waxeth pale whilst he is armed, and the fiercest Souldier hath trembled and shaken his knees a little when the charge was first founded; and the greatest Emperour, hath had a trembling heart before the two Armies had shocked and encountred together; and the eloquentest Oratour, whilst he composeth himselfe to deliuer his oration, hath felt a shiuering in the extremities of his bodie. Wrath must not onely be moued, these must haue her outlopes abroad: for it is a passion; but neuer is a passion, without the assent of the minde: for it cannot be, that without the knowledge of the minde, a man should deliberate vpon reuenge and punishment. Some man hath supposed himselfe iniured, and would reuenge himself, but vpon the disuasion of some cause, he presently changeth his counsaile. I call not this Wrath, but a motion of the minde obedient vnto reason. That is Wrath, which treadeth downe reason, and draweth her after her. So then this first agitation of the minde, which is prouoked by the appearance of some iniurie, is no more wrath then is the appearance of iniurie, but that succeeding emotion, which not only assumeth the resemblance of iniurie, but hath approved the same. Wrath is a concitation of the minde, tending voluntarilie and with iudgement to reuenge. Is it

A facile dissolution of passion.

it to be doubted but that feare is attended by flight, Wrath by impetuositie? Take heed therefore, that thou perseuer not in this opinion, that a man may imbrace or auoid any thing without the consent of the minde.

CHAP. IV.

And to the end thou maist know, how these passions begin, increase, and extend themselves: consider that there are three motions. The first is not voluntarie, but as it were a preparation of the affection, and a certaine commination. The second is annexed to a will which is not rebellious, as that I ought to reuenge my selfe when I am wronged, or that such a one that hath committed some hainous crime shold be banished. The third motion is so violent that it will not reuenge when it ought to doe it, but hath wholly disclaimed reason. This first motion of the mind we cannot auoid, although reason assitt vs, no more then we can auoid those motions, which, as I said, happen to the bodie. We cannot chuse but yawne, if we see another man yawne. Neither can we chuse but winke if a man sodainly steppeth behind vs, & blindfoldeth vs. These things cannot reason ouercome, haply custome and daily obseruation may lessen them. That other motion, which is bred by iudgement, is ouercome by iudgement.

CHAP. V.

This question likewise is to be examined whether, those men that ordinarily are incensed, and delight in mans blood, be angry with such men whom they put to death, from whom they neuer have receiued, nor suppose themselves to haue receiued iniury: such as were *Apollodorus* and *Phalari*. This is not Wrath, but Cruelty; For she hurteth not because she hath receiued an iniury, but is readie to receiue iniuries, provided that she may doe hurt. It is not to reuenge himselfe that he whippeth and teareth men in peeces, but for pleasure sake. What then? The beginning of this euill is from Wrath, the which by frequent exercises hauing satisfied her appetite with murders and blood, and forgotten all Clemencie; and driuen Humanitie from her heart; finally, addisteth her selfe to all Crueltie. They therefore laugh and are glad, and enioy much pleasure, and haue their looks farre different from those that are angry; they are cruell, yet quiet in their mindes. They say, that *Hanibal* said when he saw a trench filled with mans blood, *Oh faire spectacle*. How far more worthie a thing had it seemed to him, had he seene a Riuer or Lake filled therewith? What wonder, if thou take so speciall a delight in this spectacle when as thou wert borne to blood, and from thine infancy hast bene trayned vp in murders? The prosperous fortune of thy Crueltie shall follow thee for twentie yeares space, and shall euerie where yeeld thine eyes a gratefull spectacle, thou shalt see this both about *Trafimenum*, and about *Cannas*; and lastly, about thy *Carthage*. *Polemus* of late *Proconsull* in *Asia*, vnder the government of *Augustus*, after that in one day he had beheaded three hundreth, walking amongst the carcases, with a proud countenance, as if he had done some magnificent action worthie the beholding, cryed out in Greeke, *Oh Kingly exploit*. What had this *Polemus* done had he bene a King? This was not wrath, but a greater and more incurable euill.

CHAP.

The explication
of the definition,
first of the three
motions which
are the begin-
ning, the in-
crease, and ad-
uancement of
anger.

CHAP. VI.

Vertue (saith he) as it is fauourable to honest things, so is she displeased with dishonest. What if it be said that Vertue ought both to be humble, and to be great? But he that saith thus, will haue her extolled and repressed. Because ioy in performing any notable action, is apparant and magnificient; anger and despite conceiued by reason of another mans sin, is the signe of a fordid and base mind. Neither will vertue euer so farre forget her selfe, as after she hath suppressed vices, shee should imitate them. It is her dutie to chastise wrath, which is in no sort better but often-times worse then those offences, wherewith she is displeased. It is proper and naturall for vertue to reioyce and be glad; to be angry is not for her dignitie, no more then to mourne. But sadnesse is the companion of wrath, and anger after the repentance, and after the repulse, conuerteth it selfe alwaies into sadnesse. And if it be the act of a wise man to be displeased against sinnes, his displeasures shall increase if they be more great, and it will follow that the wise man shall not be simply angry, but wrathfull. But if we neither beleue that great or frequent anger hath place in a wise mans minde, what is the cause why we wholly discharge him not from this affection? There say I, can be no measure, if he must be angry according to the weight of euerie mans offence. For either he shall be vnjust, if he equally be displeased with vnequall sinne; or most wrathfull if he hath bene incensed so often as offences haue deferred displeasure. And what is more vnworthie then that a wise mans affections should depend on another mans wickednesse? Euen *Socrates* himselfe will forbear to be able robbing backe the same countenance home with him, which he carried out of dores.

CHAP. VII.

But if a wise man ought to be displeased against dissolute behaviour, and incensed and agrieved at wickednesse, there is no man more miserable then he: He must needs spend the whole course of his life in anger and sadnesse. For what moment shall there be wherein he shall not see some matters that are to be disallowed? As often as he shall go out of dores he must passe by wicked, couetous, prodigall and impudent men, and such as haue bene made happy thereby, by eyes that be turned towards no place, wherein he findeth not occasions of dislike. He cannot liue if he be displeased so often as the cause requireth. These so many thousand men that trot to the Palace early in the morning how bad causes, nay how farre worse Lawyers haue they? One of these complaineth against his Fathers will, where he hath occasion to content himselfe therewith. Another pleadeth against his mother: another accuseth his neighbor of some crime wherein he himselfe is more manifestly faultie, and he is chosen to be Iudge in those causes wherein he himselfe hath most offended; the baddest cause is fauored by all men, and that Counsellor that pleadeth vprightly is disgraced. Why prosecute I euery particular? When thou seest the Courts of pleas stuffed with people, and the bars taken vp with all sorts of men, and that great place wherein the most part of the people shew themselves, know this that in that place there are as many vices as there are men. Amongst these men that walke in long gownes there is no peace, each of these will sell one another for a little gaine.

He concludes
by that we ch
passe before,
that a wise man
cannot be angry
with those disor-
ders which he
seeth.

Z z 3

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

*A description of
the disorders of
his time, repre-
sented to the end
to expresse that
an ancient man should
be truly miserable,
if he would
attempt him-
selfe to see so
many miseries.*

NO man taketh profit, but by another mans losse. They hate the happie man, they contemne the miserable; they are agrieved at their Superiours, and are grievous to their inferiours; they are provoked by diuers desires, and for some light profit or pleasure they would see all things in confusion. Their life is nothing different from that of the fowle-players, who lue and fight with one another. This is an assembly of brute beasts; yet may we say this, that beasts are peaceable amongst themselves, and bite not one another: where contrariwise men haue no content, but when they teare and spoile one another. In this one thing differ they from dumber creatures, that the one are tame to those that nourish them, but these are enraged against them most by whom they haue bin relieved best. A wife man shall neuer cease if he once begin to bee angry: all the world is so full of vices and wickednesse. There is more euill committed, then may by reproofe and punishment be healed. Impietie and iniustice are vpon their reits, and forcibly iust against vertue; day by day the desire of euill increaseth, and modestie decreaseth. Dissolution hauing driven from her all respect of equitie and right, hath vsurped vpon all things at her pleasure; neither are heinous crimes now a daies committed in secret; they are perpetrated in the view and eie of all men. And such preheminece & power hath wickednes gotten in euery place, so deeply is the possessed of all mens hearts, that innocence, which in times past was rare, at this day is wholly extinguished. Haue all or a few men broken the law? All the world is armed; as it were vpon the sound of a trumpet, to confound and mixe right and iustice with wickednesse.

*The seruage
of this age.*

Quid. Dissonus.

*Nor from his Host the Guest may be secur'd,
Nor he whom Law and Marriage hath allotted
To be a Father can remaine assur'd,
But by his Sonne his death will be compted.
Friendship twixt Brothers may be hardly found.
The Husband seeks occasion to deprime
His Wife of life, and she would him confound:
Th'irrag'd Step-dames daily doe contrine
To mingle Poysons; and the Sonne againe
To get his Fathers wealth would see him flaine.*

*The miseries of
Ciuitil Warres.*

And how small a part of wickednesse is this? he hath not describ'd the Camps of a factious Common-Weale, armed one against another, the fathers following one part, and the children another; all the Countrey fiered by their hands that should defend it, the troopes of Horsemen skouting out on euery side to discover the places, whither the condemned men were rettyred; the Fountains poisoned: the plague spred abroad by artificiall means, the trenches digged by the children against their owne fathers that were besieged: the prisons full of captiues, the tyrannies, the secret counsailes, whence hath followed the ruine of Kingdomes and other publique estates, the whoredomes, deflowrings, rauishings, infamous and execrable vncleannesse, all which things reputed for glorious and notable exploits are called wicked, when a man may hinder and extinguish them.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.



ADde now vnto these the publike periuries of the people, the breach of alliances, the pillage carryed away to him that hath the greatest power, the deceits, the thefts, the cauls, trickes of so euill trust in so great a number, that wee had need of three times as large places of iustice as wee haue, to decide them in: if thou wilt haue a Wiseman displeased so much as the indignity of their wickednesse requireth, instead of being angry he will be contrayned to be madde. Rather thinke thou this, that he ought not to bee angry at errors. For what if a man should be angry with those that stumble in the darke, or against the deafe, because they doe not that which they are commanded, because they vnderstand it not? or against children, who in stead of thinking on their duties, busie themselves in play and sporting with their equals? what if thou wouldest be angry with those that are sicke, with such as are old and wearied? Amidst the rest of the incommodities of mans life, this is one; the darknesse of our mindes, and not only the necessitie of erring, but the loue of errors. If thou wilt not bee displeased with any man, pardon all men; and excuse the infirmities of Mankind. But if thou beest angry, both with yong and old, because they offend; be displeased also with little Infants, because hereafter they will bee vicious. Is there any man angry with children, who by reason of their tender yeares know not how to discern things? It is a more great and iust excuse to be a man then a child: we are borne to this condition to be creatures subiect as well to the infirmities of the mind as of the body, not blockish nor stupid, but such as abuse our vnderstanding. The one of vs serue for example of vices vnto the other. E-very one followeth those that goe before, although it be in the way of error. Why should they not be excused if all of them goe astray in the publike way?

*A continuation
of the former
Discourse, to
proove that a wise
man cannot pos-
sibly irragle
himselfe with so
many miseries.*

CHAP. X.



The feuerity of a Generall is intended against priuate offenders, but then is pardon necessary, where his whole Armie hath forsaken him. What taketh away a Wisemens wrath? The multitude of offenders. Hee vnderstandeth how vniust and dangerous a thing it is to be displeased with a guilty multitude: *Heraclytus* as oft as he went forth adores, and saw about him such a multitude of euill liuers, nay rather men dying wickedly, he wept; hauing compassion of all those that met him with a ioyfull and contented countenance, being himselfe milde in minde, and feeble in heart, and such a one as deserved to be deplored himselfe. Contrariwise it is said that *Democritus* neuer lookt abroad without laughing, so trifling reputed hee all those things which were seriously done and fought after. Where in this World is there any place for Anger? All things are eyther to be laughed at, or to be lamented. A Wiseman will not be angry with those that offend, Why? Because hee knoweth that no man is borne wise, but is made wise and becommeth wise: he knowes that in euery age there are few that become wise, because he vnderstandeth the condition of humane life: but no Wiseman will be angry with nature; for what if he would wonder because that Apples grow not on wild Brambles? what if he wonder why Thornes and Buthes beare not exquisite fruit? No man is angry with Nature when shee excu-

seth

seth the imperfection. A Wiseman therefore is peaceable, and renutteth faults, not an enemy but an admonisher of those that doe amisse; with this mind daily walketh hee out. Many will meet with me in the way that are addicted to Wine, many Letchers, many that are vngrateful, many couetous men, and many that are possessed with the fury of ambition. All these men will he entertaine as courteously as the Physician doth his sick Patients. Will he be displeased either with his Sailors or his Ship, whose Barke hauing her timbers loose hath a great leake, and sinketh in much water? He rather helpeth them, he calketh the Vessell to keepe out the waves, he driueth out the rest, and shuts vp the holes that appeare, and resisteth by his continuall labour & pumping, those that are yet vndiscovered, neyther therefore intermiteth he because so much was gotten out, as was entred in. We had need of succors of long continuance against so continuall & fruitful euils, not that they may casse, but lest they overcome.

CHAP. XI.

WRath, saith he, is profitable because the escapeth contempt, and terrifieth euil men. First of all wrath, if it be as much worth as it threatneth, for this very cause, because it is terrible, it is therefore hartfull. But it is more dangerous to bee feared then to bee despised: but if it bee without feare, it is more exposed to contempt, and subiect to derision. For what thing is more vaine and ridiculous then for Anger to be in tumult and tumult for nothing? Moreover, the things that are terrible are not therefore more great; and I would not haue that said by a Wiseman which might bee said by a savage beast: that the weapon of a wilde beatt is to be feared. What, is not the Ague, the Gowt, an Ulcer, euill? Is there therefore any goodnesse in these, or contrariwise are not all things more disdained, filthy and contemptible, in that they are feared? Anger is of her selfe deformed, and not to be feared, yet is it feared by diuers men as a deformed Viard by Infants. But why doth not feare alwayes fall vpon the head of him that is the Author thereof? Neyther is there any man feared that is himselfe secure. Remember thee in this place of *Laberianus Veriles*, which being spoken in the Theater, in the midst of the Ciuill Wars, no otherwise made all the people attentive vnto it, then if a speech had bin vttered that testified the publike affliction:

He needs must feare many, whom many men feare.

So hath nature ordained, that he who thinketh himselfe great, because he is feared, is not himselfe exempt from feare. How much tremble Lions vpon the least noise? An vnacquainted shaddow, voice, and tent, troubleth those beasts which are the fiercest. All those which affright others are affraid themselves. There is no cause therefore why any Wiseman should desire to be feared.

CHAP. XII.

Neither therefore let any man thinke that wrath is great, because the causeth himselfe to be feared: because there are certain things which are the most contemptible and yet are feared, as venomes and some imployoned meates, and a bite or sting of beasts. Neither is it to be wondered at, when as a line distinguished with feathers,

Hee is not able to escape the temptation of the wilderness of anger, which betwixt the heat, tending continually and with indignant vaine tongue, showing that this is himselfe ought not to be feared, as a monster, which since the emotion and the rage, and the other affliction, is not.

That there is no great Anger, though it is much feared.

thers, containeth the greatest heards of wilde beasts, and driueth them into the Toyles, and by their effects they are called feare; for vaine things are affraid of nothing. The shaking of a Chariot, and the rattling of the wheelles driueth a Lion into his Den; the cry of an Hog terrifieth an Elephant. So therefore is Anger feared as a shaddow is by Infants, as a redde Feather is by wilde beasts. This passion hath nothing firme and powerfull in her selfe, but she is onely the Bug-bear of vaine mindes. Wickednesse, saith hee, must bee banished out of the World, if thou wilt exterminate wrath; and as the one of these things is impossible, so is the other. First of all a man may bee warme, although that naturally it be Winter, and he may be temperate although the hottest moneths doe reigne. But by the benefit of the place hee is exempted from the intemperature of the year, or by the patience of his bodie hee ouercommeth the sense of them both. But take this to the contrarie, thou must needes take Vertue first out of thy minde, before thou entertaine wrath, because Vertues haue no correspondence with Vices; and no more at the same time can an angry man be a good man, then he that is sicke be a whole man. All wrath (saith he) cannot be taken away out of the minde, neither doth the nature of man permit him this. But there is nothing so difficult and dangerous, which a mans mind cannot overcome, and that continuall meditation bringeth not in vfe, and no affections are so fierce and obdurate which are not tamed by discipline. Whatsoever the minde hath enioyned himselfe, he hath obtained. Some haue gotten that gouernement ouer themselves that they will neuer laugh, some haue giuen ouer wine, some lechery, and some haue framed their bodies to forbear all water, another by accustoming himselfe to sleepe little, hath gotten so much priuledge that he is neuer wearie of waking: some haue learned to runne vpon small and slender ropes, and to beare great and mightie burthens, farre exceeding the strength of any man, and to diue into the greatest depths, and without any breathing to remaine long time in the bottome of the Seas.

CHAP. XIII.

Here are a thousand other things wherein an obdurate resolution surmounteth all other impediments, and sheweth that there is nothing difficult to him that hath resolved himselfe to be patient. All these of whom I haue spoken before, haue had no recompence of their trauaile, or if they haue receiued any, it was no great matter. For what honour hath that Tumbler gotten, who hath learned to daunce vpon a Rope that is exercised to beare a weightie burthen vpon his neck, that hath learned to restraine his eyes from sleeping? that is taught to diue into the bottome of the Sea? These labours get but little reward. Shall not wee entertaine patience, who are to expect so great a reward as the tranquillity of a happy mind? How great a thing is it to flye from wrath, which is the greatest euill, and with her to auoyd the other passions, which accompany her, as rage, inhumanity, cruelty, and fury? We are not to seeke our protection from any, neyther ought we to excuse and dissemble our liberty, by saying, that either this is profitable, or that inevitable; for what error hath wanted a Patron? Thou art not to say that it cannot be cut off, we are sicke of curable diseases; and nature her selfe that created vs for the best, will assist vs if wee will be amended. Neyther as some men haue said, is the way to Vertues dangerous and difficult, they

How profitable a firme resolution is against vices.

Hee awaketh the stupidiety of the most part of men, especially of those that are giuen over to Anger.

A Stoicall Paradox, as possible as for a head man to say.

they are easily come by. I will instruct you in no vaine matter. The way vnto blessed life is easies follow the same in a good houre, and vnder the fauor of the gods. There is more difficultie in doing those things which you doe. For what is more contenting then the tranquillitie of the minde? What more laborosome then wrath? What more remisse then Clemencie? What more turbulent then Cruelty? Chastitie is alwaies at leisure, dissolution full of businesse, to conclude, the custodie of all Vertue is ease, contrariwise, Vices cost very much in enter-tayning them. Must wrath be remoued? This in part confesse they likewise who say, that it is to be moderated and diminished. Let it bee wholly giuen ouer: because it will profit nothing: without her a man may more easily and readily roote out wickednesse, the euill shall be punished and brought to a better passe.

CHAP. XIV.



Wiseman effecteth al those things which he ought to do, without the assistance of any euill thing; neyther will hee intermixe any thing which may trouble him in the gouernment thereof. Anger therefore is neuer to be admitted, yet is it sometimes to be counterfeited, if the slow minds of the Auditory are to bee stirred vp. Euen as we pricke forth our sturdie Horses by sicke and spurre, to performe their Race. Sometimes they are to be put in feare, when reason cannot perswade. It is no lesse profitable to be angry then to mourne, then to feare. What then? Doe not some causes fall out which prouoke Anger? But euen then most especially are we to get the start of her. Neyerther is it a hard matter to ouer-come the mind, when as the Wrastlers also being exercised in their basest part, yet suffer they straynes and strokes, that they may spend his forces with whom they contend; neyther strike they when wrath perswadeth them, but when occasion commandeth them. It is reported that *Pyrrhus* an excellent Master in wrastling and other exercises, was wont to command those that were his Scholers to refrayne from Anger. For it is Anger that troubleth Art, and considereth which way she may hurt, not how she may preuent. Reason therefore of tentimes perswadeth patience, wrath reuenge, and wee that might escape the first euils, are thrust into greater. Some hath the contumely of one word (not digested with discretion) cast into exile, and they that would not bury and beare a trifling iniurie in silence, haue bene ouerwhelmed with most grievous calamities; in briefe, being not able to endure, that a iot of their great libertie should be diminished, they haue drawne themselves vnder a seruile yoke.

CHAP. XV.



To make thee know (saith hee) that wrath hath somewhat generous in it, thou shalt find that the *Germanes* and *Scythians* (which are free Nations) are much inclined vnto wrath; which commeth to passe because their spirits (which by nature are strong and solide) are easily moued and prone vnto Anger, especially before they be tempered and mollified by discipline. There are certain passions which neuer take hold: last but on the strongest spirits: euen as the most strongest and fruit-

That a Wiseman hath no need of wrath to perform his dutie.

That Choler hath nothing generous in it.

fruitfullest Coppise grow on the Land which is least manured, and a Forrest flourisheth in a fruitfull soyle. Therefore the mindes that by nature are most strongest endure Anger, and being fierie and hote, suffer nothing that is little and feeble; but that vigor is imperfect, as may appeare in all things without Art, which grow only by the benefit of nature, which except they be quickly tamed and tempered, that which was disposed to become valour is conuerted into audacioussnesse and rashnesse. What, are not those spirits which are gentle and tractable lesse vicious? and are they not accompanied with mercy, loue, and honest shame? Although then sometimes I discover in thee a good nature amidst thine imperfections, it followeth not therefore that those imperfections should not bee condemned; although that vnder them a man may perceiue some signes of a good nature. Moreover, all these Nations free in their fiercenesse, according to the custome of Lions and Wolves, as they cannot serue, so they cannot command: for they haue not the force of a humane vnderstanding, but such as is beastly and intractable; but no man can gouerne, except he that can be gouerned.

CHAP. XVI.



Or the most part therefore the Empire remayned amongst those Nations which liue vnder a milder Climate: they that are bred towards the Northward and in cold Countries, haue their mindes most vntactable, as the Poet saith,

And like vnto their Heauen.

They (saith hee) are reputed to bee the most generous beasts that are most wrathfull. Hee is deceiued that induceth them for an example to men, who for reason vse violence: man instead of violence, hath passion. Neyerther is that passion profitable in them: all fiercenesse helpeth Lions, fere Hears, violence the Hawke, flight the Dove: neyther is that true, that the most excellent creatures are the most subiect to Anger. Shall I thinke those wilde beaists better which liue by rapine, because they are most fell? I had rather commend the patience of the Oxe and those Horses that are gouerned by the bridle. But what is the cause thou shouldst reuoke man to such vnhappy examples, when as he hath the World and God, whom amongst all other liuing creatures, hee onely imitaterh and onely vnderstandeth? They are accounted the most simplest men of all other that are most angry. For although they are reputed to be cunning and wary fellowes, yet are they simple and plaine fellowes, because that euery one knoweth and discovereth them easily; but I call not this simplicity, it is improvidence and beastlinesse. For we assigne this name to Fooles, to Letchers and prodigall Spenders, and such as are not cuaning enough in their follies.

CHAP. XVII.



N Orator (saith hee) that is moued and angry is sometimes the better, why not if he counterfeits his Anger? For Players in pronouncing their speeches, although they be not angry, yet moue they the people; in acting the wrathfull man cunningly. And before the Iudges likewise, and before the people, and wherefoeuer

There is no Nation of payable inclination, that are not capable of gouernment, and fit to be gouerned by the most excellent amongst them.

Whether is hee a lying, fitting for him thus to put his life to decision to be moued, & how.

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we are, to confirme other mens minds in our opinion, sometimes we our selues will faigne to be displeased, sometimes counterfeite feare, sometimes compassion to confirme the same in other men. And oft-times that which true affection could not haue effected, imitation of affection hath performed. It is a faint minde (saith he) that is without Anger. It is true, if he haue nothing more powerfull then Anger in him; neither must he be a Thiefe, neither such a one as is robbed, neither mercifull, nor cruell; the heart of the one is too tender, the other too obdurate. Let the Wiseman be temperate, and in executing that which he hath to doe resolutely, let him entertaine courage and not Anger.

C H A P. XVIII.

BEcause we haue examined those questions which concerne Anger, let vs now descend vnto the remedies thereof. They are two in my iudgement: the one, that we fall not into Anger, the other, not to sinne when we are angry. As in the cure of our bodies, there are some precepts to maintayne health, other some how to restore it when it is decayed; so to surmount displeasure there is one meane to repulse it, another to repress it. Some shall bee taught which are pertinent and necessary for the whole life, and they shall be deuoted into education, and the yeares that follow. Education requireth great diligence, and is greatly profitable and necessary: for it is an easie matter to fashion and growe tender minds, and those vices are hardly rooted out in vs, which haue growne with vs. A fiery nature is a proper subiect of wrath; for, whereas there are foure Elements, Fire, Water, Ayre, and Earth, so haue they their equall qualities, Colde, Hote, Dry and Moyst. So then the mixture of the Elements is the cause of the varietie of *plures*, creatures, bodies, and manners; thence commeth it that mens minds are more inclined to this or that, according as the vigor of the element aboundeth more or lesse in them; thence it is that we say and call some Regions moyst, some dry, some hote, and some colde. The same differences are there betwixt men and beasts.

C H A P. XIX.

T importeth very much to vnderstand how much humiditie or heat euery one hath in him, and according to the element that is most predominant in a man, such are his manners. The mixture of heat will make wrathful men; for fire is active and permanent. The mixture of colde maketh men colde; for colde is of a flow and heauie Nature. Some therefore of our Sect are of the opinion, that wrath is enkindled in the breast, by reason of the blond that boyleth about the heart. The cause why this place is especially assigned vnto Anger, is no other, then that of all the whole bodie the breast is the hottest. They that haue more moisture in them, their Anger increaseth by little and little, because their heate is not prepared, but is gotten by motion. The displeasures therefore of children and women are more sharpe then they are continuing, and more feeble in the beginning. In dryer ages wrath is vehement and strong, but without increase, not adding much vnto it selfe, because colde followeth the declining heate. Olde men are teltie and alwaies complaining, as sicke men doe, and such as be-

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The second part
of this Booke set-
teth downe the
remedies against
Anger.

The complexion
of our bodies
proceed from the
qualities that are
predominant in
them.

The source
whence wrath
springeth and his
cause.

Because the Sun
of the lesser
world inhabi-
teth in it.

gin to recouer their health, or that by lassitude or blood-letting haue lost a part of their heate. In the same estate are they that are extremely transported with thirst and hunger, and who haue no blood in their bodies, neither thrive by that they eate, but consume daily. Wine enkindleth wrath, because it increaseth heate according to euery mans nature.

C H A P. XX.

There are much moued when they are drunke, some when they are fasting: neither is there any other cause, why they are most wrathfull that haue yellow haire and red faces, who haue such a color by nature, as other men are wont to haue when they are displeased; for their blood is swift and much troubled. But even as nature disposeth some men vnto choler, so happen there many causes which may doe the like that nature doth. Some hath sicknesse and the injury of the body drawne into this: other some labor and continuall watching, nights spent in great thought, and desires, and loues; and whatsoever else that were hurtfull to the body or mind, or prepareth the sicke mans hearts to com plaints. But all these are but beginnings and causes, and custom can doe very much, which if it be depraued nourisheth the vice. It is a hard thing to change nature, neither is it possible to disfigure the elements whereof things are composed, after they are once mixed. But it will bee profitable to know this, to the end wee may forbid them wine that are of hot natures, which *Plato* supposeth to bee hurtfull to children, and therefore forbiddeth vs to adde fire to fire. Neither are they to be crammed with meats, for their bodies are easily distended, and their minds like their bodies suddenly are puffed vp. Let labor exercise them without lassitude, that their heate may be diminished and not consumed, and that the ouer great feruor in them may be skimmed and settled. Pastime likewise will profit them, because a moderate pleasure quickneth the mind, and tempereth it also. Those that are of a moit, drie, and cold complexion, there is no danger in their displeasures, yet are greater vices to be feared in them, as feare, difficultie, desperation, and suspitions.

C H A P. XXI.

Such minde therefore are to bee tempered and nourished, and to be animated with delights. And because wee are to vse some remedies against anger, some other against sadnesse, and that these are not only to be cured by different, but contrary meanes, we will alwaies haue a care of that which is increasing. It shall profit very much say I, to haue our children well instructed in the beginning. But the manner of governing is difficult, because we must endeavour that we nourish not anger in them, or dull and dampe their spirits. The matter had neede of diligent obseruation. For both that which is to be extolled and that which is to be depressed is nourished with the like, and such things as resemble doe oftentimes deceiue him that is most diligent. The mind increaseth by libertie, and is embayed by seruitude. Praise the same, and it roweth it selfe, and filleth vs with great expectation; yet both these two expeditors, ingender insolence and wrath. So therefore is he to be governed betweene both, that sometimes wee vse a bridle, sometimes a spur; that his mind may suffer nothing that

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Diuers appea-
rances of wrath
according to the
habitude of per-
sons, and that
we ought to
know our owne
nature, and to
fit the custome.

It de legibus.
How children
are to be ordered.

Metaphora à
vino sumpta.

The continuation
of his discourse,
and of the re-
medies against
children anger.
The first is a
good instruction.

The second is to
keepe men from
and neither to
animate or dis-
courage them too
much, and how
we ought to pro-
ceed.

is base and seruile. Let him neuer haue need to intreat any thing humbly, neither let it profit him though hee hath so submissiuely intreated. If wee grant him any thing, let it be rather by alleading vnto him, that hee hath iust cause to demand the same, and that we haue regard vnto his former behaviour, and hope that hee will doe better hereafter, as hee promisceth. In his exercises amongst his companions, let vs neither suffer him to be overcome, nor to be angrie. Let vs inducours that he may bee alwaies familiar with those with whom he is wont to contend, and that in his exercises hee accustometh himselfe not to haue a will to hurt, but to overcome. As oft as he hath gotten the vpper hand, or hath done any thing that is praise worthy, let vs not suffer him to bee proud or to boast thereof, for boasting followeth ioy, and pride & too much esteeme of himselfe, boasting. We will giue him some recreation, yet will we neither suffer him to be slothfull or idle, and about all things will detain him from the touch of pleasures. For nothing more inkindeth wrath, then an ouer delicate and dainty education: and therefore the onely childe, to whom wee giue liberty, and these Pupils that are left to their owne pleasures, are ordinarily the most corrupted. The childe that hath had his will in euery thing, whose mother hath ordinarily dried the teares from his eyes, who hath had a master assigned him according to his owne fancie, will neuer suffer an iniurie patiently. Seelt thou how euerie greater Fortune is attended with a greater anger? This appeareth in Rich men, in Noble men, in Magistrates, especially when as whatsoeuer vaine glorie and leuitie was in their braines, findeth a fit winde to carry it away. Felicitie nourisheth wrath, as soone as the troopes of flatterers are incamped about proud men, they will say vnto thee: *What shall he answer thee? thou respectest not thy selfe according to the greatness of thy estate, thou abasest thy selfe overmuch.* And other such like sufficient to intangle the wisest hearts, and such as haue bene prudently brought vp from their infancy. Let childhood therefore be far remooued from flattery. Let him heare nothing but truth, let him learne to care, modesty, obedience to his elders, and duty, and reuerence. Let him extort nothing from thee by forwardnesse. That which was denied him when he wept, let it be giuen him when hee is quiet. Let him see his parents riches, but not vie them: Let him be reproofed for his euill deeds.

CHAP. XXII.

IT shall be to the purpose to giue children such Masters and attendants, who are peaceable and gentle. That which is tender layeth hold on that which is nearest vnto it, and groweth with it, and becometh like vnto it. Diuers children that haue growne in yeeres, haue represented the manners of their Nurses and Masters. A young childe brought vp with Plato, returned home to his Parents house, and hearing his father exclaime and chide grieuouly, said, *I haue neuer seen the like with Plato.* I doubt not but that hee imitated his father sooner then Plato. About all things let his diet bee alwaies slender. Let his attire bee modest and answerable to that of his equals. He shall neuer bee angry that any is compared with him, whom from the beginning thou hast made equall with many. But these things appertaine vnto our children. For in regard of our selues, the fortune of our birth, and of our bringing vp cannot giue any place vnto correction, nor respect precepts, nor incline to instruction. We must only provide for the tyme to come, and resist the first occasions. But the cause

of

The child, that
they bene in-
tercepted, rather
to satisfy or too
daintily.

The fourth, to
beware of flatter-
ers.

What masters we
ought to provide
for our children.

How children
should be fed
and clothed.

of anger is the opinion of iniury, whereunto wee must not easily giue credit, nor entertaine the first reports and proofes how euident and manifest soeuer they be. For some things happen that are false, yet haue an appearance of truth; we must therefore deliberate alwaies: for time discovereth truth. Let not our eares be open vnto Tale-bearers. Let this vice of humane nature be suspected by vs, and made knowne vnto vs, that is to say, that what we vnwillingly heare, we vnwillingly beleue, and before we iudge, we are angrie.

CHAP. XXIII.

WHat? are we not only moued and informed by accusations, but also trauailed with suspicions? and interpreting the worst of other mens looks and smiles; are wee not displeased with those that are innocent? We must therefore plead with our selues, the cause of him that is absent, and hold our anger in suspense. For a man may exact the punishment which is delayed, but hee cannot remedie it after it is executed. The Tyrant killer is well knowne, who being apprehended before his attempt was performed, and tortured by Hippis to the end hee should discover his confederates: he reckoned vp the names of all the Tyrants friends that stood about him, who in his knowledge were most carefull of his prosperity and life; and when hee had commanded euery one of them to bee flaine, whom hee had nominated, he asked him *Is there any more yet remaining?* Thy selfe (said he) onely, for I haue left none else alive that is deere vnto thee: Wrath was the means that made the Tyrant to lend his assistance to the Tyrant killer, and to murder his owne Guard, with his owne sword. How more courageously delt Alexander? who when hee had read his mothers Epistle; wherein he was admonished that hee should beware to bee imployed by his Physitian Philip, d. unke of his present potion without any affright. He had more confidence in his friend, and worthy was hee to enjoy so vpbright a Physitian, and wortheie to make such an one. This praise I in Alexander the more, because no man was more subiect vnto anger, and the rarer gouernement is in Kings, the more is it to be commended. The like did Caius Caesar who in the Ciuill warres demeaned himselfe so mercifully. For hauing intercepted a packet of diuers letters that were written to Pompey, from those that seemed to haue held the contrary part, or remained neuters, he burned them all, and although he were accustomed to keepe a measure in his wrath, yet liked he better to admit no means. He held it to be a most gratefull means of pardon, to be ignorant of that wherein euery man had offended. Credulitie doth much mischief, and oftentimes wee ought not to giue care thereunto, because in some things it is better to be deceived then to distrust.

CHAP. XXIV.

Suspicion and coniecture which are two betrayers of the mind, are to be banished. He hath not saluted me kindly enough; Hee hath not kissed me heartily; Hee hath abruptly cut off our discourse; hee invited me not to suppers; That mans countenance was more strange then it was accustomed. Suspicion wants no argument: we haue neede of simplicitie, and the friendly interpretation of things. Let vs beleue nothing, but that which is subiect to the eye, and manifest, and as long as our

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A remedie of
anger is, not to
giue credit to
tale bearers.

The second, to
be suspicious.

See Laetius
lib. 9. of the
lines of the
Philosophers, and
Plutarch his
Lines.

Exits accustomed
by opinion and
suspition.

suspicion appeareth to be vaine, let vs chide our credulitie. For this Chastisement will accustom vs to beleue nothing easily.

C H A P. XXV.

From thence, doth this follow, that we be not exasperated by the smallest and most fordid things. The Page is scarce seruiciable that either minilreth water too warme for our wine, or a bed to sit vpon vnmade, or a table negligently furnished. To bee angry heret is but madnesse; he is licke, and of an euill constitution whom a little breath of winde causeth to quier. Those eyes are very weak, which are dimmed by beholding a white vesture: he is once delicate that swea- teth to see another man labour. It is reported that there was a certaine man of Sibaris who was called *Atindrydes*, who beholding one that digged the earth, and lifted his mattocke too high, began to complaine himselfe as if he himselfe had trauelled much, and forbad the other to worke any more in his presence. The same man likewise complained oftentimes, because he lay vpon a bed of roseleaves. Whereas pleasures haue intrahled both the minde and bodie, there is nothing that seemeth tollerable; not because they are hard, but in that effeminate men suffer them. For what is the cause, why any mans cough, or sneeling, or a sicke not curiously enough driven away, should incense vs, or a cup ouerturned, or a key lost by the carelesnesse of a negligent seru- ant should trouble vs? Will such a man peaceably endure a publike slander, and reproches vrged against him in declamations and open Court, that cannot abide to heare the scraping of a shoole that is drawne by him? Will he suffer hunger and extreme thirst in a winters voyage, who is angry with his Page, be- cause he hath not mixed his snow with his wine cunningly?

C H A P. XXVI.

Here is nothing therefore, that more nourisheth Anger then in- temperate and impatient dissolutenesse: the mind is to be hand- led hardly that he may not feele the stroke, except it bee grieu- ous. We are angry with these from whom wee neither could receiue injury, or those from whom we might receiue it. Some of the first are without sence, as we haue bene wont oftentimes to call by a booke that is written in small letters, and haue torne a faulty; or as wee cut our garments by reason they are not pleasing vnto vs in their fashion. How fond a thing is it to be angry with these which haue not deserued our displea- sure, neither feele the same? But wee are angry with those that made them. First, we are angry almost ordinarily before wee bethinke our selues of this dis- tinction: againe haply the very workmen themselves will giue vs sufficient satisfaction. One of them could not doe better then he did, neither was hee negligent in his occupation, vpon purpose to displease thee. Another did it not to offend thee. In conclusion, what is more braine-sicke then to discharge and vent the choler we haue gathered vpon things that haue no sence? And as it is a folly to be angry with these that are inanimated creatures, so is it as foolish to be displeased with dumbe beasts, because there is no injury except it proceed from discourse and deliberation. They can therefore hurt vs as yron or a stone, but they cannot doe vs injury. But some there are that thinke themselves to

be

The third veme- die is a flanger is, not to be a- grieved for vile and chidd things.

The fourth, to reframe impa- tience, in regard of those things that are without life, and in re- gard of men and beasts.

bee contemned, whereas some horses that are easily backt by another horse- man, are sturdy to another mans riding, as if by iudgement, not by custome, and the arte of handling them, some beasts are vntractable to some men, and easie to be backt by others.

C H A P. XXVII.

BVt as it is a foolish thing to be angry with these; so ought not a man to be displeased with little children, or against those that haue as little iudgement as infants. For all these faults in the eye of an equall Iudge are reputed for innocence of imprudent men. Some things there are which cannot hurt, and haue no power, but that which is beneficiall and holosome, as the immortal gods, which nei- ther will, neither can hurt. For their nature is milde and peaceable, and so far remote from doing other men iniurie as themselves. Mad are they therefore, and ignorant of truth, that impute vnto them the raging of the Seas, immea- surable showers, a rigorous winter; when as in the meane space there are none of these which either hurt or profit vs, that are properly intended against vs. For we are not the cause in this world of the reuolution of winter & sommer, these seasons are gouerned and haue their order disposed by the gods; we esti- mate our selues too highly, if we suppose our selues worthy that so great things should be moued for vs. There are none of these things therefore that are done to our prejudice, nay, rather there is nothing done which is not for our good: we haue said that there are some things which cannot hurt, some things which will not. In this ranke shall be good Princes, Parents and Masters, Iudges and Magistrates, whose chastisement ought to be considered, as the razor of a Sur- geon, the diet of a Phisitian, and other remedies, which neither doe vs good nor euill. Are we chastised? let vs thinke not only on that which we suffer, but also on that which we haue done, and let vs enter into the examination of our life. If wee will confesse a truth vnto our selues, wee haue a greater matter to charge our selues with. If we will be equall Iudges of all things, let vs first of all perswade our selues that there is none of vs without a fault. For hence grow- eth the greatest indignation; *I haue sinned no waies, I haue done nothing*; nay, thou confessest nothing. If any man admonish or chastise vs, we are angry, when at that very time we sinne. When as to our rebellious derdes we adde arrogancie and contumacie, who is he that dare maintaine that he is innocent, in re- spect of all lawes? That this may be thus, how defectiue is our innocence, in re- gard of good lawes? how more infinitely is the rule of our duties extended then that of right? How much doe pietie, humanitie, liberalitie, miserie, and faith, exact? all which are not inclofed in the ordinances and constitutions of men.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Neither as yet can we attayne to that strict innocence of the lawes. We haue done somethings, and thought other things. We haue desired some things and haue followed others. We are innocent in some faults, because wee could not effect them. Thinking hereupon, let vs be more fauourable to those that offend. More attentiu to those that reprocue vs, and let vs not be displeased with our selues (for with whom will we not be angry, if we be displeased against our selues?)

Aaa 3

Aboue

To reframe im- patience, & not to be angry with infants.

Much less a- gainst the gods.

Nor against our Superiours in this world.


The fifth is, to thinke in how many sorts men are guilty before God and Man.

about all things let vs beware to be angry with the gods. For it is not by their ordinance, but by the law whereunto all mortall men are subiect, that we suffer all these incommunities which befall vs. But sicknesses and sorrowes doe assault vs. They that dwell in a rotten house must seeke to flie out of it by some waies. When it shall be told thee that any one hath spoken euill of thee, bethinke thy selfe whether thou hast not begun it first, examine thy selfe by how many thou hast spoken. Let vs thinke, say I, that other men doe vs no iniury, but that they requite vs with the like, and that some doe it of malice, some by constraint, and others through ignorance; and that they likewise who willingly and wittingly doe wrong, take not an occasion by the iniury wee haue done, to doe vs another. Either is he false through the sweetnesse of his vrbaniety, or hath done somewhat, not with an intent to hurt vs, but because he could not haue attained his desire except he had repulsed vs. Oftentimes flatterie offendeth vs whilst the flatterer, whosoever shall remember himselfe how oftentimes men haue had an euill opinion of him, and interpreted the many good seruices and offices he hath done for iniuries, how many men hee hath loued whom he hated before time; he will not be displeased vpon the first, especially if vpon every iniury that is done vnto him, hee say vnto himselfe: *These faults likewise haue I my selfe committed.* But where wilt thou finde a Iudge that is so vpright? He that conuicteth every mans wife, and thinketh it a sufficient cause for him to loue her, because she is a stranger, will not admit another man to court his. He that will haue another man keepe promise vpon a prefixed day, is no matter of his word: the perfidious man persecuteth him that is a liar, and the informer cannot abide that another man should bring him in question. He will not haue his seruants credit touched who is negligent of his owne reputation. Other mens sins are before our eyes, our owne behind our backs. Thence commeth it that the father more riotous then his son, yet repro- ueth him bitterly for his lawles expence, hee seuerely taxeth another mans ex- cesse, who is himselfe prodigall and hath no hold of his money: the Tyrant is displeased against the murtherer, and hee that is sacrilegious punisheth theft. The greater part of men are angry with sinners, but not with the sinne. We shall be more moderate if we examine our selues, if wee take counsaile of our selues, and examine whether we our selues haue not committed the like, whether wee haue erred in the same manner? Is it fit for vs to condemne the same? Delay is a soueraigne remedie against displeasure, neither require thou her in the beginning to pardon thee, but to iudge thee. If thee delay and admitteth any intermission, the furie thereof is abated. Striue not to attempt her all at once; her first assaults are most sharpe, but thou shalt get the day of her, if thou dismember her by little and little.

The sixth is, to take time and bethinke our selues before wee bee angry.

Read ones why wee should delay.

CHAP. XXIX.


ouching those things which offend vs, some are told vs, & some wee heare, or see: wee must not easily beleue those things that are told vs, many men lie to the end they may deceiue, many because they are deceiued. This man carries fauour by accusing others, and faineth an iniury to the intent he may seeme sorrow- full for that which is done. There are some so wicked that they seeke nothing more but to sow contention amongst friends. Another is suspicious and deli- rious in securitie, and from a farre to behold a single combat, performed be-

twixt

twixt two, whom he hath set together by the eares. If thou wert made a Iudge in a trifling matter, thou wouldst not allow the cause, except it were appro- ved by witnesses; and the witnesses thou wouldst not respect except they were sworne. Thou wouldst call both parties before thee, and giue them time to answer, and yeeld them audience vpon seuerall daies. For truth will the more manifestly appeare, the more often it is debated vpon. Wilt thou condemne thy friend instantly before thou hast heard him, and before thou hast asked him the question? art thou angrie with him before he either know his accuser or his crime? For at this instant, yea now presently, hast thou heard what was spoken on both sides. That very man, who first informed thee, will not iustifie his words, if he be driuen to proue them. *Thou hast no cause,* saith he, *to drine me to iustifie it; if I be brought in question I will denie the same, or otherwise here- after I will neuer tell thee any thing.* At the same time hee enuiceth thee and drawes himselfe out of the trouble and danger. Hee that will not speake vnto thee, except it be in secret, scarcely tels thee any thing that is worthe thy be- liefe. What is more vnreasonable then to beleue a secret report, and after- wards to be openly angrie?

A notable com- parison to this purpose.

CHAP. XXX.

ome things there are whereof wee our selues are witnesses. In these we will consider the nature and wil of those that doe them. Is he a child? we beare with his age, he knoweth not whither he offendeth. Is he a father? either before times he hath done vs so much good, that vpon iust ground we ought to forgieue him the wrong he might doe vs; or peradventure we are offended without cause, and he himselfe hath an occasion to complaine against vs. Is he a woman? Shee is deceiued. Is he commanded? who except he will bee iniurious will bee angrie with necessitie? Is hee hurt? It is no iniurie to suffer that which thou thy selfe proferdest first. Is he a Iudge? Rather trust thou his opinion then thine owne. Is he a King? if he punish thee being guiltie, acknowledge his iustice; if being innocent, giue place to thy fortune. Is it a dumb beast, or a stone, or such like? thou art like vnto it if thou be angrie at it. Is it sickness or calamitie? It will passe more lightly if we suffer it patiently. Is it God? Thou lovest as much time in murmuring at him, as when thou prayest him to be angrie against thy neighbour. Is he a good man that doth thee iniury? Beleue it not. Is it an euill? Wonder not. Another man shall punish that wrong which hee offereth thee, and hee himselfe in doing euill is punished by himselfe. There are two things as I haue said, that prouoke Anger: the first is, if wee seeme to haue re- ceived iniury. Of this there is sufficiently spoken. It remaineth that we speake of the second, that is to say, whether we haue been wrongfully iniured. Some men iudge those things to be iniurious, which they ought not to haue suffered; some because they hoped it not. We repute those things iniurious which are sudden. Those things therefore most greatly moue vs, which happen vnto vs, contrary to our hope and expectation; neither is there any other cause why the least matters offend vs amongst our Domestiques, and why in our friends we call negligence an iniurie.

The seventh is, to consider the person, to en- dure that which is possible.

Advertisements worthy to be con- sidered of all men, especially of those who are subiect to dis- pleasure.

Of the second sort of remedies against Anger.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.



OW therefore, saith hee, doe our enemies iniuries moue vs? Because we expected them not, or rather because wee imagined not that they should be so dangerous. The too much loue we beare our selues is the cause hereof, and that it is which maketh vs iudge that our enemies should not touch vs any waies. Every man hath the heart of a King in him, so that hee will haue authoritie ouer all men, and yet himselfe will be vnder no mans subiection. So therefore it is eyther our ignorance in things, or our insolence that maketh vs Angrie. As touching ignorance, are wee to wonder if wicked men doe wicked acts? Is it a new thing if our enemy doe vs the worst injury he may? If our friend forget himselfe sometimes? if our sonne or seruant commit some fault? That great Capitaine *Fabius* said, that this ordinary excuse, *I had not thought it*, was a base one: but I thinke it a most abiect thing in a man. Bethinke thy selfe of all things and expect, euen in good manners there will be something harsh; mans nature beareth with traiterous friends, shee endureth vngratefull men, shee suffereth the couetous, she winketh at the impious. When thou wilt censure the manners of one man, thinke vpon the publike; where thou wilt mocke of all reioyce, there most of all wilt thou feare; where all things seeme vnto thee peaceable, there shall not want such things as shall hurt thee; yet lie they couered; thinke there will alwaies be somewhat hereafter that may offend thee. A Pilot hath neuer so cunningly discharged himselfe of all streights and perilous passages, but that he hath alwaies an eye to his Anchor and tackle, to haue all things in a readinesse when neede requireth. Before all things remember thy selfe of this, that the power to doe euill is villinious, execrable, and wholly vnfitting for a man by whose benefits the wildest beastes are tamed. Behold the Elephants kept vnder yoke, children and women riding boldly vpon the backs of Bulls, Serpents that slide vpon the tables, and slip into the bosomes of men without doing them any harme, and Beares and Lyons within doores, that suffer their mouths to be handled, and sawne vpon their Masters. Thou wouldest bee ashamed to change thy manners with brute Beasts. It is a haynous crime to hurt a mans country, and therefore a Citizen likewise, for hee is a part of his country. The parts are holy if the whole be venerable; therefore man to man, for he is a Citizen in this great Citie, which wee call the world. What if the hands would harme the seete, and the eyes would not helpe the hands? Euen as all the members are accorded together, because that it importeth the whole body, that the parts whereof it is compoled should be entyre; so ought wee to support one another, because we are made to lie in societie, but this societie cannot continue, if the parts of the same assist not and maintaine not one another. We would not lie from Vipers and Serpents that haunt the water, and other creatures that are hurtfull, either in their biting or stinging, if wee could tame them, or keepe them either from hurting our selues or other men. We will not therefore strike a man because he hath offended, but to the end he offend no more; neither is punishment euer referred to the time past, but that which is to come, because it is not ordaind to entertaine Anger, but to prevent it: for if every one should be punished that hath a depraued and offensive minde, no man should be exempt from punishment.

CHAP.

The first remedy is, to reuenge the loue of our selues, to know our ignorance and insolence. Against our ignorance,

Against insolence.

A worthy illustration of sweetness and good courage toward our neighbours.

CHAP. XXXII.



VT wrath hath some pleasure in it, and it is a contenting thing to be reuenged. It is farre otherwise. For euen as it is an honest thing in regard of benefites, to returne a good turne for a good turne; so is it not in requiting iniuries with iniuries: in the one it is a dishonest thing to suffer our selues to bee overcome, and in the other to overcome. This word reuenge is full of inhumanitie, and yet is entertained for a wise thing, and differeth from contumely in nothing, but in order. He that requiteth one injury with another, offendeth more excusably. A certayne inconsiderate fellow strooke *Cato* in the Bath, (for who is he that had knowne him that would doe him iniurie?) and yeelding him afterwards some satisfaction, *Cato* said vnto him, *I remember not that thou didst strikeme*. He thought it a wiser part not to acknowledge the wrong then to reuenge it. Thinkest thou that he was not injured in receiuing this outrage? In no sort. He did himselfe much good, for he began to know what *Cato* was. It is the part of a great mind to despise iniuries: the most reprochfull kind of reuenge is to esteeme and repute him who hath done the wrong, too base and unworthy that a man should reuenge himselfe on him. Many whilst they reuenge themselves for every slight offence, haue made their iniurie the greater. That man is great and noble, that after the manner of a mightie wilde beast, listeth securely the barking of lesser dogs: But, saith he, we shall be contented lesse, if we reuenge the iniuries we receiue. If we come thereunto as to a remedy, let vs come without anger; not as if it were a pleasing thing to be reuenged, but because it is profitable: but oftentimes it hath bin more wisdom to dissemble then to reuenge

The reputation of their false piety, that venge it a great good to worke vpon mens wills.

What magnificentia.

CHAP. XXXIII.



VT those iniuries that are done vs by mighty men, are not onely to be suffered ioyfully but patiently. They will doe it againe, if they beleeue they haue displeased thee. Those minds whom Fortune hath made insolent, haue this detestable qualitie in them, that they hate those whom they haue harmed. Famous and memorable is his speech who was become old in the seruice of Kings, when a certayne man asked him: *How he had attained so rare a thing, as old age, in his seruice in Court? By suffering iniuries (saith he,) and by giuing thanks*. Oftentimes it is so profitable not to reuenge iniurie, that it becometh vs not to confesse the same. *Caius Caesar* hauing imprisoned the sonne of one *Paistor*, a famous Knight of Rome, being offended with the nicenesse of his attyre and the curious frizing of his haire: when his father required him to grant him his sonnes life, as if hee had bene admonished to punish his misdeeds, commanded him forthwith to becup to death; yet left hee should seeme to behaue himselfe too cruelly towards the father, he inuited him to supper the same day. *Paistor* came thither with a merry countenance, *Caesar* carowled to him nine ounces of wine, and set an attendant expressly to see whether he did him reason. The poore man drunke vp all, as if he had drunke the bloud of his sonne. After this, he sent him perfumes and a crowne; commanding the messenger to obserue whether he tooke them: he receiued them the same day, wherein he had buried his sonne. The poore guest of a hundred yeares of age, & such a one as was troubled with the gout, lay almost souled in wine, yet drunke hee vp such large potions, that might seeme

An answer to the reply that Fortune hath made to the man who asked by what means hee had attained old age.

The miserie of old Courtiers.

A notable example of Achilles.

seeme intollerable, had he banquetted at his childrens birth-day; yet shed hee no teares, neither suffered he any signe of griefe to slip from him. Hee supped as if he had gotten his sonnes pardon. Doeſt thou aske me why? Hee had another sonne. What did Priamus? dissembled he not his displeasure? embraced he not the Kings knees? hee applied those fatal hands to his reverend lippes that were embrewed with the blood of his sonne; hee sapt, and yet without perfumes, without crownes; and him did his cruell enemy exhort with many comfortable speeches to eate his meate, not to the end hee might empty huge cups, setting a watch over his head to observe him. He had contemned *Patro* had hee feared, but now pietie pacified his wrath. Hee was worthy to have liberty to depart from the banquet, to gather vp his sonnes bones: yet permitted he not that. Meane while that courteous and gentle young man banquetted the good old father, and provoked him in merry cups to burie and pacifie his cares. Contrariwise, *Patro* stained himselfe merry, and forgetfull of that which had hapned the same day. His other sonne had died likewise, had not the Father and guest pleased the tyrant *Caligula* that invited him.

CHAP. XXXIV.

with whom we are to deale withall, ch for is unnecessary. And this consideration is the second remede.

Here is some abrupt breaking off.

The third remede, to give them the upper hand, whom we have the advantage of.

The fourth, to give place to such as are quarrellsome.

SO then we ought to avoid wrath, whether it bee with our equals, with our superiours, or inferiours. To strive against our equals is a matter doubtfull, against our superiours is furie, against our inferiours is basenesse. It is the part of a silly and miserable man to bite him that biteth him. Gnats and Ants turne their heads backe to bite if a man lay hold of them. Weake Creatures suppose themselves hurt if they bee touched. It will make vs more temperate, if wee bethinke our selues, how much hee may profit vs hereafter with whom wee are angry, and the offences will bee redeemed with merits. Let vs also thinke on this, what commendation the fame of Clemencie will yeeld vnto vs, and how many hath pardon made profitable friends. Neither let vs bee angry with the children of our aduersaries and enemies. Amongst the examples of *Syllas* crueltie this is not one of the least, that hee deprived all their children who were proficiend from all publike office & authority. It is an extreme iniustice for a man, to make any one the heire of that hatred which he hath borne to his father? As oftentimes as we shall bee slow in pardoning, let vs bethinke vs whether it should be good for vs, that all the men of the world should bee so affectioned against vs. How oftentimes doth he require pardon, who would not pardon? and how often hath a man humbled himselfe at such another mans feet, whom hee before time hath driuen out of his presence? What is more glorious then to change enmitie into amitie? What more faithfull confederates have the people of Rome, then these who were their most mortall enemies? What should the Empire bee at this day, except wholesome providence had mixed the conquered with the conquerors? Shall any man bee angry with thee? reconcile thou him by thy benefits. The displeasure sodainly quailleth when as the one part forbeareth to contend. No man fighteth except hee bee resisted. If both parts are contentious, he hath the better hand that first retirith him selfe, and hee is conquered that ouercommeth. Hath hee striken thee? Hee backe, for in striking him againe thou shalt give him both occasion to strike often, and an excuse for striking: thou canst not be parted from him when thou wilt. Would any man strike his enemy so grievously, that hee should leaue

leaze his hand in the wound, and could not recall himselfe from the stroke? but wrath is such a weapon as it cannot scarcely be recalled.

CHAP. XXXV.



E furnish our selues with convenient armes, with a sword not long or ouer short; shal we not avoid the impulsions of the mind so grievous, so furious, and irremocable? We take pleasure in that Gelding that slayeth as soone as he is rayned in, that keepeth him in his ordinarie pace, that knoweth when to turne, and which may easily be brought backe to the place where he began his first Carre. We know that our nerues are out of frame, when as they are moued against our wills. He is either aged or of a weake constitution, who when he would walke, runneth: wee suppose those motions of the minde to bee the healthfullest and strongest, which are disposed at our pleasure, and not as they list. But nothing hath profited vs so much, as first, to behold the deformities of a thing, and afterwards the danger. There is no passion more deformed then this, which spoileth the fairest faces of the World, and maketh those eyes dreadfull which before time were peaceable. All seemeliesse abandoneth those that are angry, and if the cholerique man bee as decently arrayed as any man can desire, he will draw his gowne aside, and will cast off all care of himselfe. If the haire of his head be naturally or artificially well trimmed, a man shall see it flare and stand vpright. If the spirit be moued, the veines swell, the breast is shaken with violent breathing, the voice in issuing forth puffeth vp the necke with furie. The ioynts tremble, the hands shake, all the body is tossed like a Pinnace in a tempest. In what estate thinkest thou is the mind inwardly, when such deformities sheweth it selfe outwardly? How more terrible is the inward countenance? how more violent the breath? how more intended the passion, which would burst it selfe, vnlesse she inforced her passage? Such is their countenance, as the enemy hath, or wilde beasts imbrued with slaughter, or of such as are addrest to spoile and slaughter. So deformed furies as the infernall Monsters are imagined by the Poets; begirt with Serpents and breathing fire. Such as the most dreadfull monsters of Hell assume vnto themselves, when they issue forth to inkindle warres, to sow discord amongst Nations, and to dismember peace. In such manner should we picture out Anger, that hath fiery fury in her eyes, a cry compounded of puffing, lowing, mourning, and other such confused and dreadfull noyses, shaking in both her hands her direfull weapons without care of couering her body, frowning, covered with blood and wounds: yea, mortified with strokes which shee hath giuen her selfe, her gate ridiculous and furious, all her behaviour confused and confounded, running here and there to overthrow all that which shee meeteth with all, hated of all, and aboue all things withing her owne death. And if shee cannot doe worse, desirous to teare Heavens, Seas and Earth, from their places; in briefe, no lesse hurtfull then hatefull. Or if a man will behold her in such sort as our Poets describe her:

Shee in her hand shaketh a blondy whip.

or,

Having her cote in many peeces rent,
And with the blond of guiltlesse men besprent.

Or if any man may imagine any more horrible face of a horrible passion.

CHAP.

The first, to discha. e our selues of that which undereth vs, as much as angv delth.

The first consideration, the deformitie of Anger.

The description of wrath, both in body and mind.

A lining description of Anger.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The use of a
glasse good to re-
fraine cholour.

Some (saith *Sextius*) that were angrie, haue profited themselves by looking into a looking-glasse; for they were troubled in beholding so great a change in themselves, in that they knew not themselves at that time. But how little was that which this image reflected from the glasse, to represent and expresse their true filthinesse & deformitie? if the mind might haue bene seene, and might shine, and shew it selfe in any matter, theee would confound vs in beholding her so fordid, so enraged, so deformed, and puffed vp. And now, as yet, her lothsomnesse is so great, that shee passeth thorow bones, and flesh, and whatsoever other impediments. But what if theee were seene naked? For I beleeeue that no man is terrified from wrath by beholding a glasse: what then? He that came vnto a looking-glasse to reforme himselfe, had already conformed himselfe. They that are angrie haue no seemely countenance, their looks are dreadfull and cruell, and such would they seeme to bee as they desire to bee. Rather ought wee to consider this, how many men wrath hath armed to wound themselves. Some through too much rage haue burst their veines, & by force of crying haue vomited blood, and abundance of humour being thrust into their eyes hath dulled and dimmed the sight and clearnesse thereof, and such as were sicke haue relapsed into diseases. There is no more swifter way vnto madnesse then this. Many therefore haue continued the furie of their wrath, neither could recover againe that vnderstanding that they themselves exiled. Furie prouoked *Aiax* to death, and wrath put him in furie. They with death to their children, powertie to themselves, ruine to their houses; and deny themselves to be angrie, resembling those that are furious, who being enraged, say they are not mad. Most friendly to their enemies, most dangerous to their dearest friends, forgetfull of Lawes except they may hurt thereby, incensed vpon the least occasion: neither affable in speech nor company or intertainment. They doe all things forcibly, they are addrested to fight with their swords, and to die on their swords. For a mighty euill hath surprised them, and such as exceedeth all other vices. Other sinnes enter by little and little, the force hereof is sodaine and vniuersall. To conclude, shee keepeth all other affections in subiection, and conquereth the most vehementest loue. They haue therefore murdered the bodies whom they haue loued, and euen enfolded in their armes, whom they haue fitted to their graues. Wrath hath spurned at Auarice, the most indurate and least flexible euill, enforcing her to scatter her riches, and to set fire on her house and goods, when they were all gathered together. What?

hath not the ambitious man cast away his so long affected tokens and titles of Magistracy, and repulset that honour which was offered vnto him? There is no affection ouer which Wrath hath not power.

The end of the second Booke of Anger.

The feuenth re-
medie, is to con-
sider how many
men it hath har-
med.

The conclusion
is, that cholour is
an extreme euill
and therefore,
because it spa-
reth no other
vices.

A TREATISE OF ANGER,

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SNECA,
To his Friend NOVATVS.

The third Booke.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIUS.

HE prosecuteth the other part of the remedy against Anger, which he placed in the midst of his former Booke, but differed the same: That we sinne not in Anger, that is, that we refrayne the same and repress it; which is performed in diuers sorts. But it must be done alwayes and presently in a head long and vnbridled affection, which *ARISTOTLE* excuseth: But he accuseth him, and once more discouereth the lothsomnesse of Anger. These things performeth he vntill the fourth Chapter. Then groweth he to diuision, alleaging that he will speake of three things. First, how wee may not bee angry. Secondly, how wee may be freed from Anger. Thirdly, how wee may pacifie and please such an one as is angry. These although in other places he performeth with repetition of the former, yet performeth hee it worthily, and profitably till the end of the Booke: and thou shalt haue golden and diuine Admonitions and Sayings.

CHAP. I.



Now, my *Novatus*, will wee attempt to doe that which thou thy selfe hast most instantly desired, namely, how wee may roote out Anger out of our mindes, or at least wise bridle it and inhibit the assaults thereof. This must bee done sometimes openly and in all mens sight, when as the euill is as yet but growing and small; sometimes secretly, when as it is too much inflamed and is exasperated and increaseth without any impediment. Wee must consider what forces theee hath, and how intyre they bee. Whether theee is to bee chastised and driuen backe, or whether wee ought to

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giue

To refraine
wrath in such
manner as we
ought, we must
learn the na-
tures of men
that are affec-
ted therewith.

ther theee is to bee chastised and driuen backe, or whether wee ought to

give place vnto her, whilst the first tempest be pacified, for feare lest thee carry away those remedies with her, that should reclayme her: and consideration is to be had, according to every ones manners. For some are overcome by Prayers; some insult, and are exasperated by submission: Some are overcome with terrors, some hath reproofe, other some confession; the third hath shame reuoked from their purpose; and some by delay, (which is the true, though slowest remedie of these so head-long passions,) whereunto at the last we must descend. For other affections admit delay, and may be cured more slowly; but the sodaine and head-long violence of Anger proceedeth not leasurly, but is wholly intyre from the beginning. Neither doth she sollicit mens minds after the manner of other vices, but she transporteth them, and so vexeth them, they being no Masters of themselves, that are as desirous of their owne euill as of anothers. She sheweth herselfe not only furious against that she vndertaketh, but against all that which casually encountereth her in the way. All other vices incite the minde, wrath casteth it downe head-long. The rest although they cannot resist their affections, at least the passions themselves maintayne themselves; this no otherwise then lightning and tempest and other impressions of the Ayre (which are sodaine and fall in an instant) re-inforceth it selfe and increaseth more and more. These other vices are estranged from reason, this is wholly delitute, and is a fury. The rest haue light accessions and deceiueable increases; in wrath the mindes of men are prostituted and delected. There is no passion more inconsiderate, that vrgeth more, nothing that employeth its forces more desperately, and swiftly, for whether it bee that she get the vpper hand (which maketh her more proud) or whether shee hath bene repulled (which inflameth her with fury) she giueth not ouer, neither retyreth although she haue bene repulled; and when Fortune presenteth her not with any aduersary she striketh and bireth herselfe, provided that shee may maintayne her selfe: For her beginnings are small, but shee becommeth maruellously great.

CHAP. II.

SHe ouer-slippeth no age, she excepteth no kind of men. Some Nations throw the benefit of pueritie are exempted from dissolution, neither know they what it is: some others haue fled Idleness, because they are still in trauell and wander from one Country to another. They that liue rudely and rustikely haue neuer vsed trumperies nor fraud, nor any of those mischiefs which are bred in places more frequented. There is no Nation vnder Heauen, whether they be *Greekes* or *Barbarians*, how puissant fouer they be, that can say that they are exempted from the assaults and inligations of Anger, no lesse pernicious to those who are subiect to certaine Laws, then to those whose Law is force, & amongst whom the strongest is the greatest. To conclude, those other passions inuade men in particular; but wrath is the only passion that layeth hold vpon all men. Neuer was it seene, that one only Nation was surprized with the loue of one only woman. Neither hath a whole City fixed their hopes vpon money and lucre. Ambition seizeth this or that man only. Tyranny hath not dominion in all places. But oftentimes anger hath possessed whole troops, men, women, old, young, Princes and their people haue gathered together to satisfie Anger.

And

That all Ages,
men, and people
are assailed
with anger,
which may not
be said by other
passions.

And a multitude being incensed by two or three words of him that led them the way, were moved to mutiny. Forth with haue they addrest themselves to fire, & he that for his Eloquence was accounted gracious in all mens eyes, in the midit of Honour and the height of his Discourse, hath purchased the displeasure of the whole Assembly. The Legions haue darted their lauelins against their Generall. The people haue banded against the Senate, and without expecting the elections or the nomination of Chieftaine of the Armie, haue suddenly of themselves chosen out Captaines to execute their furious designs, & rushing into the houses of men of honour, and the best Citizens, haue executed and put them to death. They haue broken the Lawes of Nations by out-raging Embassadors, and vnspokeable fury hath possessed the whole Cite, they haue not allowed time, to the end the publike insurrection might bee pacified, but incontinently haue armed their Name, and manned it with the first Soules they could get. Without order, without respect of ancient Ceremonies the people haue issued forth, being guided and governed by their owne furie, laying hold on whatsoeuer weapons came caually to their hands, armed themselves therewith; and finally, by a great and miserable ouerthrow, haue received a iust punishment for their rashnesse and audacious folly.

A lively representation of publike furie.

CHAP. III.

THis is the end of those *Barbarians*, who run thus inconsiderately to warre, as soone as any appearance of iniury hath seized their sight braynes: they are suddenly moued, and whither despite driueth, they rush in desperation into those Regions which they intend to spoile, without apprehension of danger, or obseruation of discipline, contrariwise, they seeke out misfortunes, they take pleasure to receive wounds, and to runne in furiously vpon the points of the Sword, and to make them way by the wounds which they receiued. It is not to be doubted, sayest thou, but that the effect of choler is very great and dangerous, shew vs therefore some remedies and meanes how it may be healed. But as I said in my former Books, *Aristotle* stands forth, and pleades for Anger, and wils vs not to extinguisht it wholly in vs. He allegeth that it is the spur of vertue, and that if a man be deprived thereof, his heart is disarmed, and he becommeth recreant, idle, and vnable to execute any great attempts. It is very needfull therefore to reprove the villeny and beastlinesse of this vice, and to set before mens eyes how monstrous a thing it is for a man to be so hatefully and violently bent against his neighbor, & what fury is in him who ruinateth himselfe in ruining another, and pretending to plunge and drowne certaine things in the Sea, he cannot effect his purpose but by plunging and drowning himselfe. What then? Will any man call him sensible or discreet, who being surprised as it were with a tempest goeth not but is driuen, and serueth a furious passion? Neither commandeth other to execute his vengeance, but he himselfe will be agent to performe it, hauing his heart and hand stretched out to satisfie his cruelty, and without sparing (hence Hangman that he is) his owne and onely friends, yea, and those whom after he hath massacred, he will presently mourne for. Is it possible that any man should admit this passion for an abetter and companion, and vertue which shutteth out all counsailes, without which vertue can execute nothing? Fraile and sinister are those forces, and powerful to their owne preiudice, into

Bbb 2

which

He vrgeth anger. Aristotle who saith much of Anger, and sheweth the effects thereof.

See Aristotle
in the fourth
Book of his Sto-
licity, Chap. 11.

which the sickness and the violence of the fit haue driven the sicke patient. Thinke not therefore that I employ my selfe vnprofitably in desaming Anger, as if men already doubted thereof. I doe it because there are some found amongst the Philosophers of great note and reputation, who hath pleaded for her, and said that she is profitable, and animateth the mind vnto battell, & that in humane actions and all other affaires, we ought to manage them with some vigour. But lest any man should be deceived, or should imagine, that either in a certaine time and place it was a thing that were profitable, it behooueth mee to discouer the violent and vnbridled rage thereof, and set her downe with all her Equipage, such as are her racks, her nerves, and strings, her iayles, her gibbets and stakes to be burned at, and hookes to dragge dead bodies, diuers sorts of shackles, diuers sorts of tortures, the tearing of the flesh and members, the branding in the forehead, the Dens of sauage beasts. Let Anger bee placed amongst all these instruments where she may gnash her teeth, and whistle out some direfull and horrible noyse, being of her selfe more hideous then all that whereof she maketh vse to execute her fury.

C H A P. IV.

The continuati-
on of this de-
scription, and a
truly Representa-
tion of Anger.

Certainly although we call the rest in question; yet is there no passion more deformed then this, as in our former Bookes we haue presented her fierce and furious, sometimes pale, hauing suddenly repulled all her blood to the heart; then inflamed againe, as if her whole heate and spirit were mounted againe into her countenance, hauing her colour bloudie, her veines swolne, her eyes sometimes quivering and sparkling, sometimes fixed and settled vpon something. Moreover, she hath teeth that grinde, crack one against another, desiring to deuoure some one, and making such a noyse as wilde Boares are accustomed to do when they rub and sharpen their fangs. Adde hereunto the beating of her hands and breast, her often sighes, her grones, drawne from the depth of her heart, the agitation of her whole body, her speech intercepted with sudden exclamations, her trembling lips sometime closed and mumbling diuers menaces. I beleeue that the wild beasts being pressed by famine, or that beare an Arrow fixed in their entrails, yea, and then likewise when they are at their last bay, are not so hideous as a man inflamed with choler. But if you will spare a time to heare her speeches and menaces, which the heart vttereth with tormented rage, would not euery man incontinently retyre himselfe from such a danger, when he shall perceiue that Anger beginneth by his owne misery? Wilt thou not therefore haue me admonish those, who do al that they can, to make it knowne, that they are cholericke, & think it to be a prooffe of their value, that a man transported with choler cannot be called couragious and free, but feeble and slaue vnto all others? Wilt thou not suffer me to aduertize some to the end they may be more circumspect to looke about themselves, that some other passions of the minde doe inuade the wicked, but Anger stealeth into the hearts of the most learned Clarkes, and that otherwise behaue themselves like good men, so that some menthinke Anger to be a token of simplicity, and ordinarily wee suppose that he that is most honest, hath his part of this infirmite.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.



Hereto then tendeth this Discourse? To the end that no man should suppose himselfe to bee warranted from this passion, because these induceth those men that are most modest & peaceable by nature, to become rude & violent. Euen as a good disposition of body and the care to maintayne our selues in health, preuayleth nothing against the plague, which indifferently layeth hold both on weak and strong; so in Anger there is a danger as well for them that are disordered, as for those men that are sober and peaceable, and haue care of themselves; the more great is the trouble, which Anger causeth in them. But for as much as the first remedie is not to be angry, the second to refrain Anger, the third to remedie another mans Anger; I will first of all shew the meanes how to auoyd Anger, secondly, how we may discharge our selues of Anger, if it beginneth to be enkindled in vs; thirdly, in what sort we may pacifie a man that is displeased, and temper and reduce him to reason. We shall subdue Anger, if from time to time wee represent vnto our selues all those vices that are hatched vnder this passion, and if we consider the same as we ought, with all her dependances and appurtenances; we must accuse her before our selues, condemne her, examine her infirmities, and lay her open to view; then compare her with the most detestable vices, to the end that as yet we may be better instructed what she is. Avarice gathereth and locketh vp for an honest man that is not couetous: wrath consumeth all, and gratifieth very few, and is welcome to none. An angry Master hath driven some of his seruants to run away, some hath been put to death, when as he lost more by being angry, then that was for which hee was angry: wrath hath made the father mourne, the husband to bee diuorced, the Magistrate to be hated, and the Candidate to be repulled. It is worse likewise then lecherie, because she taketh pleasure in her owne delights, this in another mans sorrow. She surpasseth malignity and hatred; for they are contented to see any man become unhappy, this will make them unhappy; the other two reioyce at those euils which come casually, she cannot expect Fortune, she will hurt him whom she hateth, and will not be hurt. There is nothing so grievous as secret hatred, but wrath reuealeth it. What is there more lamentable then war? therein is it that men discouer their displeasures. Moreover, that publike & priuate Anger is a weake and forcelesse warre. Furthermore (without recounting those damages which we will adde hereafter,) wrath intending and striuing by stratagemes and study how to nourish mutual discords, by seeking to reuenge herselfe punisheth herselfe; she is the canker of human nature. For nature inuitheth vs to amity, Anger to hatred; nature comandeth vs to assist one another, Anger to hate one another; the one commandeth vs to profit, the other to hurt. Adde hereunto, that whereas indignation proceedeth from an ouer-great suspicion of herselfe, and seemeth to be couragious, yet is she weak and infirme; for no man is lesse then he by whom he suspecteth himselfe to be contemned. But a man that is truly valiant, and that knoweth his owne worth, reuengeth not an iniurie, because he feeleth it not. Euen as Arrows recoil backe if they be shot at some stony and hard marke, and such solid things as are stricken, procure his griefe that striketh them; so is there no iniury that may pierce a great heart, the is farre weaker then that which she attempteth. How farre more worthy a thing is it to despise all iniuries & contumelies, as if the mind were impregnable?

How hurtfull
warth is, and the
three principall
remedies thereof

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Re-

Reuenge is a confession of paine. The mind is not great which is animated by iniury, Eyther a stronger then thy selfe, or a weaker hath wronged thee; if hee be weaker then thy selfe, spare him; if mightier, support thy selfe.

CHAP. EPIST. CXX. VI

The effects of true Magnanimity, appeared by a fit comparison.



Here is no one more certain argument of true magnanimity, then if thou resolute thy selfe, that nothing may befall thee that may moue thee. The highest and best gouerned part of the World, and neereft to the Stars, is not troubled with Clouds, nor subiect to tempests, nor afflicted with stormes: there is no tumult in the same, the inferiour Heauens pull forth Lightnings. In like sort a sublime and high spirit is alwaies quiet, and placed in a peaceable station, restraining in himselfe that, whence Anger borroweth an occasion of contention: it is moderate, venerable, and settled. But thou shalt find none of these in an angry man: for who is he that is betrayed to sorrow and fury, that hath not reiected his former modesty? Who is he that is turbulent in passion, and incensed against another man, that hath not dispossessed himselfe of all shamefastnesse? What man is he that is displeased, that keepeth any measure, or remembreth him of his dutie, or containeth his tongue, who hath bene Master of any one part of his body, who could gouerne himselfe? That notable lesson of *Democritus* to find out the true repose wil profit vs infinitely. *If we doe nothing either privately or publicly that exceedeth our forces.* Neuer doe things succede so happily vnto any man who intermeddeth with many affaires, but that sometimes by some one man, or from the affaires themselves, there ariseth some fault which disposeth the heart vnto Anger. Euen as he that trauelleth hastily thorow the frequented streets of a Citie, must meet with many men, and in one place slip, in another be flopped, and in a third be besprinkled with dirt; so in the trauaile & walkes of this life, so confounded and confused, there happen many impediments and many quarels: the one hath deceived our hope; another hath deferred it, another hath intercepted it; the euents haue not bene answerable to our expectation. Fortune is not so addicted to any man that she yeeldeth him euery way correspondence in his manifold attempts. It followeth therefore that hee knoweth not what it is to endure men, nor the estate of humane affaires, who thinks that any thing befalleth him otherwise then he he made reckoning of. To the end therefore that the mind may be quiet, it is not to be tossed, neither as I said, troubled with the managing of many affaires, nor to be charged with mightie busines, and such as exceed her strength. It is an easie matter to carry light burthens, and to cast them from one shoulder to another, without letting them fall. But if any one hath loded vs, and the burthen be heauy, wee carry it with much labour, and finally we discharge it vpon those that are neereft vs; or if we part vnder the burthen by reason we are ouer-loden, it is hard for vs to go forwards without staggering.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.



Now thou that the same falleth out in ciuill and domestique matters. Those affaires that are easie and light, accompanie him that doth them; those that are ouer-great and exceede his might, that adde them, are vncasie to compass; and after a man hath laid holde of them, they puzzle and oppresse him that carrieth them: finally, when he thinketh that he hath best hold of them, he stumblith, falleth, and his burthen rolleth downe vpon him, and troubleth him. Thence falleth it our often times, that he who vndertaketh difficult matters, and would make them easie; is frustrated of the most part of his thoughts. In all thine enterprises, measure thy selfe together with those things which thou wilt manage, and wherunto thou addest thy selfe, otherwise the displeasure thou shalt conceiue in leauing thy worke vnpersuaded, will make thee maruellously penitue. In this place we ought to obseue, whether a man be of a violent spirit, or felle, or fearefull: In a generous mind, repulse will inkinde wrath, in a faint and abiect minde, sadnesse: Let therefore our actions be neyther too smal nor too audacious, nor too wicked; let vs follow those things that are answerable to our hope: let vs attempt nothing, that when wee haue attained the same, will make vs wonder at the successe thereof.

Howe easie the business of temperance is, in managing the affaires of this life, and in conquering the middle.

CHAP. VIII.



Let vs take order that we receive not such an iniurie which we cannot digest. Let vs leade our liues with temperate and familiar men, not with those that are troublesome and foolish: men inuest their manners with whom they are conuersant. And as some infirmities of the bodie are deriued and transported by attachment, so the soule communicateth her infirmities and passions, to those that approach her. A Drunkard hath drawne his companion into loue with Wine, and the companie of dissolute fellows hath effeminatized a man who should be as hard as the rocke. Avarice empysoneth those that dwell neere vnto her; contrariwise, there is the same reason as is touching vertues, which moderate all things that are with them: neyther was any profitable countrey or wholsome aire more healthful for mans body, then for good minds that are scarce settled to conuerse with good men: which thing, how auailable it is, thou shalt vnderstand, if thou consider how wilde beasts are tamed by mens handling, and how the fiercest amongst them laith by his furie, if he hath long time bin vnder the discipline of a man. That which is furious in her is lenified and tempered by little and little. Moreover, he that conuerseth with peaceable and good men, not only becommeth better by reason of their example, but in as much likewise as he findeth no occasions to be displeased, he is not in practice of the passion. He ought therefore to flie from all these, who in his knowledge are disposed and easly prouoked vnto Anger. And who are they, saith thou? Many such as vpon diuers causes will doe the same. The proud man will offend thee by contempt, the rich man by contumely, the lasciuious man by iniurie, the hatefull man with malignitie, the quarrellsome by contention, the boaster and lier by vanitie. Thou wilt not endure to be feared by a suspicious man,

Noble obseruances for all men.

man,

man, to be overcome by an obdurate, to be scorned by an effeminate man. Make choyce of simple, facile and moderate men, who will neither prouoke thee to wrath, nor be moued though thou offend them. But as yet, more profit shalt thou reape from submisle, courteous, and affable men, yet not so pliant as they may proue flatterers, for too much flatterie offendeth angrie men. I had a friend, and he an honest man, but yet otherwaies too readie to be moued, who was as little pleased with flatterie as he was with reproofe. It is well knowne that *Caelius* the Oratour was extremely cholerick, with whom, as it is reported, there supped a client of his within his chamber, who was indowed with singular patience: but hard was it for him being met with such a companion, to auoid his displeasure, with whom he supped. He therefore thought it to be the best to smoothe him vp in whatsoeuer he said, and to giue way to him. *Caelius* could not indure this smoothing, but exclaimed, *Speake somewhat against me that we may be two.* But when as being angrie, he saw the other pacified and silent, he gaue ouer his displeasure, because he had no aduersarie. Let vs therefore at leastwise make choyce of such (if we be priuy to our own imperfections) that will apply themselves to our manners and discourse, vndoubtedly they will make vs delicate, and bring vs into an euil custome, not to giue eare to any thing that is displeasing vnto vs, yet shall this profit vs, that they allow vs some intermission and quiet in our error. A hard and vtamed nature likewise will indure a flattering and affable entertainment. Nothing is harsh and displeasing when we smoothe and handle it gently. As oft as the disputation shall be longer or more eager, let vs resist at first before it be enforced. Contention nourisheth it selfe, and layes hold on those that flie her. It is easier for a man to abstaine from a debate, then to retire himselfe.

CHAP. IX.

Moreouer such as are angrie ought to forbear all serious studies, or at leastwise they are to exercise them without lassitude, and the minde ought not to be busied in many things, but to be entertained with more pleasing studies. Let the reading of Poets pacifie him, & the ouerlooking of Histories content him with varieties, let him be handled more tenderly and delicately. *Pythagoras* pacified the perturbations of the mind by his Harpe. But who knoweth not that Clarions and Trumpets doe wonderfully moue? and that there are some straines of voyce & musick which make the mind tractable? Green things are profitable for confused eyes, and there are other colours that content the feeble sight, and the brightnesse of some other doth blemish them, so the studie of pleasant Stories doth comfort languishing spirits. We must flie the places, the pleas, and courts where audience is giuen, all which doe exulcerate the minde; and beware likewise to weary our bodies. For lassitude consumeth all that which is sweete and plausible in vs, and awakeneth that which is sharpe and stirring. For this cause they that haue no good stomack, intending to imploy themselves in some matters of importance, are accustomed to repress the cholerick humor which trauel stirreth our much, by eating some little thing; and the rather because hunger extinguissheth naturall heat, butreth the blood, and staieth the course thereof, by reason that the veines are trauelled, or because the body being attenuated and faint, is a burthen to the soule. Vndoubtedly for the same cause

The fourth expedient against Anger is neither to charge the mind wth bodie to much.

and consideration, sick men and old men are subiect vnto anger. And therefore for the same causes are hunger and thirst to be auoided, because they exasperate and inflame mens mindes.

CHAP. X.

IT is an old saying, *That it is easie to driue a married man into the streets.* As much may be said of him that is an hungred, of him that is drie, and by euerie man that is displeased at any thing. For as vlcers vpon euery light touch, and afterwards vpon a shew of touching, seeme painfull, so the minde that is affected, is offended with the least things, in so much as a salutation, an Epistle, an Oration, and Interrogation prouoke them to displeasure. Such as are pained, are neuer touched without complaining. And therefore it is the best to take medicine vpon the first sence or appearance of the sicknesse, in like sort to giue no liberty to our discourses, but to restraime them carefully. But when the passions begin to take head, and burst forth, it is an easie matter to restraime them. There are certaine signes which goe before a sicknesse. Euen as tempests and showers haue certaine signes before they fall, so Anger, loue, and all these stormes which vex the minde, haue certaine tokens to preface them. Such as are subiect to the falling sicknesse, vnderstand that their fit is at hand, when as the tops of their fingers and toes are cold, when their sight is darkened, when their memorie faileth them, when their head turneth, and their nerues are contracted; Then haue they recourse to their accustomed remedies to preuent their fall: that is at hand: by potions or perfumes they driue away that sicknesse which in this sort alieneth their senses, with fomentations they resist the conflict of their cold, and the rigour of their infirmities. If these remedies relieue them not, they retire themselves apart, and fall where no man seeth them. It shall profit a man much if he know his disease, and if hee be experienced to cut off the violence thereof, before it hath gotten power to exspaciate. Let vs consider what it is that offendeth vs most. One man is moued by bitter words, another by some outrages that are offered him. This man will haue his nobilitie supported, that man his beautie. Such a one desireth to be reputed a gallant fellow, that other to be most learned; this man is impatient of pride, that other of contumacie. He thinketh his seruants vnworthie to draw him to displeasure. The other is a Tyrant within doores, and gentle without. Such a one thinketh himselfe mocked, if hee be intreated: that other a contumely if hee be not requested. All men are not stricken in one place.

The fifth expedient is, the knowledge that we ought to haue of our flaws and the infirmities of our mindes.

CHAP. XI.

Thou must therefore know what is weake in thee, to the intent that most of all thou maist preuent the same: it is not expedient for vs to see all things, nor to heare all things. Let many iniuries passe by vs, and he that in deuoreth himselfe not to know them, is for the most part warranted from them. Wilt thou not be angrie? be not curious. Who inquireth what is spoken against himselfe? Who so wil found and search out what euill speeches are spoken by him secretly, doth himselfe

The sixth means to briue Anger, Be not too curious.

disquiet

A notable ex-
ample.

disquiet himselfe. An euil interpretation maketh vs suppose that a word which is spoken by vs is a great outrage. Some things therefore are to be differed, some things to be deluded, and some things to be pardoned. Wrath in diuers sorts must be circumscribed, & diuers things are to be turned to iest and sport. They say that *Socrates* having received a boxe on the eare, said nothing else but, *That it was a great fault, that men knew not when they should come abroad with a helmet upon their heads.* It skils not how the iniurie be done, but how it is suffered. Neither see I why moderation should be a hard matter, when as I knew that the mindes of certain Tyrants being puffed vp by fortune & libertie, haue repressed that crueltie which was familiar vnto them. It is reported, that *Pissistratus* a Tyrant in Athens, when as a certaine drunken man, that late at banquet with him, had spoken many things against his crueltie (and there wanted not some, who would haue executed whatsoeuer he should haue commanded, and one man on this side, and another on the other, laboured to in- kindle his displeasure) that he rooke all things patiently, and answered those that prouoked him after this manner: *I hat he was no more angrie with him, then if a blind-fold fellow hauing his eyes tyed up should runne upon him.* The greater part of men haue bred quarrel to themselves; either by suspecting false things, or by aggravating small things.

CHAP. XII.

The fewenes
meanes not to
take out euill
occasions, and if
they prouer them
selues to repulse
them.



Ftimes Anger seeketh vs out, more oftentimes search we her, which is neuer to be called for, but euen then when we fight vpon her, then ought we to reiect her. No man saith vnto himselfe; *This for which I am displeased, either I haue done my selfe, or else I might haue done it.* No man estimateth the minde of him that committeth the fault, but the fact it selfe. Yet this is to be lookt into, whether he did it wittingly or casually; whether he were compelled or deceived; whether he did it for hatred or reward; whether of his own accord, or by another mans instigation. Furthermore, the age and fortune of him that doth this is to be respected much, to the end we may support the one with sweetnes, the other with respect. Let vs put our selues in his place against whom we are displeased; now doth the wrong estimation of our selues make vs angry, & those things which we would doe, we will not suffer. Each man is not patient; but the greatest remedie against wrath is delay, that the first furie thereof may be repressed, and that mist which dulleth our mindes either may be dispersed, or attenuated. There are some of those things which carrie thee away headlong, which, I say, not a day but an houre may resist, some of these wil wholly vanish. If in this case we demand delay, it then appeareth that it is not Anger but reason that commandeth. Whatsoeuer it be, thou wouldst know what it is, deliuer it into the hands of time. A man cannot diligently obserue that which passeth away swiftly. *Plato* could not obtaine any delay from himselfe when he was angry with his servant, but commanded him presently to lay by his coat, and to yeld his shoulders to the strokes of the whip, which he himselfe would lay on. After he knew that he was angrie, he withdrew his hand that was ready to strike, and stood still in the same habit as if he were addrest to strike. Being afterwards demanded by his friend, who came thither by chance, what he did? *I (saith he) chastise a man that is angrie.* This wise man, astonished at

at this his deformed countenance and gesture, rooke no more heed vnto his slave, because he had found another, whom he ought rather to haue chastised: he therefore deprived himselfe of that authoritie ouer his seruants; and notwithstanding because his servant had committed some fault that was worthe punishment, he said vnto *Speusippus*, *I pray thee chastise my servant with strokes, because I am angrie.* He beate him not because he was angrie, and another man did correct him: *I am angrie*, said he, *I shall doe more then I should.* And therefore I will forbear him more willingly. Let not this seruant bee in his power that is not Master of himselfe. Will any man commit reuenge to a wrathfull man, since *Plato* hath taken his authoritie from himselfe? Let nothing be lawfull for thee as long as thou art angrie: Why? Because thou wilt haue all things lawfull for thee. Fight thou with thy selfe. If thou canst not overcome thine Anger, thee beginneth to overcome thee; if she be hidden, if we cannot giue her no issue, let vs burye the signes thereof, and let vs, as much as in vs lyeth, keepe it hidden and secret.

CHAP. XIII.



This cannot be done but with great labour; for shee desireth to leape out, to inflame the eyes, and to change the face: but if shee may once shew her selfe without vs, she is aboue vs. Let vs hide her in the lowest retreat of our breasts, and let her there be concealed, but so, as she tran sport vs not; and which is more, let vs change all her signes, and all her markes to the contrarie, let our countenance be more peaceable, our voyce more tempered, our pace more settled; let vs by little conforme both the interior and exterior parts. It was a signe of Anger in *Socrates* when he humbled his voyce and spake sparingly; for at that time it appeared that he resisted himselfe. He was therefore both perceiued and reproved by his familiars; neither took he it inill part to heare the reproofe of his concealed Anger: Why should he not reioyce because many vnderstood his Anger, no man felt it? but it had bene perceiued, except he had given his friends power to chide him, as he himselfe had assumed the authoritie to reprove them. How much more ought we to doe this? Let vs intreat euerie one of our dearest friends at that time especially, to vse his most libertie against vs, when we are least able to endure him, neither let him flatter with our Anger. Against so powerfull an euill, and so gracious in our eyes, let vs call for our friends helpe, whilst our eyes are opened, and we are Masters of our selues.

The eighth
meane.
Containe thine
Anger inwardly,
and shew it
not outwardly.

CHAP. XIV.



They that can hardly beare Wine, and that feare the folly and intemperance of drunkenness, command their seruants to carrie them from the place where they solemnize their Festiuals. They that haue the experience, that their intemperance hath been the cause of their sickness, forbid their seruants to giue them their wills during the time of their infirmities. It is the best for vs to provide some impediments

Now by example
expresseth howe
effects of choler.

Herodot. lib. 2.

ments against known vices, and about all things so to compose our minds, that although it be shaken by the most grievous and sudden accidents that may be, it either teele not wrath, or else restrain and embale the weight of the iniurie, that hath bene vnadvisedly offered him, without discovering his griefe. That this may bee done, it shall appeare manifestly, if out of a great many examples, I shall produce some few, out of which a man may learne both how great euill Anger hath in it, when the vseth the power of the most mightiest men; and how much the may command, as soone as he is curbed by a greater feare. *Cambyses* the King, a Prince too much subiect to Wine, was admonished by *Prexaspes* (who was one of his Minions) to drinke lesse, saying, *That drunkenness was a loathsome thing in a King, who was followed by all mens eares and eyes.* To this he answered, *To the end thou mayest know (said he) that I am neuer out of temper, I will presently approue, that after Wine both mine hands and eyes can doe their office.* Hereupon he began to drinke more freely then otherwise he was accustomed, and in greater cups then formerly he vsed; and being thus loaden and drunke with wine, he commanded his sonne who had reproofed him, to get without the doore of the Palace, and laying his left hand on his head, to stand there vprightly; then bent he his Bow, and with the Arrow he shot, diuided he the yong mans heart, as he had protested to do, and opening his breast, he shewed him the head of the Arrow sticking in his heart; and looking back vpon the father, he said, *Now Sir, is not my hand steddie?* who answered, that *Apollo* could not haue shot with better leuell. The gods confound him, more slauish in minde then in condition; for praising such an action whereunto it was ouermuch for him to be an assisstant. He thought he had gotten a good occasion to flatter, when his sonnes breast was diuided into two parts, and the heart as yet panted vnder the wound: he should haue contended for glorie against *Cambyses*, and challenged him to a second prooue, whether he could as rightly hit the heart of the father, as he had done of his sonne. O cruell King, worthie that all his subiects bowes should be bent against him. When we haue cursed him that ended his banquets with punishments and funerals, we cannot but detest *Prexaspes* for this his vnnatural commendation of the shot, as well as *Cambyses* for shooting it. We see how the father should haue demeaned himselfe, being vpon the dead bodie of his sonne, and witness of the murder whereof he was the cause. That which is now in question, is apparant, that choler may be suppressed. He cursed not the King, neither vttered he one word of compassion, although his heart were as much wounded as that of his sonnes. It may be said, that he deserviedly deuoured his words, for had he spoken any thing as if he had bene displeased, he could haue done nothing that became a father. It may seeme, saith he, that he behaued himselfe more considerately in that case, then when he reproofed *Cambyses* for his immoderate drinking; and it had bene better for him to haue suffered him to drinke Wine then blood, who having the cup in his hand, and being occupied in drinking, suffered others to lue in peace: he was therefore to be numbered for one of those, who to their great miseries haue made it manifest, how deare good counsailes cost them who are Kings fauourites.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.



Doubt not but that *Harpagus* had spoken some such like thing to his Master *Affixes* King of Persia, by reason whereof he was so much incensed, that he tasted the old man with the flesh of his children, and afterwards asked him how he liked the dressing. Then, as soone as he saw that he was glutted with his owne miseries, he commanded their heads to be brought forth, and asked him, *How he liked them?* The wretched man wanted no words, he faltered not in his speech, but said, *With a King euery supper is pleasant.* What provoked he by this flatterie? This, that he was not invited to the reliques of the banquet. I forbid not the father to condemne the Kings action, I forbid him not to seek: a condigne reuenge for so horrible an iniurie, but this in the interim will I say, That wrath which ariseth from extreme euils may be hid den, and be constrained to speake wholly contrary to his mind. This restraint of sorrow is necessary for those especially who haunt the Court, and are invited to Princes tables. Thus must they eat with them, thus must they drinke, thus must they an'wer, thus must they smile at their childrens funerals. Let vs consider whether life be a thing that should be so much set by, although it concern not this matter. Shall we take pleasure to remaine in so loathsome a prison? Shall we counsaile our selues to continue vnder the voake of murderers? Contrariwise, we will make it knowne, that in all oppressions the way of libertie is laid open to vs. If the mind be infirme and miserable through his owne fault, he may end his miseries in himselfe. I will say both to him that attended the King who shot his arrows against the hearts of his friends, and to him whose master glutted the fathers stomach with his childrens bowels: Why mourne thou mad man? Expectest thou that some enemy destroying thy nation, or that some puissant King marching out from a farre, shall reuenge that iniurie which is done vnto thee? On what side soeuer thou turnest thy selfe, there is the end of these miseries. Seest thou yonder steepie place? from thence mayest thou descend to thy libertie. Seest thou that Sea? Seest thou that Riuer or that Pit? Libertie sitteth in the bottom thereof. Seest thou that short, withered, and fatal tree? Liberty dependeth thereon. Seest thou thy throat, thy weland-pipe, thy heart? These are the meanes to escape seruitude. Thou shewest me too dangerous and bulie means to escape, and such as require a great mind and courage. Enquirest thou which is the way to libertie? Euery veine in thy bodie.

CHAP. XVI.



As long therefore as there is nothing in our opinion so intollerable, that it should expell vs out of life, let vs remove Anger from vs in what soeuer estate wee shall be. Pernicious is thine to those that serue; for indignation serueth not but to increase her torment, and the comandements that are giuen her seeme to be more grievous and troublesome, the more obstinately she suffere them: so the wilde beast the more he struggles in the net, the more is he intangled: so birds, whilst fearefully they shake off the bird-lime, intangle and snare all their feathers. There is none so hard a yooke that so much hurteth him that beares it willing.

Ccc

The first
ought to
be
pagan.

A little
conscience.

Two Stiles
and
paulines
of
the
same
kind
they
saw
thee.

Of the patient
who requir
in aduocates.

ly, as him that repineth against it. The onely remedie of the greatest miseries is to suffer them willingly, and to apply a mans selfe to those necessities which present themselves. But whereas this continencie is profitable for those that serue, so the bridling of affections, and of this especially which is so furious and vnbidded a passion, is most necessary for Kings. All things go to wracke when Fortune permitte as much as Anger perlwadeth: neyther can that power continue long which is exercised to many mens miseries: for great men put themselves into marvellous danger, when common feare ioyneth those together who lament in their particular. Diuers therefore of them haue been slaine by seuerall persons, and sometimes by the whole multitude, when sorrow hath constrained them to ioyne their displeasures in one. But diuers haue so exercised their Anger, as if it had beene a kingly matter. Amongst these was *Darius*, he (after he had extinguishd the Empire of the Magies) ouercame the Persians, and a greater part of the East. For hauing denounced warre against the Scythians that dwelt about the cuntry, a Noble and auncient Gentleman called *Oebasius*, besought him that he would leaue one of his children behinde him, to be a comfort to his father, and content himself with the seruice of two of them: he promised more then he required at his hands, and that he would dismishe them all; hereupon he caused them to be slaine, and cast their bodies downe before their fathers eyes, to the end he might not be esteemed cruell, if he had carried them away all three.

CHAP. XVII.

BVt how much more facile was *Zerxes*, who when *Pithius* the father of five sonnes, required the dismission of one of them, which soeuer he pleased, gaue him leaue to chuse him whom he best liked, and afterwards when he had made his choyce, diuiding that sonne into two pieces, he cast them on either side of the way, and by this sacrifice purified his armie: But this Prince was chastised according to his demerits: for after he had bene ouercome and discomfited on euery side, and beheld the heapes of dead souldiers in all places, he marched thorow the midst of their murdered carcases. Such was the naturall furie of barbarous Kings, ignorant and enemies of good letters, whence ensued Anger. But I will bring thee forth *Alexander* out of *Aristoteles* (schole, who in the midst of his festivals, and with his owne hands, murdered his own friend *Clitus* (who had bin brought vp with him) because he could not flatter, and from a Macedonian and free man, would not become a seruile Persian. He likewise exposed *Lysimachus* (who was as familiar with him as the other) to the furie of a Lion. But did this *Lysimachus* (who had so happie fortune to escape the teeth of a Lion) for this cause become more milde, when he obtained a Kingdome? No. For he cut off the nose and eares of *T. elephorus* the Rhodian, who was his dear friend, and afterwards (as if he had beene some strange beast) kept him closed in a cage, wherein he fed him, being vnable to obserue any thing of a man in him, by reason of the deformitie of his face, of hunger, and filth, and his ordure, wherein this poore creature lay buried; hauing his knees and hands hardened, because the cage was ouer low for him, and would not suffer him to stand vp-right. Besides, by reason of often rubbing himselfe, his sides were all flayed, so that he seemed lothsome and dreadfull to all those that beheld him, and being made

The fourth example of Zerxes and Pithius, Herod and Plutarch.

made a Monster by this punishment, he lost also all compassion. Yet when he was most vnlike vnto a man, who suffered these things, he was more vnlike, who did the same.

CHAP. XVIII.

Could haue wished that this cruell passion had remained amongst the Barbarians, and had not taken possession of the hearts of vs that are Romanes, with other vices drawne from forraign Countreies, and with the fury of diuers new punishments, and meanes of reuenge. *Marius* (in whose honour the people had raised Statues in euery street, to whom with frankinsence and wine the Romanes sacrificed as to a god) by *Lucius Syllaes* command had his legge broken; his cies pulled out, and his hands cut off; and as if he had killed him so oft as he wounded him, by little and little, he peece-meale drew euery part of him in peeces. Who executed this commandment? Who could it be but *Catiline*? who at this time exercised his hands in all hainous stratagemes. He cut this poore bodie in peeces before the Tombe of *Quintus Catulus*, troubling with extreme insolence, the reuerend ashes of the mildest man of his time, on which *Marius*, a man culpable in many kinds (yet agreeable to the people, & not without cause, although it may be that it was more then reason) shed his blood drop by drop. Worthy was *Marius* to endure those things; *Sylla* to command it, and *Catiline* to execute it. But vnworthie was the Common-weale to receive into her body at once, the swords both of her enemies and Citizens. Why seek I out so far-fet examples? Not long since, *Caius Cæsar* caused *Sextus Papinius* (whose father had bin a Consull) and *Bellenius Bassus* (who had bin Treasurer and the sonne of his procurer) and other Senators and Romane Knights to be whipt and tormented in one day, not because they had offended, but for his mind sake. Againe, so impatient was he to differ his content, which his immeasurable crueltie incited him to take without delay, that walking in an Allie of his mothers garden, which separateth the porch from the riuer banke, he beheaded some, with diuers Ladies and Senators by torch-light. What is that which prouoked him? what danger, either publique or priuate, threatned him to execute those persons by night? Was it so great a matter to slay til day light? But he would not haue his Pantofles on, when he caused Romanes and Senators to be murdered.

Other examples taken out of the Roman histories.

CHAP. XIX.

Now prond his crueltie was, it shall be materiall to examine: although some may esteeme that we wander from the purpose, and containe not our selues in the right path, but this shall be a pattern of wrath enraged aboue ordinarie. He had caused Senators to be whipped: yea, so great was his insolence, that it might be said, that it was an ordinarie matter. He had subiected them to those torments, and so cruell that might be possibly inuented, as to traine them and drag them by ropes, to torment them by pressing, by racke, by fire, and by his owne countenance. And in this place, some may answer and say, What a troubling matter is this, if three Senators were like base slaues whipped and burned,

Here continueth the description of Caligulaes cruelties.

burned, by such a man who daily meditated on the death of the whole Senate; who wished that the Roman people had but one head, to the end that their so many offences committed in so many places and times, might be punished in one stroke, and at one time? What hath bene lesse heard of then night punishment? Whereas thefts are wont to be hidden by night: and punishments, the more publique they be, the more profit they for other mens example and amendment. In this place some will answer me; That which thou so much admirest, at, is this beasts daily exercise. He liueth for this, he watcheth for this, he studieth for this; Truly there shall no other man be found that had authoritie ouer those whom he commanded to be punished, that stopped their mouthes with a sponge, for feare lest they should haue libertie to speake. What euery dying man had not this benefit to bemoane himselfe? But he was afraid, lest some extreme paine should make any man vtter his mind boldly; and he feared likewise lest he should heare those things which he would not. He knew also that there were many other infinite things, which no man durst object against him, except he were such an one that was ready to suffer death. When as sponges were not in readinesse, he caused the wretches garments to be cut in pieces, and to be thrust into their mouthes; what crueltie is this? Let it be lawfull for a man to draw his last breath; giue place to the foule that they may freely depart; Let her be suffered to haue passage by some other way, then by the wound which the body hath received.

C H A P. XX.

T were too long a matter to adde vnto these, how many of their fathers whom he had put to death, were murdered the same night by the hands of Centurions, by the command of this pitifull Prince, who thought good by these meanes, to deliuer the fathers from bewailing their childrens deaths? For my intention is not to discover *Caius* crueltie, but the miserie of Anger, which not onely executeth her furie against one man or other, but also spoyleth whole Cities and Nations, and beateh riuers also which are free from all sence of paine. As *Cambyfes* King of Persia, who cut off the noses of all the people in Syria, by meanes whereof the place was afterwards called Rhinocolura. Thinkest thou that he spared them, because he cut not off their heads? He rooke delight in a new kind of punishment. Such like should the *Aethiopians* haue suffered, who by reason of their long life, are called *Macrobij*. For against these, because they entertained not willingly the subiection that was offered them, but gaue free answers to those Ambassadors that were sent vnto them, which Kings call contumelious; *Cambyfes* was mad at them, and without prouision of prouent and victuals, without discouerie of the Countrey, by vnhaunted and landie waies, he led all his troupes that were fit for the warre; which after the first dayes march wanted victuals, neither did the barren and vnmanured Countrey, vntraffed by any foote, minister them any thing. First satisfied they their hunger with the tender leaues and tops of trees, then by leather mollified by fire, and whatsoeuer necessitie had made meate. But when as amidst the sands both rootes and herbes failed them, and the desert was found void of all liuing creatures, they killed euery tenth man, and thereby had lutenance more dreadfull then famine; yet notwithstanding all this, Anger carried the King

The cause why he made mention of Caligula's cruelties,

Cambyfes brutish rage.

King on headlong. Having lost one part of his Armie, and earen another, vntill such time as he feared lest amongst others that were killed, the lot should fall on himselfe, then at length founded he a retreat. In the meane space, the best fowle was kept for his vse, and the instruments of his banquets were carried vpon Cammels, whilst his Souldiers cast lots which of them should die miserable, and which of them should liue worse.

C H A P. XXI.

His man was angrie with a Nation vnkown vnto him, and innocent of themelues, yet such as had he prospered should haue tasted of his fury. But *Cyrus* was angrie with a riuier: For marching on diligently to the warre (the greatest moment whereof consisteth in taking oportunities) & intending to surpris Babylon, he attempted to passe ouer the huge riuier of Ginde, which was scarcely passable in the height of Sommer, & when the water is at the lowest. There one of those white horses which were wont to draw his Kingly Chariot, was carried away violently by the streame, whereat the King was mightily moued; and swore that he would bring that Riuier which had carried away his Princely baggage to that passe that euen verie women should be able to get ouer it without wetting their shooes. Which said, he employed all his forces herein, and continued so long, that hauing digged nine score chanel to turne the Riuier, he afterwards reduced it into three hundreth and sixtie armes or brooks, so that that great channel became drie, the waters being drained by so many other waies. Thus spent he the time, (which is an irreuocable losse in affaires of consequence) thus abated he his Souldiers courage, who were broken by vnprofitable labors, and had lost their occasion and preparation for the assault, whilst he hauing proclaimed warre against his enemies, grew at ods with a Riuier.

C H A P. XXII.

His furie (for what else canst thou name it?) seized the Romans likewise. For *Caius Caesar* querthrew a faire house of pleasure which was builded for pleasure neere to Ponzol, because sometimes his mother had bene kept prisoner in it, and made the fortune thereof notable herebv. For when it flood, the passengers that sailed by, enquired what it was, and now they demand why it is ruined. And as well oughtest thou to thinke on these examples, to the end to auoyd them, as on those on the contrarie part which thou art to follow, which are both moderate and gentle; who neither wanted cause to be angrie, nor power to reuenge themelues. For what was more easie and facile for *Antigonus*, then to command two of his Souldiers to be put to death? who leaning vpon the Royall tent, did that which men doe most dangerously and willingly that thinke euill of their Prince. *Antigonus* heard all that they spake, because betwixt them that talked, and him that heard there was but a Tapeltie, which he softly pulled aside, and said, *Get somewhat farther off, for feare lest the King heare you.* The same Prince vpon a certaine night, when he had heard certaine of his souldiers detesting and cursing him diuers waies, who had led them into

Here turneth to Caligula, by his example to make Anger odious, and to inkindle others to moderate the strength of the malice behaviour of Antigonus.

that iournie and dyrtie march, came vnto them that were most displeased, and whereas they knew not by whom they were helped, he satisfised them, & said: Now curse ANTIGONVS, by whose fault you were drawne into these miseries, but wish him well notwithstanding, who brought you out of this bog. The same as patiently endured the reproaches of his enemies, as of his Citizens. When as therefore the Grecians were besieged in a small Caste, and contemning the enemy by reason of the place, iested vpon Antigonus deformitie, and sometimes derided his low stature, otherwhiles his hooked nose, I am glad, said he, & conceiue some good hope if I haue SILENVS in my Campe. After he had overcome these brablers by famine, he vsed the captiues in such sort, that he placed those that were fit for warre amongst his owne companies, and the rest he sold by the Crier; and this he said, he would not haue done it, vnlesse it had been expedient for them to haue a Gouvernour, who had so bad tongues. His Nephew was Alexander, who darted his Iavelin against his table-guests; who of those two friends which he had (as I told you before) made the one a prey to a Lion, the other to himselfe. But of both these, he that was deliuered to the Lion liued.

CHAP. XXIII.



He had not this vice either from his grandfather or his father: for if there were any other vertue in Philip it was this, that he was patient in all reproaches; which is a mightie instrument for the safetie of a Kingdome. Demochares, who for the libertie and peulancie of his tongue was called Parrhesastes, came vnto him amongst other Athenian Embassadors; and having courteously giuen audience to their embassage, Philip said, *Tell me if I may do any thing that shal be gratefull to the Athenians.* DEMOCHARES vndertook the answer, and said, *Goe and hang thy selfe.* They that stood about him were displeased at so vnhumane an answer, whom Philip commanded to be silent, willing them to dismisse that *Thersites* safe & sound. But you, saith he, the rest of the Embassadors, tell the Athenians that they are more proud that speak thus, then they that heare them spoken without reuenge. AVGVSTVS CAESAR spake, and did many things that were worthe memorie, whereby it appeareth that he was Master of his owne Anger. *Timagines* the writer of Histories had spoken somewhat against himselfe, somewhat against his whole family; neither lost he that which he had spoken, for an audacious kind of iesting is the soonest entertained and divulged by every man. Caesar oft-times gaue him warning hereof, and wilhed him to vse his tongue more moderately, and seeing that he perseuered, he forbad him his house. After that *Timagines* liued till he was very olde, in *Asinius Pollio's* house, beloued of the whole Citie, notwithstanding *Caesars* repulie, euerie mans dores were open to him. Afterwards he recited and burned those Histories which he had written, and cast those bookes into the fire which contained the acts of *Augustus Caesar*: and thus waged he war with *Caesar*. No man for all this refused his friendship, no man fled from him, as though he were blaied: there was alwaies that gaue him entertainment in the height of his disgraces. All these, as I said, *Caesar* endured patiently, neither was he moued there with, notwithstanding that *Timagines* had violatd both his praises and actions. He neuer was displeased with him that entertained his enemy, this only said he to *POLLIO*, *Thou nourishest a beast*; and when he addrest himselfe to giue him an answer, the Emperour pre-

This was Bacch's companion, and the little amongst the Satyres.

The second example of great mildnesse and mercie.

prevented him, and said, *He is at thy command* *POLLIO*, much good doe it thee with him. And when as *Pollio* said, *If thou commandest mee* *CAESAR*, I will presently forbid him my house. What, said he, thinkest thou? I will doe this, who haue reconciled both of you and made you friends? For *Pollio* in times had bene angry with *Timagines*; neither had he any other cause of dislike towards him, but because *Caesar* had entercertayned him.

CHAP. XXIV.



Et every man therefore say vnto himselfe as often as he is prouoked, Am I more powerfull then *Philip*? yet he patiently suffered disgraces without reuenging them. Can I doe more in my private house then *Diuus Caesar* thorow the whole World? yet was he content to locke vp his gates against him that had slandered him. Or why should I for a bold & iesting answer, a proud looke, or the grumbling and vntowardnesse of my slave, expiate his fault with whips and fetters? Who am I that no man dare offend mine eares? Many haue pardoned their enemies, shall not I pardon such as are sluggish, negligent, and branglers? Let age excuse a childe, her sex a woman, liberty a stranger, familiarity a domestick. He offended me but euen now. Let vs bethinke our selues how often he hath contented vs. But oft-times hath he offended otherwise? Let vs endure that which we haue suffered long. He was my friend: he did that which he pretended not. Is he an enemy? He did that which he ought to doe. Shall we endure a Wife-man? let vs pardon a foole. What soeuer befallerh vs, let vs say vnto our selues, that the wisest commit many errors, and that no man is so circumspect whom Anger doth not sometimes take tardie: none so mature and stayed, eyther in his words or actions, whose grauity may not by fortune be drawne into some inconsiderate action: no man so fearefull to offend, that whilst he flyeth from offences, fallerh not into them.

CHAP. XXV.



Even as a poore man taketh comfort in his miserie, when he seeth other great mens Fortune stagger, and with a more temperate minde hath bewayled his sonnes death in a corner of his Chamber, who seeth the wofull Funerals of the Heire of a Kingdome Solemnized and borne forth; so with a more peaceable and contented minde shall hee endure to be harmed and contemned by another man, who soeuer bethinketh himselfe that there is no Potentate so great, who is not, or may not be attempted with iniurie. And if the most wisest doe offend, let vs thinke with our selues that there is no fault which is not excusable. Let vs consider how oftentimes our young yeares haue bene scarce diligent in performing duties, immoderate in speech, scarce temperate in Wine: if any man be angry, let vs giue him time wherein he may consider what he hath done, and he himselfe will reprocue himselfe; in conclusion, he will punish himselfe, yet for all this must not wee be angry. This is vndoubtedly true, that he hath exempted himselfe from common men, and rayled himselfe to an higher degree, that despiteth such as prouoke him. For it is the propertie of true magnitude, not to

What profit a man should take of the precedents examples, and what considerations befit us when we ought to amerce, the better to re-fragre Anger.

A continuation of the profits we gather by the precedent consideration.

feele

feele that he is strooken. So hath a furious beast, stalking along with a seiled pace looked backe on those Dogs that barked at him. So doeth the enraged billowes of the Sea insult in vaine against an immouable rocke. He that is not angry hath neuer bene shaken by iniury, hee that is angry is moued: but hee whom for the present I haue mounted aboue all incommodie, with a certaine embrace entertayneth the chiefest good, being equal not onely to himselfe, but also to Fortune. Whatsoeuer thou doest, thou art not great enough to obscure the brightnesse that enlightneth me. Reason to whom I haue assigned the conduct of my life, defendeth the same. The Anger will hurt me more then the offence; and why? Because there is a certayne measure in the offence, but I know not how farre mine Anger will transport me.

CHAP. XXVI.

*A pertinent answer is that
that allege that
they can endure
nothing, for by
this means they
deprive them-
selves of that ex-
cellent happines
which courage
producelle.*

BVt, sayest thou, I can endure nothing, it is a grievous matter to me to sustayne an iniury. Thou yest: for who cannot endure iniury that can suffer Anger? Furthermore, thou pretendest to charge thy selfe with iniury and Anger both at once. Why sufferest thou the cries of a sick man, the strange speeches of a Lunaticke, and the strokes of thy little children? Forsooth because they seeme to be ignorant of what they doe. What skilleth it by what error any man becometh imprudent, since imprudence is an equal excuse for all those that are tainted therewith? What then, sayest thou, shall hee remayne unpunished? Thinke that thou wouldest, yet it shall not be so: for the greatest chastisement that a man may receiue who hath outraged another, is, to haue done the outrage; and there is no man that is so rudely punished, as he that is subiect to the whip of his owne repentance. Moreover, it behoueth vs to regard and consider the condition of humane affaires, to the end we may bee vpriight Iudges of all accidents. But he is vnjust who vpbraideth a priuate man with that imperfection which is common to all. If a man be black amongst the *Moor*es, or hath a red head, and curled after the manner of the *Almaines*; this is no dishonour to him, but becometh him well. That which is common to a whole Nation, defameth not a particular: but those things that I haue set downe before, depend but on the custome of one country, which is but a little corner of the Earth. Consider therefore whether it bee not an easier matter to excuse it, which is the practice of the whole World. Wee are all of vs inconsiderate and improuident, all of vs vn certaine, irresolute, and ambitious. But why hide I a publike Vicer, vnder milder words? We are all of vs noughts. Whatsoeuer therefore is reprehended in another, that shall euery man find within his owne bosome. Why obseruest thou his bleaknesse of colour, his leanness of body? It is a common plague. Let vs therefore bee more temperate one towards another, we liue euill men amongst euill men: there is one thing onely that can make vs quiet; a mutuall facilitie in conuersation. This man hath now iniured mee, but as yet I haue not harmed him; yet now perhaps hast thou hurt some body, or at least wile thou wilt hurt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.



Eigh not this houre or this day, looke into the whole habite of thy mind, if as yet thou hast done no euill, yet canst thou doe it.

How farre better is it that an iniury should be salued then reuenged? Reuenge consumeth much time, expoleth her selfe to many iniuries whilst he is stung with one. We are all of vs more long time angry then we are hurt; how farre better is it to take another course, and not in this sort to fort vices together? Should a man be thought well in his wits if he should kicke at a Moyle with his heeles that had strooken him, or teare a Dogge with his teeth that had bitten him? These, sayest thou, know not that they offend. First of all, how vnjust is hee who is displeased when men come vnto him to reconcile themselves? Again, if it restrayne thee from being angry with beasts, because they are destitute of reason, in the same ranke number him that doth something without iudgement: for what skilleth it if he resemble not beasts in any other thing? In the fault which excuseth beasts, he sheweth himselfe as brutish as they be. He hath offended; for this is the first, and this is the last. Thou hast no cause to beleue him, although he saith, I will not doe it againe. Thou shalt see that hee will once more offend thee, and another him, and the whole course of life shall bee traualled with errors: wee must handle sauage things courteously. That which is wont to be said in sorrow, may effectually be spoken likewise in Anger. Whether wilt thou giue ouer once or neuer? If once, it is better to leaue off Anger, then to be left by Anger: but if this fault shall alwayes continue, thou seest how vnquiet a life thou denoucest to thy selfe, as it befalleth him who is alwayes swolne vp, and incensed by wrath.

*How much the
consideration of
our owne kinde
hath a-
gainst Anger,
which is the
ninth means to
restrain it.*

CHAP. XXVIII.



Vrthermore, if thou thy selfe seeke not the occasions and meanes to prouoke thine Anger, and if thou enkindlest not thy displeasure, thou shalt see it depart from thee of her owne motion, and time will weaken it daily. How farre better is it for thee that thou shouldest surmount her, then that shee should bee Mistress of thee? Thou art angry now with this man, now with that man, now with thy slaues, anon after with thy francklins, now with thy father or mother, now with thy children, with those of thine acquaintance, then with such as thou hast but newly met withall: for the occasions present themselves in euery place, except a peaceable minde contayne and gouerne vs. Furie will driue thee hither and thither, and as new prouocations shall arise, thy rage shall be continued. Goe to vnhappy man, and when is it that thou wilt loue? O how good time lovest thou in so bad a thing? How farre better were it now to get thee friends, and to mitigate thine enemies? to gouerne the Common-Weale, to transfer thy in deuours to the government of thy Family, then to looke about thee what iniurie thou mayest doe another man? what wound thou mayest inflict eyther on his dignity, or his patrimony, or his body? When as this cannot befall thee without contention and danger, although thou encounter with thine inferior. Although thou see him tyed hand and foot, and that he be in thy power to do with him whatsoeuer thou pleasest; oftentimes it hath bene scene that a man

*The tenth
means, not to
seek any occasi-
on of displeasure*

in

*The cleaueth
consideration,
that we hurt our
felues more then
we doe our ene-
mies.*

in striking another with all his force, hath put his shoulder out of ioynt, or his arme, or hand, or else in biting hath broken his teeth, and spoyled his gummies. Anger hath made many men lame, and hath weakened many; yea, euen then when she hath gotten matter of patience. Adde hereunto, that there is not any thing so feeble in this World, that perishes without putting him in danger that would crush or breake it. Sometimes griele, and sometimes casuality hath matched the strongest with the weakest. And which is more, the most part of those things which moue vs, doe harme vs more then we hurt other men. But there is a great difference whether a man oppose himselfe against my pleasure, or whether he hinder it not; whether he take it from mee, or giue it me not. But we account it all one, whether a man take from vs any thing, or deny vs; whether he cut off our hopes, or differ them: whether he be against vs, or for himselfe; whether for the loue of another man, or the hatred hee beareth vs. But some haue not only iust, but also honest causes to stand against vs. The one defendeth his father, the other his brother, another his vncl, the third his friend. Yet pardon we not those that doe these things, which should they not doe, wee would condemne them: nay more, which is incredible, oft-times we allow of the deed, but condemne the doer.

CHAP. XXIX.

*The wisish, Be-
ware to consid-
thy iudgement
and hate not
him whom thou
praiseth, & least
of all him whose
misery requieth
thine assistance.*

BUT yet assuredly euery great and iust man affectioneth and well respecteth him amongst his enemies, that most valiantly and aduenturously behaueth himselfe for the libertie and conseruation of his Countrey, and wiltheth himselfe such a Citizen and such a Camerado as that is in his dangers. It is a shamefull thing to hate him whom thou prayest, but how farre more shamefull to hate any man, for that for which he is worthy of mercy? If any one being taken Prisoner, retayneth as yet some remainders of his liberty, and sheweth not himselfe so ready in base and troublesome businesse; if hauing thorow idleness gathered so much fat, that he cannot come so swiftly as his Masters Horse or Coach: if wearied with all dayes trauaile he sleepe; if he refuseth to labour in the fields or doth not bestow himselfe so as a stout Pesant should doe, by reason he had liued in a Citie, where he had much ease, and that he is now tyed to a businesse that is tedious and continuall; let vs consider whether he cannot do that which we would require at his hands, or if he will not doe it: wee shall beare with diuers men, if wee endeavour our felues to iudge before we displeased. But now we beleue that which the first assault of our passion buzzeth in our cares; afterwards although we be moued vpon no ground, yet perseuer wee lest wee should seeme to haue begun without any cause, and that which is most damnable, the iniquitie of wrath maketh vs more obstinate. For we nourish and increase the same as if it were an argument of iust Anger, to be grievously angry. How farre better is it to examine the beginnings, and to consider how light and harmlesse they be? That which thou seest fall out in brute beasts, the same shalt thou discover in man, we are troubled with frivulous and vaine things.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.



Red colour exasperateth Bulls, the Aspe is inkindled in the shadow, a white Cloth prouoketh Beares and Lions. All things that Nature hath made fierce and dreadfull are astonishd at a little matter. The same befalleth disquiet and foolish minds. They are strooken with suspicion of things, and in such sort as sometimes they call moderate benefices iniuries, in which the most frequent, yet certainly the most vrgent causes of choler consist. For wee are angry with our dearest friends, because they haue done vs lesse curtesie then we expected, then other men haue done vs; when as there is a present and ready remedy for them both. Hath he fauoured another man more? let vs delight our felues with ours without comparison: he shall neuer be happy, that tormenteth himselfe at another mans felicity. I haue lesse then I hoped for? But haply I haue hoped for more then I ought. This part is most of all to be feared. Hence arise most dangerous displeasures, and such as invade the most holiest and blessed things of the World. *Iulius Cesar* was killed by a greater number of his friends, then of his enemies: whose immeasurable hopes he had not satisfied. Such was his intention, neither euer was there any man that carried himselfe more better, or more liberally, when he became Master of his enemies, for he challenged nothing to himselfe, but the power to distribute; but how could he satisfie so many importunate desires, when as all men desired so much as one man could? Hee saw therefore with naked Daggers, those followers of his about his Throne; and amongst the rest *Tullius Cimber*, who before time had bene an affectionate partaker of his, and those other, who after the death of *Pompey* were become *Pompeians*.

*The thirteenth,
Except thou wilt
become a beast,
be not moued at
frivulous and
vaine matters
as they are accus-
tomed to doe
those are over-
taken by anger.*

CHAP. XXXI.



His very passion hath raised the Subjects against their Prince, and vrged the most faithfull to conspire the death of those, for whom and in whose presence, they had desired in times past to lose their liues. Hee that hath respect to another mans good, neglecteth his owne. And thereupon wee are angry with the gods likewise, because some one man cutteth us off, forgetting our felus how much & how important Envy followeth them at their backs; yet so great is the importunitie of men, that although they haue receiued much, yet suppose they themselves to be indignant, because in their iudgements they are capable of more. Gave he me a Pretorship? but I looked for a Consulship. Gave they me twelue Maces? yet they made me not an ordinary Consul. Would he haue me to vndertake the charge of numbring the yeare? but he failed me in the Election, when I fought for the Pontificall dignitie. Haue I bene brought into the Colledge of Bishops & Augures? but why in company? Hath he consummated my dignitie? but he hath allowed nothing towards my charge and patrimony: He gaue me that which he ought to haue given to another, hee added nothing of his owne. Rather giue thanks for those things which thou hast receiued; expect the rest, and reioyce, because that as yet thou art not full. Amongst all other pleasures, it is no small one, to see that there is somewhat remaining.

*The fourteenth,
Haue more re-
spect to another
mans good, then
to thine owne,
and neuer thinke
that thou hast
obeyned too little.*

mayning, for which thou mayst hope. Hast thou sped better then any other? Reioyce, because thou art the first amongst others that hath thy friends heart. Doe many exceed thee? Consider that the number of those that march after thee, surpasseth those whom thou followest.

C H A P. XXXII.

*The siffernts, to
desert thymself
a little, and take
lesse to con-
sider what com-
mendation the
passion hath over
thee, & where-
upon it is found-
ed.*

Askest thou me what is the greatest vice in thee? Thou forgetst false considerations, thou highly prizest thine owne gifts, and neglectest others. Let one thing deterre vs in another. Let vs be afraid to be angry with some for reverence sake, let vs forbear other, and for pity sake endure other some. Vndoubtedly we shall performe a goodly piece of worke, if we shut our vnhappy slaue in Prison. Why are wee so hasty to beat him: and so sudden to breake his legs? This power will not bee lost, if it be deferred. Let that time come wherein wee may be Masters of our selues. Now speake we out of passion: when thee is quailed, then shall wee see how weightie this debate is. For in this especially are wee deceived. Wee come to Knives, to capitall punishments: and by bonds, imprisonment, and famine, we reuenge the crime which should be chastized by whipping and lighter punishments. How (sayest thou) commandest thou vs to consider, how all those things whereby we seeme to be harmed, are trifling, miserable, and childish? But I for mine own part would perswade nothing more then to take vpon vs a great minde, and to examine how humble and abieft these things bee for which wee quarrell, runne and sweate, and such as are not to bee respected and thought vpon by any man, that thinketh on any high or magnificent matter. There is much brabbling about money, it wearieth the Court of Pleas, it lets the fathers and children together by the eares, it mixeth venomes, it deliuereth swords, as well into the hands of the Executioner, as of the Souldier, it is that is imbrewed with our blood. For it are the Marriage beds of man and wife filled with brawles, for it the Tribunals of Magistrates are ouer-pressed with throng; Kings are enraged and ranfack countryes, and ouerthrow cities, which were builded by the labour of many Ages, to the end that Gold and Silver might be fought out in the albes of the Citie.

C H A P. XXXIII.

*The siffernts,
That all our
good fortune
may be the
liberty we ingly
upon them, and
the hope care a
with them may*

IT pleaseth me to behold those Caskets of money that lye heaped in a corner. These are they for which men weepe out their eyes, for which the iudgement Hals are confused with muttering, for which Iudges being nominated out of remote Countries, sit in iudgement to sentence whether of both parties auarice is most iust. What if it bee not for a Bagge or Casket of money, but for a handfull of Silver, or for a penny borrowed or lent to a mans slaue, an old man without beires and ready to dye, is ready to burst with Anger? what if for lesse then the thousand part of a mans interest, a sickly Vsurer with crooked limbes and lame hands only leise him to number his money, cryeth out, and in the very violence of his acceptions, clamoreth for money to his suerties? If thou bring me forth whatsoeuer money that is currant and vsuall in all kind of Mettals, if thou call

be-

before me whatsoeuer treasure; which Auarice would bury againe after shee had digged it vp, I thinke that all this heape is not worthy to furrow vp the brow of a good man. How much are they to be laughed at, for which we spend so many teares?

C H A P. XXXIV.

Rosecure the rest somewhat further I pray thee, and consider the eating and drinking, and all that proud Equipage that dependeth thereupon, so many labours to keepe the house cleane, so many strokes giuen, so many outrageous speeches, and so many vnsightly countenances, suspitious, rellie lades, idle slaues, wicked reporters of other mens words: for from all these it commeth that in the end some thinke that Nature hath done men wrong, in giuing them the facultie of speaking. Beleeue mee, wee are bitterly angry for such slight things, and for which children are wont to be froward, and to scratch one another. There is nothing serious or great in all that which we do with so much care & thought. Thence groweth your choler and fury, because you esteeme these things great which are nothing. Such an one would haue taken away my goods, that man hauing long time had a good opinion of me, hath finally defamed me, this man would haue corrupted my Minion. That which should bee the linke of loue which is to will one thing, is the cause of Hatred and Sedition.

C H A P. XXXV.

Hey way that is streight moueth quarrell amongst those that passe thorow it. That which is open and large is ouer narrow for Armies that encounter together. These things which you desire because they are small, neither can bee transferred to one except they be taken from another, doe incite quarrels and troubles amongst those that affect the same things. Thou art angry if thy francklin or thy Wife or thy Retayner answer thee, and afterwards thou complainest that the Common Wealth hath lost all libertie, which thou thy selfe hast exterminated out of thine owne house. Again, if thou speake vnto thy Seruant, and he answer thee not, thou termest it disdain and rebellion. Thou wilt haue him speake, thou wilt haue him hold his peace, thou wilt haue him laugh, what, before his Master sayest thou? I, before the father of the Family. Why cryest thou? why chidest thou? what moueth thee in the midst of thy Supper to call for scourges? because thy Seruants talke, or because thy Attendants are not seruiceable, or because no man answers thee? Hast thou no Eares but to heare Musicke, and pleasing Songs and words well fitted and pleasing? Yet must thou heare men laugh, cry, flatter, plead, tell ioyfull and tragical newes, and mens tongues, and the cries of diuers Creatures. Poore man why art thou affrighted at thy Seruants cry, at the tinging of a Balon, at the noise of a doore that is opened and locked? although thou bee so delicate, yet must thou heare the cracke of thunder. That which is spoken of the Eares, may bee transferred to the Eyes, which are no lesse troubled with objects when they are badly addressed: for they are offended at a spot, or soyle, or Sauer Plate badly clen-

D d

f d

A more exact description of this variety of words, which is termed as it were, and things of no moment.

iced, and their tinne Platters; if they shine not at the Sunne. For these eyes that are delighted with nothing but Marble and lasper finely polished, that like no Table except it be of costly Wood, and well carued, which will not fix themselves in the houle, except on these things that are gilded and embossed; without de- res with content enough, behold the rugged and dyrtie wayes, and the most part of those that meete with them badly clothed, and the wals of Cities halfe eaten away, ruined and vnequall.

CHAP. XXXVI.

WHat is the cause then why that which offendeth them not abroad, chafeth and troubleth them thus in their houses, but an equitable and patient opinion in publike, and a crabbiſh and quarrellome disposition at home? All our senses are to be brought to a conformitie. By Nature we are patient, if our mind cease to corrupt vs, which is daily to be drawne vnto an account. This did *Seneca*, that when the day was spent and he retired himselfe to rest, was wont to examine his minde after this manner: What infirmities in thee hast thou healed this day? What vice hast thou resisted? In what part art thou bettered? Anger will cease and become more moderate, if thee knowes that every day thee must appeare before a Iudge. What therefore is more laudable then this custome, to examine our daily actions? What sleepe followeth after this scrutiny? how quiet, pleasing, and free is it, when either the minde is prayed or admonished, and being a watchman and secret censor of himselfe, examineth his defects? I vse this power, and daily plead before my selfe, when the Candle is taken from me, and my Wife holdeth her tongue, being priuie to my custome. I examine the whole day that is past, and ruminate vpon actions and words. I hide nothing from my selfe, I let slip nothing: For why should I feare any of mine errors, when as I may say: See thou doe this no more: for this time pardon thee? In that dispute, thou spakest more rashly, see that hereafter thou contend not with such as are ignorant, they will neuer learne, that neuer learned. Thou hast more freely admonished such an one then thou oughtest, and therefore thou hast not amended him but offended him. In regard of therest, see not only whether it were true which thou spakest, but whether he to whom it was spoken can endure to heare truth.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Good man reioyceth when he is admonished, a wicked man cannot brooke a reproof. At a Banquet some mens bitter Iests and intemperate words haue touched thee to the quicke. Remember to auoyde the vulgar company: after Wine mens words are too laith, and they that are most sober in their Discourses are scarce modest. Thou sawest thy friend displeased with the Porter of a Counsaillers Chamber, or some rich man because hee would not suffer him to enter, and thou thy selfe being angry for this cause growest in Choler with the Cullion. Wilt thou therefore be angry with a chained Dog, who when hee hath barked much will be pacified with a piece of bread? Get farther off him, and laugh. He

The eighteenth,
Giveth suer to
carriage thy in-
sist, and call thy
mind every day
to a reckoning.

The nineteenth,
That it is wrongd,
Is't to continue
in life except
thou refrayne
Choler.

He that keepeth his Masters doore, & seeth the threshold besieged by a troop of Solicitors, thinketh himselfe no small bug; and he that is the Client thinketh himselfe happie in his owne opinion, and beleueth that so hard an access to the Chamber is an euident testimony that the Master of the same is a man of great qualitie and a Favourite of Fortune. But hee remembreth not himselfe that the entry of a Prison is as difficult likewise. Presume with thy selfe, that thou art to endure much. If a man be cold in Winter; if hee vomit at Sea, if he be shaken in a Coach, shall he maruell hereat? The mind is strong and may endure all that wherunto he is prepared. If thou hast bene seated in a place scarce answerable to thine honour, thou hast bene angry with him that stood next thee, or with him that invited thee, or with him that was preferred before thee: Foole as thou art, what matters is, in what place thou art set at the table? A Cullion cannot make thee more or lesse honest. Thou wert displeased to see such an one, because he spake euill of thy behavior. Art thou at that point? by this reckoning then *Ennius* in whole Pectrie thou art no wayes delighted, should hate thee, and *Hortensius* should denounce Warre against thee, and *Cicero* if thou shouldst mocke his Verses, should be at ods with thee.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

When thou sueſt for an office, doest thou not peaceably entertayne those that giue their voyces to the election, although they nominate not thy selfe? Some man hath disgraced thee? what more then *Diogenes* the Stoick was? who discoursing one day very effectually vpon the subiect of Anger, was scornfully spit vpon by a froward yongman; this iniurie entertained he both mildly and wisely: Truly (saith hee) *I am not angry, yet doubt I whether I ought to be angry.* But our friend *Cato* demeaned himselfe better, when as he pleading a cause, *Leptulus* (that factious and seditious fellow in the time of our fore-fathers,) hawking vp from the depth of his stomake a thicke and filthy spittle, blew it right into the midst of his fore-head. For in wiping his face he said no other thing but this: Truly *LEPTVLVS* I will now maintayne it against all men, that they are deceiued, who say thou hast no mouth.

The twentieth
and last, to take
profit by the Ex-
amples of Patience
and Moderation.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Now my *Nonatus* we are already instructed how to gouerne our mindes, if either they feele not wrath, or be superiours ouer it. Let vs now see how we may temper other mens Ire; for not only desire wee to be healthfull our selues, but to heale others. We dare not attempt to moderate and pacifie the first Anger by perswasion: for she is deafe and mad: Wee will giue her some time; remedies are best in the declination of fury; neither wil we attempt her when she is inflamed and intraged, for shee left in striding to quench, wee in kinde the same; the like will we doe in respect of other passions. Repose healeth the beginning of sicknesses. How much (sayest thou) doth thy remedie profit, if it pacifie Anger, when of her selfe she beginneth to be pleased? First, it is the cause that it ceaseth the sooner; then will it keepe her left the fall againe, and shall weaken

and diuert the passion it selfe which hee dare not pacifie. It shall remooue all instruments of reuenge, it shall saine displeasure, to the end that as a helper and companion in her sorrow, it may haue more authority to counsaile her, it shall coynce delays, and whilst shee seeketh greater punishments, deterre the present. It shall by all meanes giue rest and remission to furie; it the be more vehemēt it shall either induce shame or feare in her, against which shee shall not be able to resist, if she be weake, it shall inuent Discourses, eyther gratefull or new and wind her away with a desire of knowledge. It is reported that a Physician when he had a Kings Daughter in cure, and could not periorne the same without the means of a Launcer, that whilst hee gently handled her Pap that was greatly swolne, he conuayed his Launcer into a Spunge, and so opened it. The Mayden had repined should he haue ministred the remedie openly, and she because she suspected it not, suffered the paine.

CHAP. XL.

SOME Diseases are not healed except they be deceived. To one of these thou shalt say, Beware lest thy wrath bee pleasing to thine Enemy: To another, Take heed lest the greatnesse of thy mind, and thy reputed courage in all mens iudgement, be brought in question. Truly I am displeased with him, and that beyond measure, yet must wee stay our time, and wee will be reuenged. Conceale thy displeasure a while whilst thou mayest, and we will pay him home double. But to checke him that is angry, and to oppose thy selfe against him, is to cast Oyle on the fire. Thou shalt attempt him diuers wayes, and after a friendly manner, except haply thou be so great a person, that thou mayst diminish his wrath, as *Augustus Caesar* did when he supped with *Vedius Pollio*; one of the Seruants had broken a crystall glasse, whom *Vedius* commanded to be carried away, and to be punished by ordinary death: for he commanded him to be throwne amongst his Lampries, which were kept in a great Fish-pond. Who could otherwise think but that he did it to entertayne his excessiue pleasure? The boy escaped out of their hands, and fled to *Caesars* feet, desiring nothing else but that he might dye otherwise, and not be made meate for Fishes. *Caesar* was moued with the nouelty of the cruelty, and commanded him to be carryed away, yet willed that all the crystall Vessells should be broken in his presence, and that the Fishpond should be filled vp. So thought *Caesar* good to chastise his friend, and well did he vse his power. Commandest thou men to be dragged from the Banquet, and to be tortured by new kinds of punishment? If thy cup be broken shall mens bowels be rent in pieces? Wilt thou please thy selfe so much as to command any man to death where *Caesar* is present?

CHAP.

How by words
will a quick, or
by authority we
may haue our
men, which may
be pacified.

CHAP. XLI.

THUS ought we to oppose our selues against a powerfull person, to the end that from a more eminent place a man may assaile a wrath that is intractable, and such an one as this whereof I lately told you, fierce, cruell, bloody, which could not now receiue any cure, but by the feare of a thing more greater then it selfe. Let vs giue repose vnto our minds, which we shall doe if wee meditate continually vpon the Precepts of Wisdome, and the acts of vertue, and likewise whilst our thoughts desire nothing but that which is honest. Let vs satisfie our conscience, let vs doe nothing for vaine glorie sake, let thy fortune be euill, so thine actions be good. But the World admireth those that attempt mightie matters, and audacious men are reputed honourable, and peaceable are esteemed sluggards. It may be vpon the first sight, but as soone as a well-gouerned life sheweth that it proceedeth not from the weaknesse, but the moderation of the mind, the people regard and reuerence them. So then this cruell and bloody passion is not profitable in any sort, but contrariwise, all euils, fire, and bloud feed her: shee treadeth all modestly vnder foot, imbroweth her hands with infinite murders; she it is that teareth children in sunder, and scattereth their limbes here and there; she hath left no place void of haynous villanies, neither respecting glorie, nor fearing infamie; incurable, when of wrath shee is hardned and conuerted into hatred.

Now addresseth
he himselfe to
exhortation, per-
suading vs to a
most sure.

CHAP. XLII.

LET vs abstayne wholly from this vice, let vs purge our mind & pull vp those passions that are rooted in it, whose hold-fast be it neuer so little, will spring againe whereforever it is fastened; and let vs not onely moderate our Anger, but wholly root it out, and driue it from vs. For what temper is there in an euil thing? But we may, if so bee wee will endeavour; neither will any thing profit vs more then the thought of mortality. Let euery one say vnto himselfe, as if it were vnto another, What helpeth it vs, as if we were borne to liue euer, our selues rise vp to breake others? It will not be long but either a feuer, or some other infirmity of the bodie will preuent these hatreds which wee hatch in our implacable mindes. Behold death at hand, that will part these two mortall Enemies. Why tempest we? Why so seditiously trouble we our life? Death hangeth ouer our heads, and daily more and more layes hold on him that is dying. That very time which thou destinest to another mans death, shall be the neere to thine owne.

The continu-
ation of those per-
suasions which
are easie to be
profited, especi-
ally if we consi-
der the swiftness
and incertaintie
of our liues.

Ddd 3

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

*The conclusion,
wherein he ad-
monisheth the
reader to be
patient in
the face of
adversities, and
the evils that are
caused by Anger.*

Why rather makest thou not vse of this short time of thy life, by making it peaceable both to thy selfe and others? Why rather endurest thou not thy selfe in all mens loue whilest thou liuest, to the end that when thou dyest thy losse may be lamented? And why desirest thou to put him lower, whose authorities is too great for thee to contend against? Why seekest thou to crush and terrifie that bale and contemptible fellow that barketh at thee, and who is so bitter and trouble some to his Superiors? Why fittest thou at thy seruant? thy Lord? thy King? Why art thou angry with thy Clyent? Beare with him a little, behold death is at hand which shall make vs equals. We were wont to laugh (in beholding the combats which are performed on the sands in the morning) to marke the conflict of the Bull and Beare when they are tyed one to another, which after they haue tyed one another, the Butcher attendeth for them both to driue them to the slaughter-house. The like doe we, wee challenge him that is coupled with vs, we charge him on euery side, meane while both the conquered & the Conquerour are nere vnto their ruine. Rather let vs finish that little remainder of our life in quiet and peace, and let not our death be a pleasure to any man. Oft-times they that were together by the eares haue forsaken their strife, because that during their debate, some one hath cryed Fire that was kindled in a Neighbours house, and the enteruew of a wild beast hath diuided the thiefe and the Merchant. We haue no leisure to wrestle with lesser euils, when greater feare appeareth. What haue we to doe with fighting and ambushes? Dost thou wish him with whom thou art displeased, any more then death? Although thou sayest nothing to him he shall dye; thou lovest thy labour, thou wilt doe that which will be done. I will not, sayest thou, forthwith kill him, but banish, disgrace, or punish him. I pardon him rather that desireth his enemy should be wounded, then scabbed; for such a man is not onely badly but basely minded: whether it be that thou thinkest of death or any one more slight euil, there is but a very little difference betwixt the day of thy desire, & the punishment which such an one shall endure, or till the time thou shalt reioyce with an euill conscience at the miseries of another man: for euen now, while wee draw our breath we driue our spirit from vs. Whilst we are amongst men, let vs embrace humanity, let vs be dreadfull or dangerous to no man; let vs conferme detriments, iniuries, slanders, and garboyles, and with great minds followe short incommo dities; whilst we looke behind vs, as they say, and turne our selues, behold death doth presently attend vs.

The end of SENECAES three Bookes of Anger.



A DISCOURSE OF CLEMENCIE:

Written by
**LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,
TO NERO CESAR.**

The first Booke.

The Argument of IYSTVS LIPSIVS.

These Bookes were written in the beginning of NEROES reigne, which he himselfe manifestly proueth in his first Booke and ninth Chapter, whereas he writeth that he was entred into the nineteenth yeare of his age. And vndoubtedly both the words and matter are worthy of a Prince, and I would to God they would reade the same, and from thence gather the fruits of mercie and magni tude. He beginneth with NEROES praise, and that deservedly, for his beginnings were moderate. Afterwards, in the third Chapter, he diuideth his writings into three parts: the one of Manu dition, the other which explicated the nature of Clemencie. Thirdly, what leadeth men therunto, and firmeth them. All the whole first Booke imtreatheth thereof, and in the forefront he setteth downe the profit of Clemencie, and how greatly it becometh Kings. That Clemencie well becometh them, because they are the heads of the Commonweale, and we are the bodie and members. But who is he that spareth not and nourisheth not his bodie? And that he is necessarie also where there are many offenders, whom if thou punishest alwayes, thou makest the Commonweale a solitude. By the example of the gods, who spare vs. Likewise in regard of fame, because Kings actions are the objects of all mens eyes, and the least crueltie is too long. By their securitie, for they that gouerne thus are more secure, and he annexeth some notable actions of AVGVSTVS. Contrariwise, in tyrants, who worke their owne destructions by crueltie, hatreds, and perils. But a Prince doth therefore punish seldom, mildly and temperately, with the minde, and after the example of Parents; and that moderation is fitly used in Schooles, Campes, amongst beasts and seruants: yea, it is used by nature, by the example of Bees, whose King hath hath no sting. But now a Prince when he punisheth, either punisheth for his owne or another mans cause: in his owne cause he ought not to be rigorous, because he liueth in so high a fortune that he needeth not the solace of reuenge: not in anothers mans cause, but according

ding to the Law, to amend them, or to make other better or more secure. And all these things the seldomness of punishment will effect; they that are often, are set light by, and are despised. In the hunting up he fetcheth downe the detestation of cruelty, and the mischiefs and overthrowes that grow by her.

C H A P. I.



NERO CAESAR, I have determined to write of Clemencie, to the end that in some sort I may serue thee for a mirrour, and shew thee to thy selfe, in such sort, as thou mayest receive a perfitt contentment thereby: for although the true fruit of vertuous actions be to have done them, and that without vertues themselves there is no recompence whatsoever, that is wortheie of themselves; yet there is a certaine pleasure to examine and visite a good conscience every way, and then to fixe a mans eyes vpon this infinite multitude, turbulent, seditious, passionate, that bathe themselves willingly in other mens bloods, yea, in their owne, if they haue broken the yoke that restraineth them; and to speak thus in himselfe to himselfe: I am he amongst all other mortall men, who haue beene agreeable to the gods, and whom they haue chosen for their Lieutenant vpon the earth. I haue the power of life and death ouer all nations. It lyeth in my hands to dispose the estate and condition of euery man; Fortune pronounceth by my mouth that which she intendeth, that euery man shall haue and possesse in this life: whole Nations and Cities conceiue occasion of reioice by my commandments. There is no Nation whatsoever, that flourisheth not by my good will and fauour; vpon the least inking I shall giue, so many thousands of swords, which haue beene sheathed by my peace, shall be drawne againe. It is in my power to ordaine what Nations shall be exterminated, which shall be transported from one country to another, which infranchised, or made subiect; what Kings shall be conquered, and whose heads shall be adorned with the royall wreath; what Cities shall be ruined, and what builded. Being thus possessed of so great power, neither hath wrath, nor youthly heate, neither folly or insolence of men, which haue often made the most temperate to lose their patience, neither the proud deligne to make shew of my power, in causing other men to leare, (a glorie too frequent amongst such as are Monarches) hath neuer enforced mee to chastise or put any man to death wrongfully. My sword is hidden, nay more, kept in the sheath. The blood of my meanest subiects is carefully spared by me. Although a man haue many imperfections, yet in regard he is a man, he is gracious in mine eyes: my severity is hidden, and my Clemencie apparent. Such a watch haue I ouer my selfe, as if I were to yeeld an account to the lawes (which from obscuritie I haue brought to light) of all mine actions. I haue pardoned one by reason of his youth, another because he was old, that man because of his magistracie, that other for his obscuritie: and when in those that were faultie, I found not any occasion of mercie, I bare with them for the loue of my selfe. If the immortall gods summon me this day to yeeld vp my reckoning, I am readie to account for the whole world. Caesar thou mayest boldly speake this, that of all those things which thou hast imbraced

How requisite it is for the great men of this world to studie how to moderate their minde, which they may doe the better, if they meditate wisely preeminence they haue above other men.

ced vnder thy protection and safe-guard, thou hast taken nothing from the Common-wealth, either by violence or cunning. Thou hast wished and purchased innocence, which is a praise very rare, and such as yet hath not bin granted to any Prince. Thou lokest not thy paines, and this thy singular bountie hath not met with ingratefull or misconceiuing subiects. Each one acknowledgeth the good thou hast done them. Neuer was man so beloued by another, as thou art by the Romane people, whose great and continuall felicitie thou art. But thou hast laide a waightie burthen on thy shoulders. No man speaketh more now of the former yeares, either of the Empire of Augustus or Tiberius. Neyther seeke they any patterne besides thy selfe, whereby they may gouerne their life. One yeare of thy gouernement sheweth that which we hope for in the yeares that follow, which would hardly be imagined, if this thy bounty were borrowed for a time, but is naturall. For no man can long time conceale his imperfections, and the actions suddenly discouer what the hidden nature is. Those things that contain verity, and which grow from that which hath some firmitie in it, increase, and from time to time waxe better and better. The Romane people were verie much perplexed whilst they stood in expectation, whereunto thy generous nature would apply it selfe at the first. Now are all mens desires accomplished and assured; for it is not to be feared that thou wilt forget thy selfe suddenly. Too much felicitie maketh men ouergreedy; neither are desires at any time so tempered, that they stay themselves vpon that good which is besale them. Euery one ascendeth from great vnto greater, and they that haue attained such things as they hoped not for, embrace strange designs: yet all thy Citizens doe now confesse that they are happy, and that nothing can be added to their felicitie, except it should be perpetuall. Many things cause them to conesse thus much, namely, their great and assured repose, with all the commodities of life, which is a good which befalls a man very hardly, and vpon the end of his yeares. Besides all this, a iustice placed aboue all iniurie. They represent vnto themselves, and see an excellent forme of publike gouernement, which containeth all that which is requisite to establish a perfect libertie, provided, that it be seconded by a continuall diligence. But principally both great and little are rauished, in considering thine affabilitie, so equall and answerable to all mens expectations. For, as touching thine other vertues, euery one partaketh them according to the proportion of his fortune, and expecteth more or lesse of thy larges; but all of them in generall depend vpon thy Clemencie: neither is there any one so assured in his innocence, that had not rather prostrate himselfe before thy Clemencie, which is so readie to excuse and winke at euery mans faults.

C H A P. II.



BVt I know there are some that think that Clemencie emboldneth those men that are most wicked, because it standeth in no stead, except it be after that the fault is committed, and this vertue only cealeth amongst those that are innocent. But first of all, euery one the vse of Physique is as honourable amongst the sicke, as it is amongst the whole; so although the nocent cry vpon Clemencie, yet the innocent forbear not to reuerence it. Moreover, Clemencie hath place in the person of those that are innocent, because the quality of the persons putteth them

Although the mercie and benignitie of Princes, for wither such as a. guiltie in especially, yet both the innocent & vertuous are a propit therby.

in danger; and Clemencie not onely affisteth the innocent, but oftentimes vertue likewise, by reason that the times may become such, that such things may be oppressed and punished, which should be praised. Moreover, a great part of men may grow to an amendment in their lines; yet must we not alwaies pardon the greater number that offend. For where the difference betwixt good and bad men is taken away, there followeth a confusion and a breaking forth of errors. There must therefore be some moderation practised that knoweth how to distinguish good minds from reprobate; neither ought a Prince to have a confused & vulgar, neither too restrained Clemencie: for it is as great cruelty to pardon all, as to pardon none. We must hold a meane; but because moderation is hard to be observed, whatsoever is like to be more then equity requirith, must incline more to humanitie then rigor.

CHAP. III.

BUt these things shall more fitly be decided in another place: for the present I will divide this matter into three parts. The first shall serue for a Preface or Induction. The second shall expresse the nature and habitude of Clemencie: for whereas there are vices that counterfeite vertues, they cannot be distinguished except thou set downe some markes whereby they may be knowne. Thirdly, we will enquire how the minde attaineth to this vertue, how he fortifieth himselfe thereby, and by vse maketh her his owne. But it must needes appeare that of all other vertues there is none more conuenient for man, because there is none more humane then it: and not onely amongst vs Stoicks, who maintaine that a man is a sociable creature, and is made for the common good of others; but also amongst those that giue men ouer to pleasure, all whose speeches and actions tend to their particular profit. For if a man seeke for repose and idleness, he hath found in Clemencie a vertue agreeable to his nature, which loueth peace, and restraineth the hand. But of all others, Clemencie becommeth no man more then it doth a Prince: for so is great power honourable and full of glorie in great Potentates, if they vse it for the comfort of many; as contrariwise force is pernicious that serueth to no other end but to offend others. A man cannot sufficiently expresse how firme and well grounded his greauesse is, whom all men know to be as much for them, as he is more highly raised aboue them; whom they obserue to keepe continuall watch for the safetie of them all in common, and of euery one in particular; vpon whose approach they runne not away, as if any euill neered them, or that some cruell beast broke out from his den, but they flocke and runne vnto him, as to a gracious and shining Sunne, readie and addrested to aduenture vpon their weapons who haue plotted treasons against him, and to make a bridge of their bodies for him, if for the conseruation of his life it were needfull for him to march vpon the bodies of men that were mangled and cut in pieces. They watch about him during the time that he sleepeth: by day time they inuiron his person on euerie side, and lest any one should hurt him, they expose themselves to all dangers for him, whatsoever they be that present themselves. This consent of Nations and Cities, in louing and maintayning their Kings, and employing their body and goods in defence of a Princes life, is grounded vpon good reason. Neither is this balenefic and madnesse in them for one man, yea, and he sometimes old and

Division of the
Booke.

and decrepit, in so many thousands to attempt vpon the points of their enemies weapons, and to redeeme one soule by the death of many, and that one, an old and weake man sometimes. Euen as the whole bodie serueth the soule, and by meanes thereof seemeth more great and of fairer appearance, whereas the soule contrariwise, lyes hid and inuisible, without any certaine knowledge in what place it remaineth; and yet notwithstanding the hands, the feete, the eyes do serue the same, the skin as her bulwarke defendeth her, and the it is that stayeth or maketh vs runne hither or thither at her pleasure; so that if she be couerous, we trauel whole seas to become rich; if ambitious, we presently offer our right hands to be burned, or we voluntarily leap into the fire: so this infinite multitude which inuiron one onely soule, is gouerned by the same, and guided by reason it selfe, which would otherwise depresse and oppresse her owne forces, except she were sustained by his counsaile.

An excellent
comparisou.

CHAP. IV.

They therefore loue their owne safetie, when as for one man they leade ten legions to the battell, when they runne resolutely to the charge, and present their breasts to be wounded, to the end their Emperours colours should not be taken. For he it is that is the bond, whereby the Commonwealth is fastened together; he is that vitall spirit by which so many thousands liue: of her selfe she should be nothing but a burden and prey, if so be the soule of the Empire were taken from her.

The loue be-
tweene Prince
and subject is
the maintenance
of an estate.

*The King in safetie, all men liue in peace;
The King once lost, then faith and truth doth cease.*

Such an accident shall extinguish the peace of Rome, this shall bring the fortune of so great a people vnto ruine. So long shall this people be freed from this danger, as long as she knoweth how to indure gouernment, which gouernment if at any time she shall shake off, or hauing cast it off by any casualty, shall refuse to vndergoe again, this vnity and contexture of so great an Empire, shall be diuided into many parts, and euen then shall Rome cease to command when she refuseth and neglecteth to obey. It is not therefore to be wondered at that we loue Princes, Kings, and Tutors of publikes States (by what name soeuer they be called) more then our priuate familiars. For if men of the best iudgement doe thinke that that which concerneth the Commonwealth is of greater importance then that which toucheth their owne particular, it followeth that he, vpon whose safetie the whole Commonwealth hath an eye, should be more deereley loued then any other. In time past, *Cesar* so vnited and enbodied himselfe in the Commonwealth of Rome, that the one might not be separated from the other without the ruine of them both; for as he had neede of forces, so had they of a head.

To gouerne well
and to obey well
are the two
newes of an
estate.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

By the familiarity
of the head and
members, that
Clemencie is
wholly necessary
to a Prince, since
their subjects ex-
pose themselves
to all dangers
for them.



T seemeth that this my Discourse is estranged too farre from mine intended purpose, but to speake the truth, it neerly concerneth the matter. For if it be as we may truly conclude, that thou art the soule of the Common-wealth, and she the bodie; Thou seest, as I thinke, how necessary Clemencie is: for thou seemest to spare thy selfe when thou sparest others. Thou oughtest therefore to beare with euill subiects, no otherwise then thou wouldst doe with languishing members; and if sometimes there be need of blood-letting, take heed lest the veine be opened more largely then the sicknesse requireth. Clemencie therefore, as I said, is agreeable vnto all mens nature, but especially it best becometh Princes, because in them she findeth more people to preserve, & a greater matter wherein to shew her selfe. For how little hurteth a private crueltie? But Princes displeasure is a warre. But whereas amongst all vertues there is a certaine concord and agreement, neither is the one more better or more honest then the other, yet are there some vertues that are more fit for some persons. Magnanimity becometh every mortall man, yea, euen he that is the most base and abjectest man of the world. For what is greater and more manly then to repulse aduerser fortune? Yet this magnanimity sheweth it selfe more amply in greater fortune, and appeareth more powerfull in the Tribunall, then nere the earth. Into whatsoever house Clemencie commeth, she maketh the same more peaceable; but in the Palace the rarer it is, the more wonderfull it is: for what is more wonderfull then he against whose wrath nothing can make head, to whose seuer sentence euen they that are condemned giue consent; whom no man will question with, why he did this, nay, if he be extraordinarily angry, dare intreat for any thing, to lay hold on himselfe, and to vse his power more mercifully and mildly, and to thinke this in his heart, no man can kill contrary to law, no man can pardon but my selfe? A great mind becometh a great fortune, and if he mounteth not himselfe as high as she is, and if he rayle not himselfe about her, he embraceth her likewise, and bringeth her to the ground. But it is the property of a great mind to be pleasing, peaceable, settled, despising all iniuries and offences, as being raised to a higher estate. It is a womanish quality to be enraged with wrath, and after the manner of wild beasts (and they not the most generous) to bite and trample downe those that are vnder their feet. Elephants and Lions passe by those whom they haue murdered & cast down. Those beasts that haue no noble heart are the most obstinate. Inexorable and cruell Anger becometh not a King: for he is not verie much eminent above him, with whom by reason of displeasure, he maketh himselfe equall; but if he giue pardon, but if he giue dignitie to those that haue endangered and deserved to lose their estates, he doth that which no man else can do, except he that hath power and principallity: for life is often taken from him that is a superior, but neuer giuen to him that is an inferior. To saue is the property of an excellent fortune, which may neuer more be wondered at, then when he hath gotten the opportunity to doe that which the gods doe, by whose benefit both good and euill men are borne into this world. That Prince therefore that taketh vpon him the mind of the gods, let him willingly entertaine some of his subiects because they are good and profitable, leaue the rest as men to make vp the number, let him reioyce that some are, and other some let him suffer.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.



Hinke what solitude and desolation there would bee in this Citie (in which a world of people going and comming incessantly by the spacious streets cease not to trouble one another as oftentimes as something hindereth their walke, which is as a violent torrent which a man would stay, in which three streetes are requisite at one time for three Theaters, and in which as much corne is consumed as is gathered in many countries) if a man should leaue none but such as a seuerer Iudge would absolue. Who is he amongst the receiuers & treasurers that shall get his *Quietus est*, if he be as strictly examined as he doth others? Is there euer an accuser without a fault? And I know not whether there bee any man more difficult to giue pardon then hee that hath often deferred to begge the same. We are all faulty, the one more, the other lesse; the one of deliberate purpose, the other being driuen thereunto by aduenture, or drawne by other mens wickednesse. Sometimes we haue not constantly perswaded in one good resolution, and haue lost our innocence with griefe, and in spite of our selues; neither only for the present doe we amisse, but vntill the last houre of our life, we shall be still full of sinne. Although a man hath so well purged his minde that nothing can trouble or deceiue him any more, yet by sinning he attaynted his innocency.

CHAP. VII.



Because I haue made mention of the gods, behold here an excellent patterne which I present vnto a Prince, to conforme himselfe therunto (that is to say) that hee deale with his subiects in such sort as he would haue the gods to deale with him: were it expedient for vs that the gods should neuer excuse or pardon our faults, but that they should persecute vs with all rigour? Should there any great Prince in this World be found who should liue in assurance, and whose members the *Aruspices* should not gather vp? But if the mercifull and iust gods punish not the faults of mightie men by confounding them by lightning, how much more iust is it, that a man who hath the charge ouer men should exercise his Empire with mercifull minde, and thinke whether the state of the World be more gracious or fairer to the eye, in a faire and bright day, or when as all things are shaken with thunder-cracks, and lightnings flash on euery side. But one and the same is the estate of a quiet and moderate Empire, as of a faire and shining heauen. A Kingdome where crueltie reigneth may be compared to a troublesome and obscure time, vnder which euery one trembleth and waxeth pale, by reason of the sodaine crackes of thunder, and where he that troubleth others is as wonderfully troubled for his owne part. We pardon those private men more easily, who reuenge themselves obstinately, for they may bee hurt, and their sorrow commeth from iniury. Besides, they feare contempt, and not to reuenge an iniury, seemeth rather to be an infirmity then Clemencie. But hee that may easily reuenge, and yet forbears the same, obtaineth a certaine commendation of mercie. Men of base qualitie may more freely exercise their hands, contest, strue, and giue libertie to their passion. The strokes betwixt e-

Eee

quals

crueltie dispo-
seth cities and
countries, mercy
maketh them
inmate.

A most strong
reason to per-
swade Princes
to be mercifull
to their subiects.

quals are light, but exclamation and too much intemperance in words, ill becometh Maistie.

CHAP. VIII.

THinkst thou it a grieuous matter, that the libertie of speech should be taken from Kings, and permitted to inferiours? This, saiest thou, is a seruitude and not an Emperie. But their condition is different, who lie hidden in communitie which they exceede not, whose vertues appeare not but struggle long time, and whose vices lie hidden in obscuritie. But common report awakeneth your actions and wordes, and therefore there are no men that should be more carefull of their reputations; of whom men speake much, and in diuers places, whether they doe well or euill. How many things are there which are vnlawfull for thee, but permitted vs by thy benefit? I may walke alone in any part of the Citie without feare, although I be accompanied by no man, and no man attend me from home, and without any sword by my side; but in the fulnesse of thy peace thou must liue armed. Thou canst not wander from thy Fortune, shee will besiege thee, and whither fouer thou goest a great traine will follow thee. Behold whereunto soueraigntie is subiect, it cannot become lesse; but this necessitie is common to thee with the gods. For they are tyed vnto heauen, it is not permitted them to descend from thence, neither is it secure for thee to descend from the throne of thy greatnesse. Thou art nayled to thy greatnesse. Few men know our designes and businesse, wee may goe forth and returne and change our fashion without any publike note taken of vs. Thou canst no more be hidden then the Sunne. A great brightnesse inuironeth thee round about, towards which all men bend their eyes. Thinkst thou that thou comest forth? no, thou risest like the Sunne. Thou canst not speake but all the people of the world vnderstand and marke what thou saist. Thou canst not be angrie but all men tremble. Thou canst not afflict any man, but all that are about thee shake for feare. Euen as the lightnings fall to few mens perill but to all mens feare, so the chastisements of mightie Potentates are more full of feare then of euill, and not without cause. For in him that can doe, all men consider not what hee doth, but what hee may doe. Moreover patience maketh those private men disposed to indure those iniuries that are offered them easily enough; but Clemencie is a more assured safegard to great men. Because a frequent reuenge represseth the hatred of a few men, but prouoketh infinite others. The will to reuenge ought sooner to faile then the cause. Otherwise as the trees that are pruned, spread forth in many more branches, and many kinds of plants are cut to the end they may grow more thicker, so the cruelty of a King increaseth the number of his enemies in extinguiishing them. For the Parents and Children, the Allies and Friends succcede in their place who are slaine.

CHAP.

*Alte amice
here.*

CHAP. IX.



Ow true this is I will admonish thee by a domestique example. *Cæsar Augustus* was a mercifull Prince, if any man shall estimate him, from that time he vnderooke the Empire (although in the common calamitie of the Common weale, his sword was vn-sheathed.) When as he had growne to those yeeres of age whereunto thou hast now attained, and had gotten nineteene yeeres on his backe; and had hidden his dagger in the bosome of his friends, laid ambushes to defeat *Marke Antonie* the Consull, being one of the Confederates in the Triumvirate; about the fortieth yeere of his age, and being resident in France, there was tidings brought vnto him, that *Lucius Cynna* a man of weake iudgement had conspired and plotted treason against him. It was told him where, when, and how he should be attempted, by one of those who was a partie in the confederacie. Whereupon he resolved to reuenge himselfe vpon him, and caused a counsell of his friends to be assembled. He took no rest that night, where as he thought with himselfe, how he should put a young Gentleman to death, of Noble parentage, and who but for this one fault was vpright enough: and besides *Cneius Pompeius* Nephew. Now could he not execute one man alone, because at supper time hee had discovered to one that was called *Anthonie*, the whole edict of the proscription: Grieving therefore and disquiet in mind, he vttered diuers speeches, and each of them contrary the one vnto the other: what then (saith he) Shall I suffer him that would murder me to walke at his pleasure, and shall I liue perplexed? Shall he remaine unpunished, who not only hath resolved to kill me, but to sacrifice me (for their intent was to assaile him at a sacrifice) who haue bin assailed in vaine by so many ciuill warres, and attempted by so many battels both by Sea and Land? After some pause and silence he exclaimed againe more violently against himselfe, then against *Cynna*, and said Why liuest thou, if thy death be profitable and pleasing to so many? when shall I see the end of so many punishments? is there not blood enough shed yet? my head is the mark wherat so many yong Roman gentlemen's swords are aimed. Is my life so deere vnto mee that for the consecration thereof, so many soules should perishe? At last *Liua* his wife interrupting his discourse, said vnto him: Will you vouchsafe a womans counsaile? Doe that which Phylitians are accustomed to doe: who when as vsuall remedies take no effect, doe attempt the contrary: hitherto thou hast profited nothing by severity. After *Salustianus* thou hast ruinated *Lepidus*, after *Lepidus* *Murena*, after *Murena* *Cepio*, after *Cepio* *Ignatius*, without reckoning vp therell, whose impious and impudent attempts make mee ashamed. Now make thou triall what thy mercie will profit thee. Pardon *Lucius Cynna*, his treason cannot be denied; he cannot hurt thee now, but may increasethy renowne. *Cæsar* being glad, that he had met with such an aduocate, gaue his wife thanks, and presently discharging those friends he had called to counsaile, he caused *Cynna* alone to be called vnto him, and commanding all the rest out of the Chamber, after hee had willed them to set *Cynna* a chaire fast by him, hee beganne thus: This first of all doe I require at thy hands, that thou interrupt me not, neither that thou exclaime in the midst of my discourse, hereafter thou shalt haue liberty to speake. Thou knowest *Cynna*, that hauing found thee in mine enemies Campe, and knowne thee not only to be a suggested, but a born enemy vnto me, how I saved thy life, and restored

*The great wisdom
of Liua.*

Ecc 2

thee to all thy patrimonie. At this day thou art so happie, and so rich, that the Conquerours beare enuie against thee, that were conquered when thou wast a sutor for the Pontifice, I gaue it thee neglecting diuers others whose Parents had attended me in my warres. Having thus and so well deferred at thy hands, thou hast resolved to murder mee. When as *Cynna* began to crie out, that such madnesse was farre from him, *Augustus* said him and said: Thou keepst not thy promise with me *Cynna*: for it was agreed betwene vs that thou shouldest not interrupt me. I tell thee thou preparest to kill me, he told him the place, the confederates, the day, and the order of the ambush, and who was the man should strike the stroke. And when he perceived him troubled, and not only silent because he had promised to be so, but because hee was guilty. With what minde, said he, dost thou this? To the end that thou thy selfe maist be Emperour? Truly the Common-weale should be hardly incombred, if none but I were the let of thine authority and dignitie. Thou canst not gouerne thine owne house. Of late a frankling of thine hath had the credit to condemne thee in iustice for particular affaires. Is this the easiest businesse thou canst undertake to contest and contend with *Cesar*? Take it to thee, if I bee the onely man that hinder thy hopes, I surrender it. *Paulus, Fabius Maximus*, the *Cossis* and *Scruilians*, and so many gentlemen of value, and Children of such worthie persons, that doe honour to their Statues, thinkest thou they will endure thee? But least in repeating his Oration, I should fill vp the greater part of this volume, who was well knowne to haue debated with him for the space of two whole houres, after he had long time discoursed vpon that punishment where-with he would content himselfe, he added: Well *Cynna*, once more I giue thee thy life, before times as to mine enemy, now as to a Traitor and a Parricide. From this day forward let friendship bee continued betwene vs, and let vs strue to the vttermost to make it knowne, whether I haue giuen thee thy life with a better heart, or thou accepted the same with a more assured thankfulness. After all this of his owne accord, and vnasked, he gaue him the Consulship, complaying of him that hee durst demand nothing, so that euer after *Cynna* was a most affectionate and faithfull seruant of his, and made him his heire, and neuer after this did any man conspire against *Augustus*.

The effect and
fruits of mercy.

CHAP. X.



Hy great grand-father gaue them life whom hee overcame, for had he not pardoned them, ouer whom should hee haue had gouernment? *Salust*, the *Coccians*, the *Duillians* and all the Souldiers of the first company of his Gard had borne Armes against him, notwithstanding he inuouled them, & chose them to be the nearest about his person. The *Domitians*, *Messalaes*, *Asinians*, and *Cicerones*, and all the most famous personages in *Rome* were indebted to his clemencie. How long time bare he with *Lepidus*? he suffered him for many yeers to walke with that Equipage that became a Prince, and would not suffer the Office of high Bishop to be transferred vnto him, except it were after his death, for hee had rather that it should be gilled an honour then a spoile. This Clemencie of his brought him to that securitie and felicitie which hee enioyed, this made him gratefull and gracious in all mens eyes, although he had laid holde on the Common-weale, who as yet knew not what it was to endure the yoke of sub-

jection,

Other testimo-
nies of Augu-
stus his mercy.

jection, such a name at this day doth this mercy of his giue him, that other Princes will hardly obtaine during their liues. We beleue him to bee a god, not by any decree or ordinance: we confesse that *Augustus* was a good Prince, we acknowledge him well worthy of the name of the father of his countrey, for no other cause then for this, that hee reuenged not those contumelies that were offered him (and which in Princes eares are wont to sound most harshly) no more then he did his actual inuities, for that he smiled at reprochfull speeches that were offered him, for that he seemed to punish himselfe when he persecuted others; for that whomsoever hee had condemned for the adulteries of his daughter, he was so farre from executing them, that in their dismissal, and for their better securitie he gaue them passports, and safe conducts. This is truly called pardoning, that when thou knowest that there are diners that are addressed to be angrie for thee, and gratifie thee if thou hast caused any to be put to death, thou not only contentest thy selfe to giue life, but also procurest that he to whom thou hast giuen it be maintayned and conserued.

CHAP. XI.



Hus *Augustus* behaued himselfe when hee was olde, or at leastwise when olde age began to seize vpon him: In his youth hee was hote, wrathfull, and did many things which he neuer lookt backe vnto without remorse. No man dare compare *Augustus* courteous to thy Clemencie, although he equall thy young yeeres with his more then mature age. Suppose that he were moderate and mercifull after he had dyed the *Silian* Seas with bloud of Romanes, sunke in the *Sicilian* both his owne and forraigne ships, sacrificed a great number of men vpon the Altars of *Perusa*, and caused many multitudes of men to be put to death in the time of the Triumvirate. But I call not this Clemencie, but wearied cruelty. The true clemencie and mercie, O *Cesar*, is that which thou shewest, which hath not begun with the repentance of cruelty, thine is not soyled, thou hast neuer shed the bloud of *Romane* Cittizens. This in a Prince is the true temperance of a minde, and an incomprehensible loue towards mankind, not to be enkindled with any desire or rashnesse, not to be corrupted by the example of former Princes, nor to weigh how farre his authority may extend ouer his subiects, but to dull the edge of the Emperiall sword and dignitie. Thou hast exempted thy citie, O *Cesar* from all bloody massacres, & performed this, which with a great minde thou mayest glory in, *Thas thorow the whole world thou hast not shed one drop of mans bloud*: and the more great and wonderfull it is, because the sword was neuer committed to the hands of any one more younger then thy selfe. Clemencie therefore doth not only make men more honest, but more secure; and is not only the ornament but the assured safetie of Kingdomes, thorow which Princes haue attained long life, & left their governments to their children and nephews, but the power of tyrants is execrable and short. What difference is there betwix a Tyrant and a King? In appearance they haue one and the same dignitie, the difference is, that Tyrants take pleasure in their tyrannie, Kings doe iustice but vpon cause and necessitie.

To persuade
Nero to conti-
nue his clemen-
cie: he compares
him with Au-
gustus *Cesar*,
& sheweth that
Nero had the
advantage in
this respect, be-
cause his prede-
cessor had that
praise also after
his cruelty com-
mitted, as in the
extremity and in-
fancie of his go-
uernment.

What care
Princes should
haue to make
their endings
unperceivable to his
beginnings.

CHAP. XII.

The difference
betwixt good
Princes and
tyrants.

WHat then, are not Kings sometimes accustomed to put men to death? It is true; but so often as they are assured that it is for publique profite. The Tyrants heart is set vpon murder. But a Tyrant differeth from a King in fact, not in name. For *Dionysius* the elder may iustly be preferred before diuers Kings. And what letteth vs to call *Lucius Sylla* a tyrant, who gaue ouer killing when hee found no more enemies? Although he forlooke his *Dictature*, and tooke vpon him the robe of a private Citizen: yet what Tyrant hath there euer bene that so greedily drunke vp humane blood, as hee who commanded seuen thousand *Romane* Citizens to be slaine? And when as being in counsaile in the Temple of *Bellona*, nere vnto the place where the execution was done, he had heard the cries of so many thousands that groned vnder the sword; and perceiving that the Senate was affrighted therat: *Let vs intend our business* (saith he) *Fathers Conscript, these are but a few seditious persons, whom I haue commanded to be slaine.* He lyed not herein; for these seemed but a few in *Syllas* eyes. But hereafter we will learne by *Sylla* how we ought to be angry with our enemies, especially if being separated from the bodie of Citizens, they haue taken vpon them the name of enemies. Meane while, as I said, Clemencie affecteth this, that there is a great difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant, although both of them are enuionned with guards. But the one maketh vse of these forces to maintaine peace, the other that by great feares he may pacifie great hatreds. Neither securely doth he behold that very guard, to whose custodie he hath committed himselfe, but one contrary thrusteth him into another; for he is both hated because he is feared, and will be feared because hee is hated, and vseth that execrable verse which hath ouerthrowne many;

And let them hate me so they feare.

Not knowing what furie is engendred in the hearts of subiects when their hatreds are increased aboue measure. For a moderate feare restraineth mens mindes, but a continuall violence, and such as is raised euen vnto the brimme, awakeneth and emboldneth those that are deepest asleepe, and giueth them courage to hazard all. If thou keepest saue beasts fouled vp in gins and nets, a horseman may assault them with his weapons at their backs, yet will they attempt their flight by those places they were wont to flie, and will spurne feare vnderfoote. That courage that groweth from extreame necessitie is marvellous forcible. Feare must leaue vs some gap to escape out at, and shew vs lesse danger then hope, otherwise he that was not determined to defend himselfe, seeing himselfe in equall danger, will adventure vpon dangers, and hazard that life which he esteemeth not his owne. The forces which a peaceable Prince shall gather for the good of his subiects are faithfull and assured; and the braue souldier who seemeth to adventure for publique securitie, endureth all traualle willingly, as being one of the guards of the father of his country. But as touching the violent and bloody Tyrant, his guard must needs be aggrieved at him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

NO man can haue ministers of a good and faithfull will whom hee vseth in tormenting, in racking, and butchering men to death, to whom he exposeth men no otherwise then hee would to beasts. Such a one liueth in no lesse pain and torment then those whom he holdeth in prison, because he feareth both men and gods as witnesses and reuengers of his crimes, and who is already come to that passe, that he dare not change his manner of liuing. For amongst all other things crueltie hath this cursed euill in her, that she is incorrigible, the persecuereth and is not able to recouer any other better course. One wickednesse multiplieeth by another. But what is more vnhappy then he is, who cannot chuse but be euill? O how wretched is that man, but truly to himselfe? For as touching others, it were very ill done by them to haue pittie of him who hath exercised his power with slaughters and rapines, who hath feare of all things as well domestique as forraigne, that fearing armes hath recourse vnto his weapons, neither trusting to his friends faith, nor his childrens pietie: that hauing regarded in all sorts that which he hath done, and that which he pretendeth to doe, and comming to open his conscience replenished with mischiefs and torments, oftentimes feareth death and desireth it againe as often; more odious to himselfe then to those that serue him. Contrariwise, he that hath the care and charge of a Common-wealth, although he haue a more intencye to the conseruation of some things more then other things, yet entertaineth all the members of the State as carefully as those of his body, enclining alwaies vnto sweetnesse: and if it be expedient for him to doe iudice, he sheweth that hauing no enmitie or beastliness in his heart, it is to his hearts-griefe that hee layeth his hand on his weapon. Such a one, desiring to approue his government to his subiect, exerciseth his power peaceably and to all mens profit, reputing himselfe in his own iudgement sufficiently happie, if hee shall make his fortune and condition knowne; affable in speech, facile in access, amiable in countenance, which most of all winneth the peoples hearts, favourable to honest enterprises, enemy to euill designs; hee is loued, defended, and reuerenced by all the world. The same speake men in secret of him as they doe in publike. They desire he should haue issue, and that sterility caused by warres and other publike euils should be abolished: no man doubteth but that he shall deserue well at his childrens hands, to whom he shall shew a world so happy. This Prince liuing in security, by his owne means, hath no need of guard or garrison, he vseth his armes as the means of his ornament.

CHAP. XIV.

WHat therefore is his durie? That which belongs to good Parents, who are wont sometimes to admonish their children gently, sometimes to chastise them with threats, and sometimes with stripes. Doth any man of a settled iudgement disinherit his son vpon the first offence, except many and mighty iniuries ouercome his patience? except there be somewhat more that he feareth then that which he condemneth, he will not blot him out of his Testament. He assayeth diuers remedies

A description of
the miserie of
Tyrants and
cruell Princes,
all intending to
this point, to re-
commend cle-
mency more and
more.

Another instru-
tion for a
Prince, to teach
him to keepe a
measure in his
mercy.

remedies before hand to reclaime him from his dissolute and inconstant disposition, but when he hath no more hope, then assaith hee his last remedies. No man commeth to practise his extremest chastisements, except hee hath consumed all his remedies. That which the Parent doth, the same ought a Prince to doe: whom wee haue called the *Father of the Countrie*, not led thereunto by vaine adulation. For those other names are given for honour sake. We haue called them *Great*, *Happie* and *Augusti*, and haue heaped vp whatsoeuer titles we could inuent for ambitious Maellie: attributing them vnto these. We haue called him the *Father of the Countrie*, to the end he might know, that he had a fatherly power giuen him ouer his Countrie, and consequently very moderate, carefull of his children, and providing for their good, rather then his owne particular. If the father must cut off some one of his members, it shall be as late as he can, and after he hath cut it off, he will desire to reuiue it againe, and in cutting it off, he will sigh and differ long time, and in diuers sorts. For he that condemneth too soone, condemneth willingly also. He that chastiseth ouer severely, ordinarily chastiseth vniufully. In our memory the people of Rome stabbed to death a Roman Knight called *Erice*, with their bodkins, for whipping his sonne to death. Scarce could the authority of *Augustus Caesar* redeeme his body from the hands of displeased Fathers and children.

CHAP. XV.



ARIVS having discovered, that his owne sonne had attempted and conspired his death, after hee knew of the fact, banished him; for which acte of his all the people commended him, especially for this that hauing banished the parricide to *Marsillies*, hee furnished him with as great an annual pension, as hee had allowed him before hee had trespassed in this sort. This liberalitie of his was the cause, that in that Citie, where the baddest causes want no aduocates, that no man doubted but that hee that was guiltie, was deservedly condemned, since the Father who could not hate him, had the courage to condemne him. By this very example I will giue you the meanes to make a comparison betwixt a good Prince, and a good Father. When *Titus Arius* would draw his sonne into question, hee called *Augustus Caesar* to counsaile, who came from his owne pallace to this priuate mans house, sat downe as a partie of the counsell; and he said not, why came he not to my house? which had it hapned; the censure of the fault had beene *Cæsars*, and not the *Fathers*. The fact being vnderstood, all circumstances examined, the young man hauing beene heard in his defence, and his answers and accusations considered; *Cæsar* required every one of the Counsaillers to set downe their opinions in writing, to the end that no man should subscribe to his opinion, or if he spoke that other men should follow him: and before that the billets were opened, he swore that he would not be *Titus Arius* heire, who was reputed a rich man. Some bafe fellow will say, that *Cæsar* was afraid, lest he should seeme to giue entrance to his hope by the condemnation of the yong man. But I think other wise, that every one of vs to defence our selues against the false opinions, that men might conceiue against vs, ought to fix our selues vpon the assured confidence of good consciences. Princes ought to doe many things, to get them a good report. He swore that he would not be his heire. That same day *Arius* left another sonne,

but

Having compared a good Prince to a Father, he maketh mention about the end of the parricide's fall, of an evil father, and here of a good, to the end to expresse by the same, that a good Prince ought to assey all manner vertues of his Subjects, before he descends to ex-cuseme rigor.

but *Cæsar* redeemed the libertie of his sentence, and after he had approued that his severity was without respect of recompence, of which thing a Prince should haue an especiall care alwaies, he sentenced him to be banished to that place where his father should thinke fit. He iudged him not to be sowed vp in a sacke, to be made a prey for Serpents, or to die in prison, remembring himselfe that he sat not there as a Iudge, but as a Counsailler to the father. He said that the father ought to content himselfe with the mildest kind of punishment, in regard of his sonne; who was as yet young and drawne vnto this wicked act, in pursuite of the execution whereof, he had shewed himselfe to be fearefull, which excused him in some sort, and that it sufficed therefore to banish him from Rome, and from his fathers presence.

CHAP. XVI.



PPrince, worthe alwaies to be called by fathers into their Counsaile, worthy to be made coheire with their innocent children. This Clemencie becommeth a Prince, that whither soeuer hee cometh, should make all things more mild. Let no man be so abieft in a Princes eyes, that hee hath no feeling of his death or danger; whatsoever he be, he is a part of the Empire. Let vs make a comparison, betwene the smallest Kingdomes and the greatest Empires; There is but one kind of gouernement. The Prince commandeth his Subjects, the Father his children, the master his Schollers, the Captaine or Lieutenant his Souldiers. Shall he not be reputed a wicked father, who with continuall whipping vpon the sleightest occasion, seeketh to still his children? Whether should that Master be more worthy the liberal studies, who slayeth his Schollers, if they haue not exactly remembered their lessons; or by reason of their weake sight haue faulted in their reading; or he that had rather mend them, and teach them by admonitions and modesty? Giue me a Captaine or Lieutenant that is cruell, he will make his Souldiers forsake him, and yet these are to be pardoned. Were it a reasonable matter, to handle a man worse then we doe brute beastes? But he that is a good breaker of horses, terrifieth not his steede with often strokes, for by that meanes he will become more fearefull and stubborne, except thou handle and stroke him with a gentle hand. The same doth the Huntsman, who teacheth his hound to draw drie foote, and who vseth those whom he hath already trayned to the game to rouse or hunt it. Neither doth hee often threaten them, for thereby their courage is deiefted, and whatsoever forwardnesse is in them, is daunted by degenerate feare; neither doth he giue them liberty to wander and stray here and there. To these maiest thou adde those that haue the driuing of slower Cattle, which being bred vnto reproach and miserie, thorow too much crueltie are enforced to refuse their yoke.

By comparison of fathers and Masters and others in authority, and by the example of their gouernment the teacher a Princelike vniuersely a thing cruelty and too much severity

CHAP. XVII.



THere is no liuing Creature more vntoward, none more vntactable in heart then a man is, yet no one is to be spared more then hee; For what folly is it for a man to be ashamed to spend his spleene vpon Dogges and Horses or Asses, and to intreat a man more rudely? Wee cure sicknesses and yet are not angrie with them

Since a man is the most vntamed Creature of the world, we ought to handle him gently.

them, but this disease of the minde requireth a gentle medicine and that hee who cureth the same should not be angrie with the sicke. It is the part of an euill Physitian to despair that he shall not cure. The same ought he to doe to whom the securitie and protection of all men is committed, in those whose mindes are affected; hee must not suddenly cast by his hopes, neither incontinently pronounce what deadly signes there are in the infirmities. Let him strue with vices and resist them; let him vpbraid some with their infirmities, deceive other some by a gentle cure, because he is likelyest more soone and better to heale them by such meanes. Let a Prince in deuour carefully not only to cure but also to giue a smooth cicatrix to the wound of offence. A King obtaineth no glory by cruell punishment, for no man doubteth of his power. But contrariwise his glory is most excellent, if hee containeth his power, if hee deliuer many from the furie of their Enemies, and ruinaeth no man by his displeasure.

CHAP. XVIII.

IT is an honour to know how to command a mans seruants modestly, and in our slaue we are to thinke not how much punishment he may endure and we inflict vpon him without reproofe, but what the nature of right and iustice will permit thee: which commandeth vs to spare our Captiues and such whom wee haue bought to be our bond-slaues. How much more iust is it for thee not to abuse men free, ingenuous, and honest, as thy bond-men? but to entertaine them, for such as are vnder thy gouernement, to defend them as thy subiects, and not afflict them as thy slaues. It is lawfull for bond-men to flie to *Cæsars* statue. Although wee haue authoritie to doe what we list with our slaues, there is somewhat which the common right of liuing Creatures permitte th vs not to execute vpon a man, because hee is of the same nature that thou art. Who hated not *Pedius Pallio* more worse then his owne slaues did, because hee fatted his Lamprois with mans bloud? and commanded those that offended him to be cast into the fish-pool, to what other end then to feede Serpents? O wretched man worthis a thousand deaths, whether he presented his slaues to bee deuoured by those Lamprois he would feede vpon, or whether to this only end he nourished them, that in that sort he might nourish them. Even as cruell Masters are pointed at thorow the whole Citie, and are reputed both hatefull and detestable: so the cruell demencie of Princes, who haue contracted infamie and hatred against them selues, are inregistred in Histories to be hated to posteritie. Had it not bene better neuer to haue bene borne then to be numbred amongst those that are borne for a publike miserie?

CHAP. XIX.

IHere is no man that can bethinke him of any thing that is more seemely for him that is in authoritie then Clemencie, in what manner soener, and by what right soeuer he hath the preheminence ouer others. And the more higher his dignitie is that is endued with this vertue, the more noble shall we confesse his ornament,

As when reason taken by comparison between the greater and the lesser, if all things are not lawful in a master over his seruants, they are no less lawful for a Prince ouer his subiects that are men.

Now concludes he as in a general sentence, that which he said in the beginning, that mercy is the most mitied vertue in Princes.

namment to bee, which should not bee hurtfull but composed according to the law of nature. For nothing hath inuented Kings, which wee may know by other liuing creatures and in particular by Bees, whose King hath the largest roome in the honycombe, and is lodged in the middle and most securest place. Besides, he laboureth not but examineth the labour of the rest, and when their King is lost the whole swarme is dispersed: also they suffer but one, making choice of him that is the boldest in fight. Moreover the King is noted for his swiftnesse, in that he differeth from the rest both in greatnesse and goodlines: yet herein is he most distinguished from them; Bees are the most angriest & fellest creatures that be, according to the capacitie of their bodies, and leaue their stings in the wound, but their King hath no sting. Nature would not haue him cruell nor to seeke reuenge that might hazard his life, and therefore tooke away his weapon and disarmed his wrath. All Kings and Princes ought to consider this excellent example. It is the custome of nature to discover her selfe in little things, and the least creatures minister vnto vs the most noblest examples. Let vs not be ashamed to learne some good thing of the smallest creatures, since the mind of a man ought to be more seiled and staied then the euill which hee doeth is hurtfull and dangerous. By my consent I would haue man reduced to this condition that his wrath should be broken with his owne weapon, and that he might haue no more meanes to hurt then once in his life, nor exercise his hatreds by another mans hands: for easily would furie be wearied, if of necessity he should act that which he himselfe commandeth, and if he should expresse her power by the hazard of her life; neither as yet is she secured in her march. For she must needs be surprised with as much feare, as shee would haue other haue feare of her; her eyes be fixed on euery mans hands, and at such times as a man intendeth not to touch her, she beleueth that hee will assault her, and hath not one onely minute of repose. Is it possible that any one would liue so unhappily, when the meanes is offered him to passe his dayes without the hurt of any man, and consequently execute the affaires of his charge in all securitie, and with great contentment? He abaseth himselfe that supposeth that a King is secure in that place, where there is not any one but is afraid of him. One securitie must be assured by another mutuall securitie. We need not build strong Citadels on high hills, nor fortifie vnaccessable places, nor cut downe the sides of Mountaines, nor enconce our selues with many walles and towres. Clemencie will secure a King in the open field. His only impregnable fortresse, is the loue of his Citizens. What more worthy thing can a Prince wish for, then to liue in all mens good opinion, and in such loue of his subiects, that their vovues and prayers should incessantly and secretly bee powred forth for his securitie? that if his health be crased, they listen not after his death, but are wonderfully afraid, lest they should lose him? that there is nothing so precious in any one of their eyes, that they would not exchange for his health, and securitie; that thinketh that whatsoeuer hath befallen the Prince, is farall to themselves? Hereby the Prince hath approoued by continuall arguments of his goodnesse, that the Common-weale is not his, but that hee is the Common-weales. Who dare contriue any danger towards him? who would not if hee could, prevent any disaster that is toward him, vnder whom iustice, peace, modestie, securitie, and dignitie doe flourish? vnder whom the wealthy Cities abound in the plenty of all good things? Neither with other mindes reuerence they, or behold they their gouernour, then if the immortal goddes should vouchsafe them the libertie to behold themselves. And why doth not he

he that followeth the nature of the gods, (which is to bee gracious, liberal), and powerfull, to doe good) become a second to them? This is it that becometh a Prince to affect, this ought hee to imitate: and as they desire to bee the greatest, so let them endeavour to be the best.

CHAP. XX.

THe Prince is accustomed to doe iustice for two causes, either punisheth hee the faults that are committed against himselfe, or against another. I will first of all speake of that which concerneth him. For it is a harder matter for a man to temper himselfe, when hee chastiseth others, to satisfie his private disgust, then to propose it for an example. It were in vaine in this place to admonish a Prince, not to beleue lightly, to examine the truth, to favour innocency; that it may appeare, that he is no lesse careful to examine that which concerneth him that hath offended, then that which toucheth the Iudge. But this appertayneth to iustice, and not vnto Clemency. For the present we exhort him, that being manifestly wronged, he remayne matter of his owne heart, and giue ouer punishment, if so be he may lately doe it, or at leastwise differre it, and be more encined to pardon those faults which are committed against himselfe, then against others. For euen as he is not liberrall, that cutteth a large thong out of another mans leather, but hee that taketh that from himselfe which hee giueth to another: So will I call him mercifull, not that weepeth, and is agrieved at another mans affliction, but him who hauing iust and vrgent occasion, passionateh not himselfe, and knoweth that it is the act of a great minde in the height of his authoritie to sustaine iniuries, and that nothing is more glorious in a Prince, then to pardon those who haue offended him.

CHAP. XXI.

Reuenge is ordinarily wont to produce two effects, for either it bringeth him comfort that hath reuiued the iniurie, or putteth him in securitie for the tyme to come. A Princes fortune is so great, as it needeth not such like solace, and his power is more manifest then that hee neede to seeke the opinion of his greatnesse from the ruine of another. This, say I, when hee is assaulted or violated by any of his inferiours; for if he seeth those who sometimes were his equals, become his vnderlings, he is sufficiently reuenged. A Seruant, a Serpent, an Arrow haue slain a King. No man hath saved a King, except he that saved him were greater then himselfe. Hee therefore that hath attained the power ouer life and death, ought to vse so great an authoritie bestowed vpon him by the gods, courageously, especially towards those, who in his knowledge haue sometime opposed themselves against his greatnesse: hauing attained this dignitie, he is sufficiently reuenged, and hath done that which was requisite for an entire punishment. For he that should die, hath lost his life; but whosoever from a high degree, hath bene prostitute at his enemies feet, where he attendeth the definitive sentence of his Crowne and life; if another man saue him, liueth to his great glorie that preferueth him: and addeth more to his renowne by his life, then

Having generally discoursed of Clemency and Mercy at this present in the 10. of partition, he digresseth, and gathereth together that which hath bene said in diuers chapters, and sheweth that vnder a man reuoluing the person of a Prince, or of a private man, there ought no cruelty to be used.

A subduision of his matter, tending to that which he hath spoken of, and shewing that since that by reuenge, the Prince neither increaseth nor diminisheth his estate, he ought to make for himselfe no matter of his misery.

if he had sentenced him to death. For he is the continuall spectacle of another mans vertue. In a triumph he had quickly past by. But if his kingdome likewise may safely be re-delivered into his hands, and he might be restored to that preeminence from whence he was fallen, his praise riseth above all measure, that was contented from a conquered King, to take away nothing but his glorie. This it is to triumph truly in a mans victorie: and to tellie that he found nothing worthe in the conquered hands, that was answerable to his worthinesse and value. As touching our Citizens and men that are vnknewen to vs, and such as are of base condition, the more moderatly must we deale with them, the lesse honour we shal get by afflicting them. Pardon some men willingly, disdaine to reuenge thy selfe on other some, and retire thy hand from them, as if they were some little silly creatures that would soile thy fingers, if thou shouldest touch them; but as touching those that are either to be pardoned or punished in the eye of the State, make vse of the occasion of thy accustomed Clemencie.

CHAP. XXII.

Et vs passe ouer to those iniuries that are done vnto another, in punishing which, the Law hath obserued three things, which a Prince likewise ought to follow, either that he may amend him whom he punisheth, or to the intent that his punishment may make the rest better; or that by cutting off the euill, the rest may liue more securely. In regard of the faultie or guiltie, you shall induce them more easily to reforme their liues, if you chastise them gently; for he liueth more circumspectly, that hath some daies of his life pardoned him to liue in. No man careth for his decayed dignitie. It is a kind of impunity not to be able to be punished any more. But the fewnesse of executions reformeth the Cities manners the more. For the multitude of offenders breedeth a custome of offence, and the note of infamy is the lesse, the greater the number of delinquents there be: and seueritie, by being ouer vsuall, loseth her authoritie, which is the greatest honour she hath. That Prince setteth good manners in his Citie, and more happily extingwileth the vices thereof, if he wink at them, not as though he allowed them; but as if he were agrieved at them, and with great heartf. griefe, was enforced to punish them. The Clemencie of him that governeth maketh them ashamed that offend. The punishment seemeth the more grieuous, when the sentence is given by a mercifull man.

CHAP. XXIII.

Estides, thou shalt see those things oftentimes committed which are oftentimes punished. Thy Father within the space of fife years sowed vp more parricides, then were condemned to that death in all the ages before, as farre as we can gather. As long as there was no law established against this hainous crime, no children durst attempt or imagine this so vnnatural a wickednesse. For those Law-makers and notable persons most wise and well experienced, thought it better to make no mention of this crime in their Lawes (as a most incredible matter, and such as man should not be so cursed as to imagine) then to publish by the

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establish-

He proferueth his partition, and sheweth that a gentle chastisement profiteth more, both to him that is chastised, and to the Prince himselfe then cruell rigour.

That continuall & cruell punishments, doe not so much repress offences, as the prudent clemencie of Princes.

establiment of seuerer laws against the same, that so horrible an offence might be committed. Parricides therefore began with their law, & their punishment taught them their offence: Piety was in a desperate estate after we saw these fackes more often then gallowes. In those Cities where men are punished very seldom, every one agreeth to live innocently, and they entertaine innocence as a publique good. Let the Citie thinke her selfe innocent, and she shall be: if the fee the number of such as are dissolute is but small, she is vexed the more. Beleeue me, it is a dangerous matter to let a Citie see that there are more wicked then good.

CHAP. XXIV.

IN times past, there was a decreet downe by the Senate, that our slaues and free-men should be distinguished by their attire, but afterwards it appeared what danger was imminent, if our seruants should haue begun to haue numbred vs. Know this, that if no man be pardoned, this is likewise to be feared, that it will quickly appeare what advantage the worse part hath ouer the better: no lesse dishonourable are many punishments to a Prince, then many funerals to a Physitian. He that governeth more mildly, is obeyed more willingly. Mans minde is naturally rebellious, ouerthwart and proude, he followeth more willingly then he is led. And as generous and noble horles are better guided by an easie bit, so voluntary innocence followeth Clemency of her owne motion: in the Citie this sweetnesse is a good that deserueth to be maintayned. So then there is more gotten by following this way. Crueltie is inhumane imperfection, it is vnworthie so mild a mind: it is a beast-like rage to reioyce in blood & wounds, and laying by the habite of a man, to translate himselfe to a wild beast.

CHAP. XXV.

OR, tell me *Alexander*, I beseech thee, whether of these two is more strange, either that thou command *Tismachus* to be cast vnto the Lions, or that thou thy selfe teare him in pieces with thy eager teeth? The throat and crueltie of the Lion is thine owne. O how gladly wouldest thou haue had these claws, and that great throat, capable to deuoure and swallow men? We request thee not that this hand of thine, which hath put to death three of thy dearest friends, should doe good to any man, nor that thy felon heart (the vnstable ruin of Nations) should glut it selfe otherwise then in blood and murders: wee will take it for thy Clemency, and so call it, if in murdering thy friend thou make choice of an executioner amongst the number of men. This is the cause why crueltie is most of all to be abhorred, because she passeth the bounds, not only of custome but of humanitie. She searcheth our new punishments, and applyeth her mind thereunto, she inuenteth instruments to multiply and prolong pain, and to content her selfe in those torments which other men suffer. Then doth that dire sicknesse of the minde grow into most desperate rage, when crueltie is turned into pleasure, and to murder men is reputed a May-game. For such a man is attended by confusion, hatreds, venoms, swords, by as many dangers as he assaulted

He proueth for
the third point,
both by simi-
litudes and exam-
ples, that punish-
ments assure not
good men.

ted, as he is the danger of many men, and sometimes by priuate counsailes, and sometimes by publique calamities he is surprisid and circumvented. For the slight and priuate ouerthrow of some particulars, incenseth not whole Cities: that which beginneth to rage on euerie side, and indifferently attempteth all men, armeth euery man against it. The smaller Serpents slip by vs; neyther are they much fought after, but if any one waxeth aboute ordinarie measure and bignesse, & becommeth a monster, when he hath infected the fountains by drinking in them, and scorched with his breath, and rent with his tallants whatsoever he treads vpon, we shoote at him with Balisils and Crosbowes. The smaller evils may speake faire, and so escape, but we make head against the great ones. If there be but one sicke in a house, it makes no great matter; but when it appeareth by the death of many that the plague is there, the Citie cries out, and euery man flies, and each man listeth vp his hands to heauen. If some priuate house be set on fire, the neighbours bring in water and quench it; but when the fire is scattered abroad, and layes hold on many houses, it cannot be quenched but by the ruine of a part of the Citie.

CHAP. XXVI.

SERUILE hands likewise haue reuenged the crueltie of particular men, although they saw their death before them. The crueltie of Tyrants, the Nations, people, & those that were oppressed, and such as were most neerely threatened thereby, haue attempted to confound Tyrants. Sometime their owne guards haue conspired against them, and exercised vpon them that perfidiousnesse, impiety, & cruelty which they themselves had learned of them. For what can any man hope from him whom he hath trayned vp to be euill? Wickednesse appeareth not long time, neither sinneth he as much as he is commanded. But put case that crueltie be assured; what a Kingdome hath she! No other then the form of sacked Cities, and the terrible faces of publique feare. All things are sad, troublsome and confused, even the pleasures themselves are feared: they banquet not securely, and in their feasts though they be drunke, they must haue a watch ouer their tongues: they cannot trust their Theatres where men seeke occasions to accuse and put to death now this man, now that man. When their Banquets be prepared with greater charge, and Kingly riches, and by the excellent inuention of cunning Artificers, who is he, I pray you, that would take pleasure to depart from his sports to a prison? Good gods, what a mischief is this, to kill, to rage, to delight in the noyle of shackles, to cut off Citizens heads, to shed blood in euerie place wherefoeuer he cometh, to terrifie men and make them flee from his terrible looks! What other life would there be if Lions & Beares did reigne? If Serpents and euery other noysome creature should haue power ouer vs? They being void of reason, and being condemned by vs for the crime of immanitie, abstaine from those of their owne kind, yea, and similitude is a protectio amongst the sauage beasts; but amongst men only rage forbeareth not his dearest friends, but maketh one account of strangers as of home-bred, whereby he may more busily creepe into priuate mens slaughters, and afterwards into the ruine of Nations. Hee repureth it to be for his royaltie to cast fire vpon houses, and to plough vp old Cities: he beleueth it to be scarce Kingly to command one or two to be flaine, except at one time a troupe of mi-

He sheweth what
danger it is for a
man to take
pleasure in cru-
elty, and how
much good it
bringeth by am-
icable and courteous
entertainment.
Hee concludeth
that Clemencie
is the fairest
flower in their
Garland.

ferable men stand subiect to his sword, he accounteth his crueltie to bee enforced and restrained. That is true felicitie to saue many mens liues, and to call them backe from death that are adiudged to die; and to merit a ciuill Crowne by Clemency. There is no ornament more worthie or better fitting the greatness of a Prince then such a Crowne, with this inscription, *Ob ciues seruatos*; not the Chariots of barbarous Nations besprinkled with bloud, not spoyle gotten in warre. This is a diuine power to saue men by companies, and publicly: but to murder many, and they vnheard, is the act of a Tyrant and Murderer.

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The end of the first Booke of Clemencie.



A DISCOURSE OF CLEMENCIE:

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,
TO NERO CÆSAR.
The second Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

ONce more he praiseth NERO and his excellent voice. Then passeth he over to the second part, and sheweth the Nature of Clemencie, and defineth the same. He explaineth it the more by the contrarie vice, and produceth Crueltie, and describeth it. Afterwards he limiteth Clemencie, and will haue it remoned from Compassion, for this is a vice amongst the Stoicks. Neither giueth he leaue to remit or giue pardon, but to spare and to counsaile, which they distinguish rather in words then in matter. This is the end of the Booke, but not of the matter, and by the diuision it appeareth that many things are wanting, which haue bene obscured by the iniquitie of the time. It is to be sorrowed for, in so worthe a TITVS: which had it not bene, in my iudgement this second Booke had equall'd the first.

CHAP. I.



Hat which most chiefly moued me, Nero Cæsar, to adresse and dedicate this discourse of Clemencie vnto thee, was a speech of thine which not onely rauished me with admiration, at such time as I heard it, but euen then when afterwards I recited it to others. A generous speech, the argument of a great minde, and greater lenitie; which was not studied for, or fitted to flatter other mens eares, but sodainly brake forth; and brought thy beautie that contended with thy Fortune into the publike eye and censure of all men. *Burne* a Captaine of thy Guard, a man of honour, and knowne by vs for such a one, hauing charge to carrie two theets to execution, laboured, that thou wouldst signe the sentence that was given against them both: which being deferred diuers times, he insisted at last that it might be dispatched. But after that, to thy owne

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heart.

He animateth Nero to continue in his well regulated government, with that placiditie he hath thitherto vsed; he secondeth his Countailes with graues words to a good minde.

heart's-griefe and thy distaste, he had drawne the writing out of his bosome, and deliuered it into thy hands, thou creditedst out, *I would I could neither read nor write.* O speech worthe to be heard by all those Nations that inhabite the Romane Empire, and by those neighbour Countries that are scarcely assured of their libertie, and by those likewise who both in minde and might arme themselves against their prosperitie. O verie worthe to be reuiued in the open assembly of all liuing men, and whereof Kings and Princes might make vse when they should take their oath vnto their Subiects. O speech worthe the ancient innocencie of Mankind, in fauour whereof the former ages should wax young againe. Truly this is the houre wherein all of vs ought to accord in equitie and Clemencie, driving far from vs this couetousnesse to enjoy other mens fortunes, whence all the infirmities of the minde doe arise. Now it is that pietie, integritie, loyaltie, and modestie, should liue vp their heads, and that vices which haue so tyrannously dominered ouer vs long time, should finally quit their place, and religne it to an age more happie and pure.

CHAP. II.

Dare well hope and promise, *Cæsar*, that the greater part hereof shall come to passe. This Clemencie of thine shall by little and little be published, and spread thorow all the bodie of thine Empire, and all things shall conforme themselves according to the example which thou giuest them. Good health proceedeth from the head, and afterwards caueth that all the members are nimble and strong; as contrariwise they languish, if the spirit that quickneth them, bee amated. And both thy Citizens and associates shall be worthe of this bountie, and good manners shall be re-established thorowout the whole world, and shall be extended in euery place. Suffer me to insist a little longer on this point, not to the intent to tickle or flatter thine eares, for it is not my custome. I had rather offend thee in speaking truth, then please thee by flatterie. What is the cause then, why I desire thou shouldst be so familiarly exercised in the knowledge of thy good words and actions? Truly no other but that one day thou mayest say and doe that with iudgement, which now thou saist and doest by a naturall aptitude of thy minde. This consider I with my selfe, that many detestable speeches of Princes are entered into mens hearts, and are ordinarie in their mouthes, as this:

*With deadly hate let them pursue me,
Provided alwaies that they feare me.*

Whereunto resembleth that Greeke verse who willeth that when he is dead,
The solid Earth should with the fire be mixt.

And others of this kinde: But I know not how such spirits, so prodigious and so hatefull, haue so found out and expressed their violent and furious conceits. I haue neuer as yet heard a proud word vttered by a good & mercifull Prince. What is it then that thou art to doe? Forsooth this, that as slackly as thou maist and with some remorse, and with some delays also (vntill such time as thou art enforced therunto) thou write that which draweth thee in hatred of writing, yet so as thou doest now, in temporising and delaying diuers times.

CHAP.

He presageth the continuance of Neroes Clemencie, in the comfort of his Subiects and the amaze of his enemies.

CHAP. III.

BVt lest sometime this goodly and pleasing name of Clemencie should haply deceiue vs, let vs see what Clemencie is, what a one she is, and to what end she tendeth. Clemencie then is a moderation of the mind, that restraineth the power which a man hath to reuenge himselfe, or it is a gracious moderation of the superiour towards his inferiour, in establishing of punishment. The surest way shall be to set downe diuers definitions, for feare lest one suffice not to expresse the same, and that the forme thereof (if we may so speake) escape vs not. One may therefore say, that it is an inclination of the minde, tending to shew himselfe mercifull when he ought to chastize. This definition will haue some opposition, although it be such a one as draweth neerest the truth. It wee say that Clemencie is a moderation remitting somewhat of the punishment which is deserved and due, some one will reply that there is not any vertue that doth lesse then the ought. But all men know that Clemency is that vertue which rebateth somewhat of that which she might exact. They of weakest iudgement suppose that feueritie is opposed against it, but neuer was one vertue contrary to another

What Clemencie is, and to what end she tendeth.

CHAP. IV.

Hat therefore is opposed to Clemency? Cruelty, which is no other thing then a violence of minde in exacting punishments. But there are some that are cruell although they doe not punish any: such as they are who kill men whom they neuer saw but met with in the way; not to the intent to lessen the number, but killing them because they took pleasure in killing. Moreouer not content to murder, they tortured more bodies, as *Busiris Procrustes* did, and those Pirates who first of all beat their Prisoners and afterwards burnt them to death and dust. Truly this is crueltie, but because it followeth not reuenge (for she was not injured) neither is displeased at any mans offence (for no crime hath ouerslipped before) it is not comprised in our definition, which definition containeth an intemperance of the minde in exacting punishment. We may well say that this is not crueltie, but beastly furie which taketh pleasure to torment the bodie, and we may likewise call it madnesse, for there bee diuers kinds thereof, and none more certain then that which extendeth it selfe to murder and massacre men. I will therefore call them cruell, who haue no occasion to punish, yet such as keepe no measure, such as *Phalaris* was, who not contenting himselfe with putting Innocents to death, exceeded in his executions all humane and probable measure. We may to auoyd all cauilt, say this cruelty is an inclination of the minde vnto most grieuous punishments. Clemency driueth this crueltie farre of from her, because shee hath better correspondence with feuerity. It is very pertinent to the matter to enquire in this place what mercie is, for diuers men prayse her for a vertue: and call a good man mercifull. But this is an imperfection of the minde, Crueltie and Mercy are the two extremes of Seuerity and Clemency: we must flye both, the one and the other, for feare lest vnder appearance of Seueritie we become cruell, and vnder colour of Clemencie shew our selues mercifull. There is not so great danger herein, but they that fall into one extremitie are as much out of the way, as they that fall into the other.

Of Cruelty opposed against Clemencie, and the definitions and kinds thereof layd out by Examples.

A Paradoxe of the Stoicks, which Aristotle answered in the fourth of his Ethicks and Morals.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

*In this chapter,
he maytayne the
Duties of the
Souldier. A-
gainst afflictions,
approving that
those Philo-
sophers were not
so naturall as
they were repor-
ted to be.*

H Ven as therefore Religion reuerenceth the gods, and Superstition violareth them: so all good men should shew Clemencie and Meeknes, but avoyd Mercie. For it is nought else but a basenes of the heart which melteth in beholding another mans miseries. It is therefore most familiar to those of the basest Mettalls and Minds. Such as are old women and tender-hearted Females, who weepe to see them weepe that are condemned, who would willingly breake vp Prisons, if so be they were permitted to doe it. Mercie regardeth not the cause but the condition, but Clemencie is conioyned with reason. I know that amongst ignorant men, the Sect of the Stoicks is condemned, for being over-severe and such a one as could not give good counsailes to Kings and Princes. For it is objected against them, that they will not suffer the Wiseman to vse mercie, and to pardon. These objections considered apart, and by themselves are odious. For this were to cast all those head-long into despayre that haue offended, and to subiect all offences to punishment. If this be so, can a man finde out a Sect more severe then this is, which forbiddeth vs to remember that wee are men; and excludeth mutuall helpe which is the assuredest Haven against the tempest of Fortune? But I say that there is no Sect more benigne and gentle then this is, nor that loveth men better, nor that is more intent to the good of all men; in such sort as all the scope thereof, is to serve, succour and procure the good, not only of his schollers, but also of all other men as wel in general as in particular. Mercie is an infirmite of the minde, by reason of the appearance of other mens miseries, or a sadnesse conceived for the evils another man suffereth, and supposeth that he suffereth them wrongfully. For a Wiseman neyther troubleth nor tormenteth himselfe, his vnderstanding is alwayes cleere, neither can any thing happen that may obscure the light thereof. Nothing becommeth a man more then greatnesse of courage; But he cannot have a noble heart, if eyther feare or griefe doe daunt the same, or any of these passions obscure or contract it. This shall not befall a Wiseman, no, nor in his calamities, but hee shall dart backe againe all these Arrowes that Fortune hath shot against him, and shall breake them before her face. He shall retayne one and the same countenance, alwayes both peaceable and constant, which he might not doe if sorrow were lodged in his heart. Adde hereunto that a Wiseman is proud, and hath his counsell in a readinesse. But that which is cleare and pure, neuer proceedeth from sadnesse, which is a trouble of the Soule, and is not proper to examine any action; nor to inuent profitable things, neither oportunitie to avoyd dangers. So then a Wiseman is not moved with sadnesse for anothers misery, because he is exempt from misery; but otherwise, hee will willingly and with a ioyfull heart, doe all that which the mercifull would doe either sorrowfull or compassionate.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.



H e will assist his Neighbour that weepeth, without weeping himselfe; he will lend him his hand that is in danger to be drowned; hee will lodge him that is famished, feed him that is poore, not with our rage, as for the most part they doe, who would be esteemed mercifull, who disdain and repulse the poore when they ayde them, and fearing lest they should touch them, but as a man to a man he will give, as out of the common Purse. Hee shall pardon the Sonne for his Mothers teares, command his grieues to be loosed; hee shall preserve him from the furie of wilde beasts, to whose rage he should have beene exposed, to the content and pleasure of the people; hee will burie the carcase of him that was condemned; But he will doe all this with a peaceable minde, and without change of countenance. He will not therefore be moved, but will helpe, will profit, as being borne for the common good and the service of the Commonweale, whereof he will give every one his part. Yea, he will extend his bountie to the miserable by proportion, and will reforme such as are wicked and to be amended. But to those that are afflicted and oppressed, he will yeeld his assistance more willingly. As often as he may, he will not suffer adversities to touch them. For how might he better employ his forces and riches, then in relieving those whom the inconstancie of worldly affaires hath overthrowne? Hee will neither be abashed nor dismayd, to behold the disfigured face of a sicke man or a begger, or of an old man leaning on his staffe, but hee will assist all those likewise that deserve, and after the manner of the gods, behold with a bountifull eye the poore that are oppressed. Mercie is a neere Neighbour to miserie. for she hath, and draweth somewhat from her. Know that those eyes are weak which are bloud-shot themselves, in beholding another mans affliction: even as assuredly wee ought not to call them ioyfull but sicke, who cough vpon every occasion, and that yawn as soone as they perceive another man open his mouth. Mercie is an imperfection of the minde, that is too much affected vnto miserie, which if a man seeke for in a Wiseman, it were as much as if hee should require him to cry out at the Funerals of those whom hee neuer heard of. It remaineth to declare why a Wiseman pardoneth not.

*The description
of a Wiseman
according to the
doctrine of the
Stoicks.*

CHAP. VII.



H e vs now set downe likewise what pardon is, to the end we may know that a Wiseman ought not to give it. Pardon is a remission of deserved punishments. But why a Wiseman ought not to pardon, is fully debated by those who decide this matter to the full. For mine owne part to speake shortly, as in a matter referred to another mans iudgement, I say that he is pardned that should be punished. But a Wiseman doth nothing but that he ought, neither pretermitteth any thing of his dutie, and therefore hee quitteth not the punishment which he ought to exact, but that which thou wouldst obtaine by the meanes of pardon, he giueth thee by a more honest expedient. For hee supporteth, counsaileth, correcteth, and doth as much as if he pardoned, although he pardon not, because he that pardoneth, confesseth that hee hath omitted something which

*A question de-
pending on the
forbearance of the
lawgiver, who
may pardon
the offender, or
not, according to
the nature of the
crime.*

ought

ought to be done. He will be contented to admonish some without chastising them, considering that they are old enough to amend. Hee will dismisſe another in ſafetie, although he be apparently guiltie, becauſe he hath beene deceived, and fell into the offence being drowned in Wine. He will diſmiſſe his enemies in ſafetie, and ſometimes with commendations, if they haue vnder taken Warre vpon honeſt grounds, as for their faith, Conſederates, or liberty. Theſe are not the workes of Pardon but of Clemencie. Clemencie hath free will, ſhe iudgeth not according to vſe and cuſtome, but according to equity and right, and ſhe may abſolue and taxe the charges at what rate ſhe liſeth. He doth none of theſe things, as if hee had done any thing leſſe then iuſt, but as if that which hee had conſtituted were moſt iuſt; but to pardon is this, not to puniſh thoſe things which thou iudgeth worthy of puniſhment. Pardon is the remiſſion of a deſerued puniſhment. Clemencie effecteth this principally, that ſhee deſclareth thoſe whom ſhe diſmiſſeth to be exempted from the puniſhment they ſhould ſuffer. She is therefore more accompliſhed and honeſt then pardon. In my iudgement, the controuerſie is vpon the word, not vpon the matter. A Wiſeman will forgive many things, and ſaue many that are ſcarcely wiſe, yet ſuch as may become capable. He will imitate good Huſbandmen, who not onely cheriſh ſtraight and tall Trees, but applyeth vader-props likewiſe to uphold thoſe which are made crooked by ſome accident. They lop ſome, leſt the over-thickneſſe of their boughes doe hinder their growth; they nourish ſome that are infirme by reaſon of the ſterilitie of the ſoyle; and to thoſe that ſpring vader the thickneſſe of a couert, they giue them open Ayre. According to theſe, a Wiſeman ſhall ſee how he ought to entertayne euery nature, and by what means thoſe that are depraued, may be ſtrengthened and ſtraightened. *Many things are here wanting.*

The end of the ſecond Booke of Clemencie.

A TRACT OF BLESSED LIFE.

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,
To Ivnivs Gallio his Brother.

The Argument of Ivnivs Lipsivs.

HE wrote this Booke when he was old, and ſet it downe for an Apologie againſt thoſe that calumniated his wealth and behauiour. He approueth that Bleſſed Life conſiſteth in vertue, yet that ſhe deſpiſeth not theſe externall things if they befall her. It is a loſtie writing, and excellent in the parts thereof, and becauſe it containeth golden Sentences and excellent Sayings. There are two parts thereof; Firſt, what Bleſſed Life is, and how a man may attayne therunto. As touching the former, he denyeth that it is to be ſought, either in Opinion or Manners; if we keepe the ordinary way, we ſtray the farther from her. Reaſon onely is to bee giuen care vnto, ſhe ſaith that Bleſſed Life is agreeable to Nature, that is placed in vertue, not in pleaſure as Epicurus would haue it. No, and diſſuadeth hee, reſelleth this with the ſlaues thereof; ſo farre as he will neither haue pleaſure ioyned with vertue, but aboliſheth this name vnto, till the ſixteenth Chapter. Thence followeth the other part; to the attaynement thereof, therefore is onely Vertue to be embraced. And are the reſt to be deſpiſed? He denyeth it; He ſaith that externall things may be admitted, but not as the end. Tea, hee may not ayne, that they who as yet are but in the way, and amongſt the number of thoſe that are proficent, haue need of ſome indulgence of Fortune. Here cunningly & manfully enough, defendeth he his owne cauſe, and induceth an Aduerſarie to ſay: Why haſt thou ſpoken thus of Vertue? haſt thou not other helpe? Why haſt thou Seruants, a Mony, Farmes, and Houſhold ſuffe? He answereth diuerſly? And firſt of all that hee is no Wiſeman, but that hee endeauoureth to bee wiſe. Afterwards for theſe worthy men, PLATO, ZENO, ARISTOTLE, againſt whom in times paſt theſe were obiected. Vertue is an high matter; They are to bee honoured who labour to aſcend, although during their attempt, they fall or are hindered. Then purpoſely ſpeaketh hee of Riches, whether a Wiſeman ought to haue them; From the one and twentieth Chapter. And he auereth that they are had but not beloned, yet gotten honeſtly.

neftly that they are, and muft be fpcnt bountifullly. *Hee wheteth his Stile againft thofe long-tongued bablers, and vnder the perfon of SOCRATES, armethe edge of his Stile againft them. But the end is wanting, and thofe things that are vfuall added, are of another mans writing, and of a different Argument.*

C H A P. I.



L men, Brother Gallio, are defirous to liue happily, yet blinde are they in fore-feeing that which maketh the life bleffed & happie: and fo difficult a matter is it to attaine this bleffed life, that the fwifter euery man is carryed with a defire to copaffe her, the farther off departeth hee from her, if he haue failed in the way: which when it lea-
deeth vs to the contrary, the very fwiftnes thereof is the caufe of our greater diftance from her. Firft of all therefore we ought to confider what that is which we require: then to looke about vs

by what way wee may more fpeedily attaine thereunto, being well affured in our iourney (fo the way bee true and ftraight) to vnderftand how much wee haue daily profited, and how neerer wee are vnto that whereunto our naturall defire impelleth vs. As long as wee wander hither and thither and follow not our guide, but the difturbant brute and clamour of thofe that call on vs to vndertake different wayes, our fhort life is wearyed and worne away amongh errors, although wee labour day and night to get vs a good minde. Let vs therefore aduife, both whither wee tend, and by which way wee pretend; and walke forward vnder the conduct of fome Wifeman who is exactly inftituted & practized in thofe pathes that we are to traft. For the condition of this Voyage is farre different from other Peregrinations: for in them if any certaine place be limited, and wee doe but enquire and queftion with the Inhabitants of that place, they will not fuffer vs to wander; but here the worft way, and that which feemeth the moft thorteft and vfuall doth moft of all deceiue vs. There is nothing therefore that is more to bee prevented by vs, then that we follow not like innocent fheepe, the troope of thofe that walke before vs, walking not thither whither we ought to goe, but whither the reft wander. But there is nothing that entangleth vs in greater miferies, then that wee couple and apply our felues to euery rumour, fuppoling thofe things to be the beft which are moft approved and receiued by the conceit of all men, and whereof there are moft examples; and liue not according to reafon, but only according to other mens fafhion. From thence proceedeth this fo great heape of men tumbling one vpon another. That which falleth out in a great preffe of men, when the people themfelues, through themfelues, where no man fo falleth, but that he draweth downe another after him, and the foremoft are the caufe of the ruine of thofe that follow: this mayft thou obferue, and fee it fall out in euery eftate of life. There is no man that erreth to himfelfe, but is eyther the caufe or Authour of other mens error. For much are wee hurt becaufe wee apply our felues to thofe that goe before vs, and whileft euery man had rather belceue, then iudge, wee neuer iudge of our liues but content our felues alwayes to belceue: thus error deliuered vnto vs from hand to hand, vexeth

It fufficeth not to defire happineffe, we ought to know what true happineffe is, and afterwards by what means we attaine thereto.

vexeth and ouerturneth vs, and wee perifh by other mens Examples. But wee fhall be healed, provided only that we feparate our felues from the vulgar; but now the people ftand out againft reafon in defence of their owne error. The fame therefore falleth out which is vfuall in common Affembles, wherein, thofe men whofe voyces made the Pretor, admire to heare him named; when the inconftant fauour of fuch a multitude hath whirled it felfe about. We approve and condemne one and the fame thing. This is the end of all iudgments in decifion whereof diuers men giue their opinions.

C H A P. II.



When the queftion is of happy life, thou muft not anfwere mee according to the cuftome of thofe debates which are cenfured by voices. *This part feemeth the greater;* for therefore is it the work: Humane affaires are not difpofed fo happily that the beft things pleafe the moft men. It is an argument of the work caufe when the common fort applaudeth it. Let vs enquire what is beft done, not what is moft vfuall done; and what planteth vs in the poffeffion of eternall felicitie, not what is ordinarily allowed of by the multitude, which is the worft interpreter of truth. I call the multitude, as well thofe that are attyred in white, as thofe that are clothed other wayes, for I examine not the colours of the garments wherewith the bodies are clothed: I truft not mine eyes, to informe me what a man is, I haue a more better and truer light, whereby I fhall diftinguifh truth from falshood. Let the foule find out the good of the foule. If once the may haue breathing time to retyre her felfe into her felfe, O how will the confefse vnto her felfe, after the hath bene examined by her felfe and fay: Vv hatfoeuer I haue done, yet I had rather it fhould be vndone; Whatfoeuer I haue faid when I recollect it, I am afhamed of it in others; Whatfoeuer I wifhed, I repute it to be the execratiõ of mine enemies: Whatfoeuer I feared, good gods, how better was it then that which I defired? I haue quarrelled with many men, and (if any focietie be amongft euill men) I haue altered their hatreds and drawne my felfe into fauour with them; and yet as yet I am not friends with my felfe. I haue induoured to the vttermoſt to get in fauour with the multitude, and make my felfe knowne vnto euery man by fome noble action: what other thing did I but oppofe my felfe againft weapons, and thew hatred a place wherein it might bite me? Seelt thou thefe who prayfe Eloquence, that follow riches, that flatter authoritie, that extoll power: all thefe are enemies or can be enemies, for in effect they are all one. How great foeuer the number be of thofe that admire, as great is their number who doe enuy.

Hee teacheth thofe who thinke felices we are governed if they follow the multitude.

C H A P. XXXVII.



Hy rather feeke I not fomething out, which is good in vfe that I may finde in my minde, not fhew in outward appearance? Thefe things wherewith wee gaze, thefe things wherewith wee ftay, and with admiration one man theweth vnto another, doe outwardly fhine, but are inwardly miferable. Let vs feeke out fomething that is good not in appearance, but folide and vnited, and faireft in that

Ggg which

Since we feeke for that good which is truly good, not apparently good: let vs not deuiſe our examples, eyther from the exteriour appearance or the publicke applauſe.

which appeareth the least. Let vs discover this, neither is it farre from vs, wee shall find it. Yet hadst thou need to know whether thou shouldest stretch thy hand. But now as if we were in darknes we passe by these things that are neere vs, and stumble vpon those things which we desire. But lest I draw thee thorow a Labyrinth, I will let slip other mens opinions, for it were too long a matter to reckon them vp and confute them, and let thee know our owne. And when I tell thee ours, I will not tye my selfe to any one of our principall Stoicks: I haue authoritie enough to speake what I thinke, I will therefore follow some one, I will command another to giue a reason of his, and happely being cited after all others, I will disallow none of those things which the former haue decreed, and will say: *This thinke I ouer and beside*, and in the meane while following the common consent of the Stoicks, I will consent to Nature which is the Mother of all things. For it is wisdom not to wander from her, but to forme our selues according to her Law and Example. The life then is happie which is according to nature, which can no otherwise happen then if the mind be first of all sound, and in perpetuall possession of her health. Againe, if thee be strong, and vehement, and fierce, and patient likewise, apt for the time, curious of the bodie, and those things that appertayne therewnto: yet not ouer carefull or diligent in those things which maintaine life, disposed to vse the presents of Fortune, without admiration of any thing, without wondering at any of them, no wayes inclined to seruitude. Thou vnderstandest although I ayme it not, that from thence there followeth a perpetuall tranquillitie and libertie, driuing away farre from vs all those things that eyther prouoke or terrifie vs much. For instead of these trouble pleasures, (and for those things that are small and triuolous, and that hurt vs at that time, when we make vse of them to satisfie our passions) there succeedeth an excellent ioy in assured, and a continuall peace and repose of the soule, and a greatnesse of the minde accompanied with mildnesse. For all furie proceedeth from her infirmity.

CHAP. IV.

The diuers definitions of a happy life.



Man may likewise define our good after another sort, that is to say, expresse the same thing in other termes. Euen as one and the same Armie sometimes spreadeth it selfe out at large, sometimes retrayneth and locketh vp her selfe in a little place, either bendeth her selfe like a *Crescent* with hornes on either side and hollow in the midit, or marcheth in a Battalion hauing wings to warrant them, and howsoever she is disposed, yet hath she alwayes the same force and resolution to maintaine the party for which she is leuied: so our definition of the Soueraigne good may sometimes be extended out a far, sometimes comprised in few words and gathered as it were into it selfe. It will all come to one, if I say: The Soueraigne good is a minde despising casualties, and content with vertue: or an inuincible force of the minde well experienced in the affaires of this World, peaceable in his actions, full of humanitie in regard of those with whom he conuerseth. It pleaseth vs likewise to define it thus, that we call him a blessed man who esteemeth nothing either good or euill, except a mind either good or euill, a respector of honesty, content with Vertue, whom neither casualties extoll nor depresse, who knows no other greater good then that which he can giue himself, who reputeth it for a true pleasure to contemne pleasures.

Thou

Thou mayest if thou wilt expatiate, turne this definition into one or two other sorts, provided that the principall remayne. For what forbiddeth vs to esteeme him happy that hath his spirit free, rayled, assured, and firme, estranged from all feare and desire, that esteemeth nothing but Vertue, and disdaineth nothing but Vice? All other the base multitude of things, neither detracting any thing nor adding ought to blessed Life, come and goe without increase or decrease of the chiefest good. He that hath layed so good a foundation, shall bee alwayes followed whether he will or no, with a continuall ioy, with a profound content that proceedeth from excellent thoughts, because he contenteth himselfe with that which he possesseth, neither desireth any more then that hee hath at home: why should he make a scruple to change willingly these light and triuolous and vnassured motions and pleasures of the bodie, for goods so certaine as these other are? At that very instant when voluptuousnesse shall ouer-master a man, at that very time also all misfortunes and cares shall hang ouer his head.

CHAP. V.



Hou mayest then see into what dangerous & miserable seruitude he falleth who suffereth pleasures and sorrowes (two vnfaithfull and cruell commanders) to possesse him successfully. We must therefore issue out and find liberty, and this doth no other thing giue vs then the neglect of Fortune. Then shall that inestimable good arise, namely the repose of the minde rettyred into an assured place, and mounted so high that the seeth all the myths of errors incontinently scatter themselves, in such sort that from the knowledge of the truth, there proceedeth a great and constant ioy, a sweetnesse and freedom of conscience, wherein the vertuous man shall take pleasure, not as they are goods, but as the fruits which proceed from the ground of that good which is in him. Because I haue begun to discourse liberally, I say that he may be called blessed, who by the benefit of his reason, neither feareth, nor desireth any thing. I make mention of reason because stones, and beasts are both of them destitute of feare and sadnesse, and yet no man will say that they are happy Creatures, because they haue no sense or vnderstanding of felicitie. Put into this ranke, those men whose dulnesse of nature, and ignorance of themselves hath drawne into the number of sheepe and beasts. There is no difference betwixt these and them, because the one haue no reason, and the other their reason depraued, and if the discourse it is onely to weaken and ruinate her selfe. For no man can be called blessed, who is exiled from the truth. That therefore is a blessed life which is grounded vpon an vpright, certaine, and immutable iudgment. For then is the minde pure, and exempt from all euils, when it hath no feeling of any distractions or temptations whatsoeuer, resolved to persist there wherefoeuer she is settled, and resolute to mainrayne her abode, in spite of wrathfull and repining Fortune. For in regard of pleasure, although it be dispersed in euery place, although she come from euery part, and try and attempt by all meanes whereby she may intangle vs, either in whole or in part: what man is hee amongst men that hath any impression of man-hood in him, that will suffer himselfe to be flattered and tickled therewith day and night, and forsaking the soule, will haue a care of the bodie?

He consuteth those that see their this on pleasures of the body, and desireth what a happy man is.

Ggg 2

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

*An answer unto
those that would
confound the
pleasures of the
body and the
soule together.*

BVt the soule likewise (sayth hee) shall haue her pleasures. Let her enjoy them, and let her sit as Iudge ouer dissolution and pleasures. Let her glut herselfe with all those things that are wont to delight the Senses. Furthermore, let her looke backe to those things that are past, and remembering herselfe of her decayed pleasures let her enjoy those that are nearest her, extend her hand to the future, ruling her hopes, and lifting vp her thoughts to that which is to come, whilest the body tumbleth in delights and surfeits. This in my iudgement is a meere misery, because it is a madnesse to embrace the euill in stead of the good. Neyther is any man blessed without health, neither any man healthy, that longeth for hurtfull, and letted healthfull things passe. He therefore is blessed, who hath a right iudgment. Blessed is he that is contented with the present whatsoeuer it be, that is a friend to his owne affaires, blessed is hee who in the government of his whole life giueth care vnto Reason. As for those that haue said that the Soueraigne good consisteth in pleasure, it behoueth them to consider how fordid and abiect a place it is wherein they haue lodged a thing so precious. For their excuse they allege that a man cannot separate pleasure from Vertue, and they say likewise that no man can liue honestly except hee be pleasant and iouiall: and that to be ioyfull and honest, is one and the same thing. Yet see I not how these two things may be coupled together. And why I pray you may not pleasure be deuied from Vertue? Forsooth, because every beginning of good proceedeth from Vertue. From the roots hereof even these things spring which you loue, and desire so much. But if these were inseparable, we should not see that some things are pleasing, but yet not honest, and some things most honest, but difficult, and such as may not be recovered but by dolour and paine.

CHAP. VII.

*A continuation
of the former
Chapter wherein
we sheweth that
Pleasure is in-
compatible with
Vertue, & con-
sequently is, who
is estranged from
the chiefest good.*

ADde hereunto likewise that pleasure intermixeth it selfe with a most vicious life, but Vertue admitteth it not: It is with pleasure yea for pleasures sake that some are vnhappy. Which would not cometo passe, if pleasure had intermixed it selfe with Vertue, which Vertue often misleth, neuer needeth. Why vniue you things different, nay more, contrarie? Vertue is a thing high, kingly, invincible, insatiable; pleasure, humble, seruile, weak, fraile, whose actions and bounds are Tavernes and Brothell-houses. You shall finde Vertue in the Temple, in the Market place, in the Court, in the Court of Guard smothered in dust, red with heat, hauing hard hands: pleasure oftentimes lying hidden and affecting darknes about Barthes and Hot-houses, and such places as feare the Constable, daintie, effeminate, forced in Wine, and Perfumes, pale, painted, and belabored with Medicine. The chiefest good is immortal, it cannot perish, neither hath it satiety, neither repentance, for the iust mind is neuer altered; hee is neuer harteull to himselfe, neither being her selfe the best, hath shee changed anything. But pleasure at that time when the most delighteth is extinguished. Neither taketh she vp great room, and therefore shee quickly filleth and loberth, and after the first assault pineth away; and as their is nothing certayne, whose nature is

in

in motion, so can there not be any substance of that thing that commeth and passeth quickly, and such as is like to perish in the very use thereof. For he hath attained thither where he should end, and in beginning hee already regardeth the end.

CHAP. VIII.

Furthermore the euill haue their pleasures, as well as the good: and the basest take no lesse contentment in their absurdities, then great men doe in things that are excellent. And therefore the Ancients haue commanded, that we should follow the better & not the most pleasing life. For Nature must gouerne vs, she it is that ruleth and counsaileth Reason. To liue then happily and according to Nature is one and the same thing. I will now tell you what this is. If we carefully and confidently conferre the goods of the body, according as wee ought, and as they are agreeable vnto Nature, as gifts that haue no continuance, but communicable, from day to day: If we intrall not our felices to their seruitude, and if those that haue beene distributed to our Neighbours possesse vs not, if that which is agreeable vnto vs, and giuen vs as an ouerplus to the bodie, seruet vs only in that nature, as spies and forlorne hopes in an Armie: in briefe, if they serue vs and command vs not, then may wee say that they are profitable and necessary for the soule. A man that is entyre ought not to be surmounted with exterior things, he must admire nothing but himselfe, he ought to be confident, disposed against all casualties, a composer of his own life, & see that his resolution be accompanied with science & constancie, that that which hee once hath conceiued, remayne vnaltered, & that no exception accompany his resolution. It is vnderstood likewise although I adde it not, that such a man should be addressed and ordered as hee ought, gracious & magnificent in all his entertainments, that true reason be ingrafted in his senses, and that from thence hee take his principles. For thence it is and from no other place, that hee extendeth her selfe, to apprehend the truth, & afterwards returneth into her selfe. The world likewise that embraceth & comprehendeth all things, and God who is the Gouernour of this World, extendeth himselfe truly to exterior things, and yet he returneth in euery part intirely into himselfe. Let our minde doe the like, that after he hath serued the senses, and by the means thereof, hath extendeth her selfe to externall things, she may possesse her selfe in briefe, that she may rely & stay her selfe vpon the chiefest good. By this means she shall become a facultie and power according with her selfe, and that certaine reason shall arise which is neither shaken nor extrauagant in her opinions, apprehensions, or persuasions, but being well ordered and well agreed with her parts with which she singeth (if we may so say it) in the same tune, shee hath attained the fullnesse of her felicity. For she hath no way that is rugged or slippery to passe therow, neyther any wherein she may stumble or fall. She shall doe all that which she listeth, and nothing shall befall her that is vnexpected, but all that which she shall do shall turne to her good, easily, addressedly, and without delay. For idleness & want of resolution discouer contradiction and inconstancie; thou mayest therefore boldly maintayn that the peace of conscience is the Soueraigne good, because it must needs follow, that the vertues remayne there where consent and vniou haue their abode, and vices are at odds amongst themselves.

*In continuing
his resolution,
hee distributeth
what this manner
of speech
means, that to
liue happily, and
according to Na-
ture, is one and
the same thing.*

C H A P. I X.

*The peace of
conscience is the
chiefest good, but
Seneca pleath
this good in the
sidge of humane
reason, which we
must bear with-
all in a sickle
and a fagitt,
who know not
what the gift of
Regeneration
was.*

BVt thou likewise (saith he) honourest Vertue for no other cause but for that thou expectest some pleasure thereby. First, Vertue is not therefore sought after, because she bringeth with her some pleasure, for she produceth it not, and yet is not without it. Neither labourst she for this, but her labour although intended to another end gaineth also this point to produce some pleasure. Euen as in a Field that is ploughed vp for Corne, some Flowers spring vp amongst the good Graines, and yet this ground was not manured to that end it should bring forth these Flowers, although they delight the eye, neither had the Husbandman any such intention, and yet the Flowers sproute vp with the Corne: so pleasure is not the reward or cause of Vertue but an accession vnto Vertue. Neyther is it pleasing because it delighteth; but because it is pleasing it delighteth. The chiefest good consisteth and is grounded on iudgement and the habit of a good mind, which hauing fulfilled his habitude, and confined himselfe within his limits, the chiefest good is consummate, neither desireth any other thing more. For there is nothing without the whole, no more than beyond the end. Thou art therefore deceived when thou askest me, what that is for which I require Vertue: for thou seekest for somewhat that is about the chiefest. Thou askest mee what I pretend from Vertue? Her selfe: for nothing is better, shee is the reward of her selfe. Is this a small thing, when I say vnto thee, that the Soueraigne good is an inflexible vigour, a prouidence, a firme disposition, a libertie, a concord, and beautie of the soule? doest thou looke for any thing more, whereunto these may be referred? why namest thou pleasure vnto me? I seeke for the good of a man, not of the belly, which is more disordered then any brute beast.

C H A P. X.

*That there is
neither content
nor ioy in the
pleasures of this
world, when they
are neuer so little
separated from
Vertue, which
maketh vs of
those pleasures
with moderation*

THou pretendest to beignorant (saith he) of that which I say: For I deny that any man may liue pleasingly, except he liue honestly likewise: which cannot befall brute beasts, which measure their good by their bellies. I protest I tell thee both plainly and publicly, that this life which I call pleasant, cannot consist without the adiection of Vertue. But who knoweth not that euen the very foolishhest amongst you are the fullest of pleasure, and that iniquity aboundeth in delight, and that the minde it selfe not only suggesteth some kinds of pleasure, but also many? First, insolence and over-great esteeme of a mans selfe, a pride surpassing all other, a blind and improuident loue of that which a man hath, affluent delights, a ioy proceeding from trifling and childish occasions, distraction, and arrogancy, reioicing in contumelies, sloth and dissolution of the sluggish mind, that is benumbed in it selfe. But these doth Vertue discusse, she puls vs by the eare, and estimateth pleasures before she admit them, neither careth she much for those she hath enterrayned, (although she admit them) neither is delighted in the vse of them, but temperance is ioyfull: but when as temperance diminisheth pleasures, the iniurieth the chiefest good in meddling with the same. Thou imbracest pleasure, I moderate it. Thou enioyest pleasure, I vse it: Thou thinkest it to bee the chiefest good, I scarcely deeme it good. Thou doest all things

things for pleasures sake, and I nothing: when I say that I do nothing for pleasures sake, I speake of that Wise man to whom alone thou grantest pleasure.

C H A P. XI.

ET I call not him a wise man that is subiect to any passion about all things, if he be a vassall to pleasure. For being subiect vnto her how shall he resist labour, danger, pouertie, and so many tempests as storme about this life? How shall he endure the sight of death and sorrow? how shall he sustaine the assaults of this World, and of so many other dreadfull aduersaries, if he be conquered by such an effeminate enemy? He will doe all that which pleasure perswadeth him vnto. Go to: seest thou not how many follies she will perswade him to? She cannot, saith thou, perswade any thing vndecently, because she is accompanied with Vertue. Seest thou not againe what the chiefest good should be, if he had need of such a Guard to make him good? But how can Vertue gouerne pleasure, when she followeth her, when as it is the part of a seruant to attend, and of a Master to commaund? You make her the seruant that should commaund. But you preferre Vertue vnto a goodly office, you make her a taster to pleasures. But we will see whether Vertue be lodged amongst those who haue done her so many outrages, since she can no more be called Vertue, if she hath giuen ouer her place. In the meane while (for it is that whereof we intreat) I wil shew that there are diuers voluptuous men on whom Fortune hath powred all her goods, whom thou must needs confesse to be euill. Looke vpon *Nomentanus*, and *Aspicus*, two carefull ingrossers (as these men call them) of whatsoeuer delicate either Land or Sea affordeth, and who present vpon their tables all the choise creatures, that are fit for meat in euerie country. Behold these very men who from their beds, behold their Kitchins, who fill their eares with Musick, their eyes with pleasing shewes, and delight their palats with sundrie sauces, with soft and gentle fomentations all their bodie is supled, and left in the mean while their nostrils should be idle, that verie place is filled with diuers odours, wherein the funerall banquet of dissolution is celebrated. Thou wilt say that these men haue their pleasures, yet are they not at their ease, because they reioyce not in goodnesse.

C H A P. XII.

EWILL befall them (saith thou) because diuers things happen in the interim which trouble the minde, and contrarie opinions shall disquiet the spirits, which I grant to be so. Yet notwithstanding those verie fooles, those inconstant fellows whom repentance attendeth at the heeles, are plunged in delights, so as we are informed to confesse that such men are as farre estranged from discontents and troubles, as from good mindes, and (as as it falleth out in many men) they are pleasant fooles, and merrie mad-men. But on the contrarie part, the pleasures of wise men are more remisse and modest, feeble enough, secret, and lesse obserued, because they are not sought after; and if they come without calling, they are lesse made account of or entertained. For wisemen intermixe the

That the voluptuous person is not wise, and consequently is deprived of vertue, and hath no part in blessed life.

That the pleasures of wicked men are not truly pleasures, but follies, and vices, contrariwise, those of the wise are modest.

the pleasures of this life, as men are wont to mingle their serious matters with sports and pleasant discourses. Let them desist therefore to ioyne inconueniences, and to implicate Vertue with Pleasure, for by such false opinions they seduce those who are already too much corrupted with vice. The one of these abandoned vnto his pleasures alwaies drunke and tumbling on the Earth, knowing well that he liueth voluptuously: beleueeth also that he followeth the Tract of Vertue: because he beleueeth that pleasure cannot be separated from Vertue, and afterwards intitlith his vices with the name of wildome, and publisheth those things which should be hidden. So these kind of men (who haue not learned it of the Epicure) surfeit in their delights, and being drowned in vices, hide their voluptuousnesse in the bosome of Philosophie: and haue their recourse thither where they heare that pleasure is prayed. Neyther estimate they rightly (for such vndoubtedly is my opinion) how sober and moderate his pleasure is: but flye vnto the name, seeking out a patronage and excuse for their lusts. They therefore lose that one good which they had in euils, which is the shame of offending. For they praise these things whereof they were ashamed, and glorie in their vice, and therefore youth cannot rowle and recouer it selfe, when they ascribe so faire a title to fo fowle an error.

CHAP. XIII.

THis is the cause why this praise of pleasure is so pernicious, because honest precepts remayne buried hereby, and that which most corrupteth is most apparant. But my opinion is (although it be to the disgust of those of my Sect) that the precepts of the Epicure are holy, right, and if thou examine them more neerely, seuerer enough. For he scantleth the wing of pleasure verie much, neither giueth her any libertie, but imposeth the same Law vpon voluptuousnesse that we doe vpon Vertue. He commandeth her to obey Nature, but that which sufficeth Nature, is too little for dissolution. What is it therefore? He that calleth slothfull idleness, and the varietie of gormandize and dissolution, felicitie, seeketh a faire pretext for an euill thing, and whilest he commeth thither (being shrouded vnder a name of respect) he followeth pleasure, not that which hee hath learned; but that which he had in her selfe, and thinking his vices had bene taught him in some Schoole, he pleaseth himselfe in them, not fearefully, nor obscurely, yea he surfeiteth on them in the sight and presence of all men: I will not therefore say, as diuers of the Stoicks doe, that the Epicures Sect teacheth nothing but wickednes, but this I say that it hath an euill report, and is vnderfetched defamed. No man can know this thing, except he be admitted to know the secrets of this Schoole. The front and that which appeareth outwardly, is the cause why men detract the same, and speake so sinfully of it. It is as it were a valiant man clothed in an effeminate robe. As long as thou maintainest modestie, Vertue is in securitie. Thou wilt say that thy bodie is not addicted to any vncleannesse, but thou holdest (as some say) the Drumme in thy hand, and awakeneest others to doe euill. Make choice therefore of an honest title; and let the inscription be such as may incite the mind to repel those vices which weaken as presently as they are intainted: whosoever approacheth Vertue, he giueth hope of some generous thing. He that followeth plea.

Why the praise
of pleasure is
pernicious.

pleasure seemeth to bee weake, broken, effeminate, disposed to doe wickedly. Except some man decipher vnto him what pleasures are: to the end he may know which of them are limited within a naturall desire: which are carried away head-long, and are infinite, and the more they are fulfilled, the lesse are they satisfied. Well then, let Vertue leade the way, and our steppes shall be assured. Ouer-great pleasure is hurtfull, in Vertue it is not to be feared that there should be any thing excessiue, for hee her selfe onely is the meane. That which is tired with his owne greatnesse, is not good.

CHAP. XIV.

BUT to those that haue a reasonable Nature, what better thing then reason may be proposed? If this vnion be agreeable, and if a man will trauell in such companie towards happie life, let Vertue goe before, and pleasure follow after, as the shadow doth the bodie. It is a small matter for a great minde to giue pleasure for a Hand-maid to attend on Vertue, which is the most honourablest Mistresse that a man may meet with all. Let Vertue march before and carrie the Ensigne, yet notwithstanding, we shall haue pleasure, although we be Masters and gouernours of the same. She will presse vs to grant her something, but she cannot constraine vs thereunto. But they that haue giuen the superiority to pleasure, haue wanted both, For they lose Vertue: Moreover, they haue not pleasure; but pleasure is Lord ouer them, with whose want they are either tormented, or else in abundance strangled. Wretched if they be forsaken by her, and more wretched if they be over-pressed. Like these who are intangled in the Syrtis: Now are they left on drie Land, presently hurried away with the violence of the streame. But this falleth out thorow too much intemperance, and the blinde loue we beare vnto the same. He that requirith euill for good, casteth himselfe into great danger, if he obtaine the same. Euen as we hunt wilde beasts with labour and hazard, and when we haue caught them, it is a hard matter to keepe them: because that oftentimes they teare their Masters in pieces; so fareth it with those who haue great pleasures, for they turne to their great miseries; and surprise them when they imagine they haue the mastery ouer them. Which the more and greater they be, so the lesse is he, and more subiect and slave vnto many whom the common sort call, Happie: To continue and prosecute the similitude which I haue proposed: Euen as hee that searcheth the haunts of wilde beasts and accounts it a great matter to catch such dumbe Creatures in his nets, and enuiron some great Forrest with a kennell of hounds, to the end to follow their Tract, forsaketh his better affaires, and renounceth many other offices: so hee that followeth pleasure, neglecteth all other things, respecteth not his former libertie, but dependeth on his belly, neither buyeth he pleasures for himselfe, but selleth himselfe to pleasures.

Against those
that ioyne plea-
sure with ver-
tue, that is to
say, ioyne it with
dissimulation.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Against those
that will have
Vertue with
pleasure, loosely
with dishonestie
together.

BUT what (saith he) letteth Vertue and Voluptuousnesse to be confounded in one, to the end that from them both the Soueraigne good might be deriued, so that it might be one thing to be honest, and to be pleasant? Because there cannot be a part of honestie which is not honest, neither shall the chiefest good haue his sinceritie, if he discouer ought in his selfe that is vnlike the better. Neyther is that ioy which proceedeth from Vertue, although it be good, a part of the chiefest and absolute good: no more then mirth and tranquillitie, although they are deriued from most excellent causes. For these are goods: yet such as attend the Soueraigne good, but perfect it not. But whosoever will associate Vertue, and pleasure, and not equall them; by the frailty of the one, he mortifieth all that which is actiue in the other. Finally, he intralleth that inuincible libertie that knoweth nothing more precious then her selfe. For he beginneth to haue need of Fortune which is the greatest seruitude of all others. And he is attended by a doubtfull, fearefull, and suspicious life, fearefull of casualties, and suspended vpon the moments of time. Thou giuest not Vertue a seded and immouable foundation, but commandest her to stand in a slippery place. But what is so vncertaine as the expectation of casualties, and the varietie of the bodie, and such things as affect the bodie? How can he obey God, and entertaine euerie thing that hapneth to him with a good minde, and cease to complaine of Fate, and be a faithfull interpreter of his owne casualties, if he be shaken with the smallest assaults of pleasures or sorrowes? neither can he be a good tutor or defender of his Countrie, nor a maintainer of his friends, if he be inclined to pleasures. Thither therefore doth the chiefest good ascend from whence he may not be drawne by any force: Whereby there is neyther entrance giuen to sorrow, hope, or feare, nor to any other thing which may in dampnishe or lessen the greatnesse of the chiefest good. And only Vertue may ascend thereunto, by her steppes this sleepe rocke must be broken; she will stand stilly, and whatsoeuer shall happen will endure it, not onely patient but also willing, knowing that euerie difficultie of time is but the Law of Nature. And as a good Souldier will endure wounds, number his scarres; and though thrust thorow with many weapons, will dying loue that Captaine for whose sake he breatheth his last: so will Vertue haue this ancient precept in minde, *March after God*. But whosoever complaineth, weepeth, and mourneth, is compelled to do that which is commanded; and notwithstanding is violently enforced to doe that which is enioyned him. But what madnesse is it rather to be drawne then to follow? As great in truth, as if thorow fortitude and ignorance of thy condition, thou shouldest lament, because some misfortune is befallne thee; or shouldest be amazed and diffident, that thou couldest not endure that, which hapneth as well to the good as to the euill, that is to say, sickness, death of parents and friends, weaknesse, and such other incumbrances of mortall life. Let vs courageously endure all that which the common condition of all things that are created, submitteth vs vnto. We are obliged vnto this, to endure all the accidents of our life without troubling our selues with those casualties, which we know how to auoid. We are not borne vnder a Royall domination. It is libertie to obey God.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

THUS felicitie therefore is placed in Vertue. What wil the counsaile thee to? That thou thinke that neyther good nor euill that hapneth vnto thee, eyther by vertue or by malice. Afterwards, that by the meanes of God thou remaine alwaies firme and confident against euill, and that as farre as lieth in thy power thou selfe after this manner? Great things and such as are answerable to those that are diuine. Thou shalt be enforced in nothing; Thou shalt want nothing, thou shalt be free, assured, and exempt from all damage: thou shalt vnderstand no thing in vaine: thou shalt doe that which thou pleasest without trouble or disturbance. All things shall fall out as thou wilt: Adversitie shall not touch thee. What then? Shall Vertue onely which is thus perfect and diuine, suffice to liue happily? And why should it not suffice? I say this, it is more then sufficient. For what can he want that is contented with euery thing, & desireth nothing whatsoeuer? He that hath gathered all things that are his into himselfe, hath no need of any external thing. But he that tendeth vnto Vertue, although he hath gotten the greater part of his way, yet hath he need of some indulgence and fauour of Fortune, who as yet is intangled amidst the cares of this life, and hath not as yet acquit himselfe of those bonds which tye him captiue to this World. What difference then is there, some are tyed, some are lockt vp, and some are fettered. But he that hath gotten more high, and is as it were lifted vp from the Earth, draweth his chaine, being as yet not at full liberty, and reputed for a man that is wholly free.

Hee who hath
that above
himselfe, in his
heart, and
in his life
is
free, and
not
bound
to
any
thing.

CHAP. XVII.

IF therefore any one of these that barked at Philosophie alledge that which they are accustomed, Why then speakest thou better then thou liuest? whence cometh it that thou flatterest a man more greater then thy selfe? that thou esteemest money to be a necessary ayde, that thou art moued if thou losest the same, that thou weepest if thou hearest news of the death of thy wife, or of thy friend that thou art glad if thou be praised and spoken well of in all places, and that detractions torment thee? Why are thy Countrie grounds better trimmed then the naturall vse requireth? why keepest thou no ordinary rule in taking thy repast? what meaneth thy house better furnished then other mens? What moueth thee to drinke Wine more older then thy selfe? why is euerie thing so well ordered in thy house? whence cometh it that thou plantest trees, which serue for no other vse but for shade? whence is it that thy wife weareth the renew of a rich family hanging at her eares? And what is the cause that thy Pages are so richly apparelled? why hast thou an art in thy house to know how to serue the Table, and that thy plate is not set vpon thy boord rashly, and at euerie mans pleasure, but is serued in by courses, and that thou hast a carter to cut vp thy dainties? Adde hereunto if thou wilt: Why hast thou goods beyond Seas? and why art thou Master of so many goods, that thou knowest not how to number them? Art thou so dishonest and negligent that thou knowest not three or foure

Having sought
the place of the
fortune, we good
and of a happy
life, we search
that that flat-
ter us.

of

of thy servants? or so dissolute that thou hast them in so great number that thy memorie sufficeth not to containe their names? Hereafter I will assist thee in speaking euill of me, and besides this, will propoſe againſt my ſelfe, more then thou thinkeſt: For the preſent, behold what anſwer I will make thee. I am not wife (and to ſatiſfie thy diſpleaſure the better) I ſhall not be wife. I require not therefore of my ſelfe to be equal with the beſt, but to be better then the worſt. It ſufficeth me to cut off day by day ſome part of my vices, and to checke my imperfections; my health neither is, nor ſhall be inſire. I prepare vnguent, but no exact remedies for my paine of the govt, contenting my ſelfe if it trouble me not often, and that it be leſſe furious and burning then it is. If I be compared with thee for ſwiftneſſe of pace, I am but a weake runner.

CHAP. XVIII.

The ſpeake not this for my ſelfe (for I am drowned in vices) but for him that alreadie hath gotten ground. Thou ſpeakeſt, ſaiſt thou, in one kinde, but beleeueſt in another. This hath bene reproached by ſome leaſt companions, enemies of all good men, to *Plato*, to the *Epicure*, and to *Zeno*. For all theſe ſhewed how wee ought to liue, and not how they themſelues liued. I ſpeake of Vertue not of my ſelfe. When I blame vices, I ſiſt of all reprooue mine owne, and when I may poſſibly, I will liue as I ought. This malignitie infected with diuers poiſons, ſhall not driue me from my laudable deſignes. This venome which you vomit out againſt others, and wherewith you poiſon your ſelues, ſhall not hinder me from praying that li'e, according to which I know that I ought to gouerne my ſelfe, although I gouerne not my ſelfe in that ſort as I ought therein. Your malignitie (I tell you) ſhall not reſtraine me from adorning that vertue, which I follow not, although it be eſtranged and farre off from me. Shall I expect that reproach, ſhall I in any ſort reſtraine her hands which neither reſpected *Rutilius*, nor forbore *Cato*? Why ſhould not any man in theſe mens opinion, be ouer-rich, to whom *Demetrius* the Cynick ſeemed not poore enough? O exact perſon and aduict ſarrie to all the deſires of Nature, ſo farre as he forbade himſelfe to demand thoſe things from the vſe whereof he had reſolued to abſtaine. For he maintaineth that the wiſeman wanteth nothing. Markeſt thou this? he profelleſſed not the ſcience of Vertue: but of povertie.

CHAP. XIX.

The denieth that *Diondorm* the Philoſopher, and the *Epicure*, who not long ſince haitened his own death, by cutting his throat with his owne hands, followed in this act the Doctrin of the *Epicures*. Some impute this vnto ſurie, ſome vnto folly, and vaine glorie. He contrariwiſe content and furniſhed with a good conſcience hath giuen teſtimonie to himſelfe in departing out of this life, and hath praiſed the repoſe of his daies, and arrived at the port, pronouncing that which you haue heard, in diſpight of your teeth, and that which you your ſelues alſo muſt ſay when your turne cometh:

*Long haue I li'd, and ſully haue I ended
That race of life that Fortune firſt commended.*

You

You diſpute of another mans life, of another mans death, and barke like little Dogges, againſt the names of great and laudable men, as if you met with men that were vnknowne. For it is expedient for you, that no man ſhould ſeeme good, becauſe another mans vertue ſhould not reproch your iniquities. To your great hearts grieſe you compare famous things with your abſurdities, neither perceiue you that this boldneſſe of yours woundeth you wonderfully; For if the Schollers of Vertue be couetous, voluptuous and ambitious, what name ſhall we allot you, who haue the very name of Vertue? You obiect that no man doth that which he teacheth, and that he doth other wiſe then he ſpeaketh. Is this to be wondred at? conſidering that they propoſe great and valorous things, which are aboue all the tempests of the world, and ſtrive to nayle themſelues to the croſſe, wherewithin euery one of you hath planted ſome nayle: yea, before they are at the place of puniſhment, they are content to bee tied to any wood that they meete withall. They that doe not chaſtice and reprove themſelues by themſelues, are ſo many times tied vnto the Gibbet, as there are paſſions that draw them hither and thither, and are ready to our-rage another; I would beleeue them, were there not ſome of them that from the gal-lows curſed and ſpit on thoſe that beheld them.

CHAP. XX.

He Philoſophers performe not what they ſpeake, yet performe they very much, becauſe they ſpeake that which they haue conceiued with an honeſt minde. For if their words and deeds were one, what were more bleſſed then they? In the meane ſpace, thou haſt no cauſe to deſpiſe good words, neither thoſe hearts that are full of good thoughts. You ought to praiſe the faire and honeſt occupations of the minde, and the ſtudie of good Sciences, although there follow no effect thereupon. What wonder is it if they that haue attempted high matters, attaine not to honour? Reuerence thou the hardy and difficult enterpriſes of vertue, admire the men, although attempting great matters, they faile of their purpoſe. It is a generous thing, for a man that conſidereth not his owne, but natures forces; to attempt and vndertake high matters, and to conceiue that in his thought which the moſt ableſt men in the world cannot effect; who hath purpoſed and ſaid this vnto himſelfe; I will keepe the ſame countenance in beholding death, as I kept when I heard that ſhee approached mee. How great waight ſo ever ſhall be impoſed on me, I will yeeld my ſhoulder, and my minde ſhall ſuſtaine my body. I will make as ſmall reckoning of thoſe goods that I haue, as of thoſe that I haue not, if they lye on the ground in another mans houſe, it ſhall not trouble me, neither if they ſhine about me will I bee proude. I will neither reſpect the preſent proſperitie or future aduerſitie; I will looke vpon euery mans land as if it were mine owne, and on mine as if it were all mens; I will ſo liue, as if I knew that I was borne for others, and for that will I giue thanks to nature that hath appropriated mee to that vſe. What could ſhe doe more for me? She hath giuen mee only vnto all men, and all men vnto me alone; what ſoeuer I haue, I will neither keepe it too niggardly, nor ſpend it too prodigally. I will beleeue that I poſſeſſe nothing more, then that which is well giuen me. I will not eſteeme any benefits by the number or waight, nor eſtimate them any other wayes, but in reſpect of him that receiueſt them.

Hbb

That

That this reproach is not new. That a woman in conuincing other mens vices, begunneth with his owne, and hath a deſire to mend himſelfe. That we ought patiently to endure ſciffes becauſe the beſt men haue not eſcaped them.

A paradox of the Stoicks, who praiſe thoſe that marre or ruineth ſelues. The iniquitie of thoſe men that reuile others, and yet amend not themſelues.

That a man hath purchaſed much, that hath gotten himſelfe good thoughts, although the effects follow not alwayes.

That shall neuer seeme too much to me, which a worthy man receiueth at my hands; I will doe all things, not for opinion but for conscience sake. I will beleeue it is done in the sight of all men, whatsoeuer I doe vnwittingly. The end of my eating and drinking shall be to satisfie the desires of nature, not to fill and empty my belly. I will be pleasing to my friends, gentle and facile to mine enemies. I will grant before I be asked, and will preuent all honest demandes. I will remember that the world is my Countrey, that the gods who gouerne the world are about me, and stand about me as censors of my deedes and words. And as often as nature shall redemand my soule, or reason dismisie it, I will depart this life with this testimony, that I haue loued and laboured to haue a good conscience, and to be exercised in laudable actions; that no mans libertie hath bene diminished by me, nor mine by any man.

C H A P. XXI.

WHosoever resolueth with himselfe to doe this, hee will assay, hee will walke towards the gods, and aspire vnto great things, although he alwaies attaine them not. But you that hate Vertue and such as are vertuous, doe nothing new. For sick eyes are afraid of the Sunne, and those creatures which see not cleerely but by night, are astonished as soone as the bright-some day appeareth, and retire themselves to their lurking holes; In brieft, those creatures that feare the light, locke them vp in their retreats. Grieve and spend your wretched tongs in detracting good men; barke and bite at them, sooner shall you breake your teeth then lay hold or hurt them. But why liueth such an one who saith hee is a friend of Wisedome, so deliciously? Wherefore saith hee a man should despise riches, and yet he hath them? He doth nought else but speake against the loue of this life, and yet he liueth. Why commendeth he sicknesse, and yet so diligently maintayneth and longeth for health? Banishment with him is but a word of no vse, and hee saith that the change of a mans Countrey is no euill thing: Notwithstanding if he may make choice, hee endeth his dayes in the place where he was borne. Hee iudgeth that there is litle difference betwixt a short and long life, yet if nothing let him he extendeth his age, and flourisheth in quietnesse for many yeeres. Hee saith that these things should be contemned, not in regard of the proprietie and possession, but in respect we should not haue them with labour; he will not driue them from him, but will follow them securely when they sit away. In what store-houfe may Fortune better locke her riches then there, from whence shee may fetch them, without complaint of him that keepeth them? *Marcus Cato* when he praised *Curius* and *Coruncanus*, and that Age wherein it was an offence worthy of censure to haue some few plates of siluer, was himselfe master of a million of gold, farre lesse in respect of the treasure which *Craffus* had, yet farre more then *Cato* the Censor was Lord of. By farre more had he surpassed his great Grand-father, had they bene compared together, then he was surpassed by *Craffus*; And if greater fortunes had befallne him, he had not refused them. For a wise man thinketh himselfe worthy of all those presents of fortune. He loueth not riches, and yet he preferreth them before poverty; he receiueth them into his house, but not in his minde, neither treadeth them vnder foote in possessing them, but containeth them, and will haue an excellent subject to exercise his vertue vpon.

C H A P.

That good
thoughts are the
beginnings, and
the high wayes
to good worke.



C H A P. XXII.

BVt who doubteth, but that a wife man hath a greater meanes to expresse the worthinesse of his minde, when he hath riches, then when he hath pouertie, when as in pouertie there is but one vertue not to be dejected, not to be depressed? In riches a man may say that temperance, libertie, diligence, disposition, and magnificence, haue a spacious field to shew themselves in. A wife man will not contemne himselfe, although he be of a low stature, yet could hee wish that he were higher. Though he be slender in body, and haue lost an eye, yet will hee be content, yet had he rather that his body were strong enough, and to this end, that he may learne that there is something in him more strong and more vigorous; hee shall bee patient in sicknesse, and wish for health. There are some things although they be small in appearance, and such as may bee taken from vs without the ruine of the principall good, yet adde they something to perpetuall ioy which springeth from vertue. So doe riches affect and comfort him, as a faire and merrie winde doth a Sailer; as a faire day, or as a concert in colde weather and raine. But who is he, say I, amongst our wife men, who accounteth vertue for the onely good, that denieth likewise that these which we call indifferent, haue some worth in them, and that some are to be preferred before others? To some of these some honour is giuen, to some great. Doe not therefore deceiue thy selfe, riches are amongst those things that are to be desired. Why then saist thou, dost thou mocke me, when as they are as highly esteemed by thee as they are by me? Wilt thou know how differently they are affected? If riches slip out of my hands, they shall carry nothing away with them but themselves; Thou wilt bee astonished, and seeme vnto thy selfe to be left without thy selfe, if they depart from thee. Riches with me are in some request, with thee in high esteeme. In brieft, my riches serue me, Thou art a slave to thine.

C H A P. XXIII.

GIue ouer therefore to forbid Philosophers to haue money. No man hath condemned Wisedome to perpetuall pouertie. A wife man may haue great wealth, but taken from no man, nor bought with the effusion of other mens bloud, gotten without any mans preiudice, without vnlawfull gaine, whose departure shall be as honest as their entrie, whereat no man shall grieve except he be enuious. Vrges against them as much as thou pleasest, they are honest; in which whereas there are many things which euery man would haue called his, yet is there nothing that any man may say it is his. But the wiseman will not estrange the bountie of Fortune from himselfe, neither will he glory or bee ashamed of that patrimonie that he hath gotten with honestie; yet shall he haue wherein to glorie, if his doores being open, and the Gittie admitted to enter to examine his substance, he might say; Let euery man take that hence which he knoweth to be his! O great man, happily rich, if his actions be answerable to these speeches of his, if after this speech he haue so much; this I say, if safe and secure he hath submitted himselfe to the Cities search, if no man hath found ought in his

H h h 2
houfe,

Why a vertuous
and good man
despise not ri-
ches, & to what
use they serue
him.

In this place
there is an able
discourse of the
use of riches.

That riches are
honest, both in
regard of the
getting of them,
as in respect of
the possession and
use of them.



house that another man may challenge, boldly and openly, bee shall bee rich. Euen as a wife man admitteth no money into his house that is badly got, so will he not refuse nor exclude great riches, which are the gifts of fortune and the fruites of vertue. For what cause is there, why hee should enuie them a good place? Let them come and dwell with him; he will neither boast of them, nor hide them: the one is the signe of an insolent minde, the other of a fearefull and weake minde; as if containing a great good within his bosome. Neither as I said, will he cast them out of his house. For what will he say? whether this, You are vnprofitable; or this, I know not how to vse riches? Euen as he that although he can walke his journey on foote, yet hee had rather get vp into his Coach, so if he may be rich he will, and he will entertaine riches, yet as slight and transitorie things, neither will he suffer them to be burthenome to any other, nor to himselfe. He will giue them: what, hearken you now? Why open you your bosomes? he will giue, but either to good men, or to those whom he may make good. He will giue, but with great deliberation, making choice of the worthiest as remembering himselfe, that he is to giue an account both of his expences and receipts. He will giue vpon a iust and reasonable cause, for to giue euilly, is a shamefull losse. He will haue his bosome open, but not rent, out of which much money shall passe, but nothing shall be lost.

CHAP. XXIV.



Eddeciueh him selfe, whoeuer thinketh that it is an easie matter to giue; This thing hath great difficultie in it, so be it he giuen with iudgement, not scattered by aduenture or rashly. I gaine the heart of such a man, I restore vnto another; I succour this man, I take pittie on that man; I furnish such an one, because he deserueth to be warranted from pouertie, and to be no more busied in seeking his fortune. To some I will not giue although he want; because, although I should giue, yet will he still be needie. To some will I offer, and other some will I presse to take, I cannot be negligent in this thing, I neuer oblige so many vnto my profit as when I giue. What saist thou, dost thou giue to receiue againe? Yea, to the end I may not lose; yet must the gift that is giuen be in such hands whence it may not bee redeemed, it may be restored. Let a benefit bee bestowed like a treasure that is deeply hidden, which thou wilt not digge vp, except thou haist neede of it. What? hath not a rich mans house abundant matter to doe good? For who would tie liberality only to citizens and men of account? Nature comandeth vs to doe good vnto men, whether they be slaues or freemen, whether they be naturally bred, or by manumission freed of iniust liberie, or giuen amongst friends. What is that to the matter? Wherefoeuer a man is, there is a place of benefit. The wife man likewise may spend his money in his owne house, and exercise liberality, which is not so called, because it is giuen to free men, but because it proceedeth from a free minde. This liberality of a wife man, is neuer employed vpon filthy and vnworthy persons, neither is it ever so wearied, but that as often as he findeth out a worthy receiuer, it floweth abundantly; you are not therefore to giue a sinister interpretation, to those things that are spoken honestly, manfully, and stoutly, by those that are louers of wisdom. But consider this first of all, that there is a difference betwixt him that is studious of wisdom, and him that is wife and hath gotten wisdom.

He

Of the use of
Gaiety in regard
of the diuers re-
liefes of our neigh-
bours, and how
we ought to giue.

He that hath wisdom will say vnto thee, I speake iustly, yet am I entangled with many vices. You are not to require of mee a life that is euery way correspondent to my words, whereas I endeavour as much as I may to make and form my selfe, and addresse my selfe according to an excellent patterne. If I proceede as well as I haue intended, require this of me, that my deedes may bee answerable to my words. But he that hath attained the true selfe of wisdom, will deale otherwise with thee, and will say. First of all, thou art not to permit thy selfe to giue sentence of thy betters; for now already (which is the argument that I am in the right way) I haue gotten thus farre as to displease euill men. But to let thee know, that I enuie no mortall man, heare what I promise thee, and how much I estimate euery thing. I denie that riches are good, for if they were, they should make good men: but now since that which is found amongst euill men, cannot be called good, I deny them this name, yet confesse I that they are to be had, that they are profitable, and bring great commodities.

CHAP. XXV.



Eare therefore what the cause is, why I number them not amongst goods, and what thing I consider in them, more then you, since it is agreed betwene vs both that they are to be had. Put mee into a rich house; put me there where I shall bee ordinarily seru'd in silver and golde; I will not be proud for all this, which, although I haue by me, yet are they without me. Transferr me to a wooden bridge, and driue me amongst the beggers, I will not therefore despise my selfe, because I sit amongst them, who thrust out their hand to haue an almes giuen them; for what is this to the matter, whether a crust of bread bee wanting to him, who wants not the power to die? What then is it? I had rather haue that faire house then a bridge. Lodge me in a rich bed with delicate hangings and goodly furniture, I will not suppose my selfe more happy, because I haue soft and silken coverings vpon me, and because purple carpets are spread for my guests to sit vpon. I shall bee no whir more miserable, if my wearied head rest it selfe vpon a locke of haye, or if I lie vpon a Circensian and broken pad, whence the straw breaketh forth, through the rotten and ragged linnen. What therefore is it? I had rather shew what my manner were in cleanly and decent apparrell, then with halfe covered or naked shoulders. Though all the dayes of my life should be pleasant, and that one honour should draw on others that are new, I would not bee a whit prouder for all this. Change to the contrary this indulgence of time; let my mind bee wounded euery wayes with losses, sorrowes, and diuers incursions: Let not an houre slip without some complaint, yet will I not say, that I am wretched amongst the wretched; I will not therefore curse my day, for I haue already resolved with my selfe, that no day should seeme fatal vnto mee. What therefore is it? I had rather temperate my ioyes, then fill my sorrowes. This will *Socrates* say vnto thee: Make me the conqueror of all nations; let that delicate and triumphant *Chariot* of *Bacchus* carry me as far as *Thebes* from the sun-rise; Let the *Persian* Kings require Lawes at my hands, then will I thinke my selfe most of all to be a man when all the world shall salute me for a god. Ioyne to this fodaine greatnesse, a contrary change; Let them cast me vpon a hurdle, to be led in shew in the triumph of some proud and insolent enemy by reason of his victory; I will

H h b 3

march

Although a wife
man possesse
riches, he
counteth them
not for true
goods, and why
he had rather
haue them, then
haue them not.

march with such a countenance behind his Chariot, as I did when I was mounted in mine. What therefore is it? I had rather overcome then be taken. I will despise the whole Kingdom of Fortune; out of that if I may take my choice, I will chuse the best and most pleasing. Whatsoever betaleth me, I will repute it good, but I desire they should be easie and pleasant, and such as should least trouble me in the handling of them. For, thou must not thinke that there is any vertue without labour, but some vertues neede spurs, other some raines: Even as the body that ascendeth a hie place ought to be kept backe, and he that ascendeth vpon should beare forward: so some vertues are as it were descending, some that are troublefome to mount. Is it to be doubted, but that patience, valour, and perseuerance, (and other vertues opposed to afflictions, and tread fortune vnder foote,) are such vertues as mount and aduance themselves with trauell, and outstrip many difficulties? What therefore? Is it not as apparent, that libertie, remperance and clemency march downewards? In these we containe our minde, lest it slip. In those we encourage and incite: So then when there shall be question of pouertrie, we will arme our selues with the strongest, best disposed, and such as know best how to fight: in the vse of riches, wee will call the other which will march leasurely, and sustaine the weight.

C H A P. XXVI.

THis being thus distinguished, I had rather haue the vse of those vertues, the exercise whereof is peaceable, then to assay those other that make a man sweate bloud and water. I therefore, saith the Wife man, liue not otherwise then I speake, but you heare otherwise then you should: onely the sound of words is come to your eares, but what they signifie you inquire not. What difference then is there betwixt me a foole, and thee a wife man, if both of vs will haue wealth? Great: for riches are to the wife man as his slaues, to the foole as his commanders. The wife man giueth not any authority to riches, but they master you wholly: you, as though some one had promised you an eternall possession of them, accustom your selues to them, and cleaue vnto them. The wife man doth then molt of all meditate vpon pouertrie, when as he is in the midst of his riches. Neuer doth an Emperour so trust to peace, that he prepareth not for warre, which he reputeth to be already proclaimed, although as yet they are not come to handy strokes. A faire house, as though it could neuer burne nor fall downe, maketh you insolent. Riches doe amaze you, as if they were out of all danger, and were greater then that fortune had power enough to consume them. Idling you enuie your riches, neither foresee you the danger of them. Wherein you behaue your selues like Barbarians besieged in a place, who set their armes acrosse, beholding those that besiege them travelling after certain engines, and know not what they be, neither vnderstand wherto men will make vse of these engines of battery, which are addrest farre off from the Wall. The same befalleth you, you rot in your goods, neither thinke you what casualties hang ouer your heads every waies, and that sodainly shall plucke from you the fairest and the richest spoiles. Whosoever shall take a wife mans riches shall leaue him that which is his, for he liueth being contented with those things that were present, and secure of the future. I haue neuer so much perfwaded my selfe, saith *Socrates*, or any other that hath the same right and power

what difference
there is betwixt
a foole and a
wise man, when
as both would be
rich.

power ouer humane affaires, as to apply my manner of liuing to your opinions. Vse your accustomed habits every way. I will not thinke them to be the injuries of men, but the cries of little children. Thus will hee speake that hath gotten and attained wisdom, whose mind being freed from all vice, will loathe him to reprehend others, not because he hateth them, but because he would amend them. To these will hee add: Your reputation moueth me, not in mine owne respect, but for your cause: When I see you hate and harrow vertue, it is a forsaking of good hope. You doe me no more iniurie, then they doe the gods, who ouerturne their altars; but your euill intent, and euill counsell appeareth even there where it could not hurt. Thus beare I with your impertinencies, euen as almighty *Iupiter* doth the follies of the *Poets*; Whereof one of them giueth him wings, another hornes, another brought him forth as an adulterer; another, as a night-watcher; another, as cruell towards the gods; another, as vnjust towards men; another as a rauisher, and corrupter of children of free condition and of good parentage; another, for a parricide, and such a one as hath invaded other mens dominions, yea, the kingdom of his owne father: all which was to no other end, but to take from men (who believed that the gods were such) all share of doing euill. But although these things hurt mee not, yet doe I warne you for your owne sakes, and counsell you to embrace vertue. Beleeue those that haue long time followed her, crie out that they follow some great thing, and that one day or other, will shew it selfe more excellent and honour her as the gods, and reuerence those that serue her, as you would doe the professors and priests of the gods: and as often as there is any mention made of the sacred letters, keepe your silence: for this word is not deriued from fauour, as diuers men suppose, but silence is commanded, that the sacrifice might be duely performed without any interruption.

C H A P. XXVII.

WHich so much the rather ought to be inoynd you, because that as often as any thing is vttered by that Oracle, with an intent and humble voice, you may heare the same. When some apostatate Priest maketh a man beleeue, that the sister of *Apollo* hath swowned, when any one well learned to carue the flesh from his muskles, woundeth himselfe both in armes and shoulders with a sparing hand: when some woman creeping vpon her knees along the waies bowleth, and an old man apparelled in linnen, carrying in his hands a lanterne and a candle at mid-day, crieth out that some one of the gods are displeased; you flocke about him, and listen, and entertaining one anothers mutuall amaze, you affirme, that he is some Prophet. Behold *Socrates* crieth out from that prison, into which a hen he entred it, beclenched it, & made it more honest then any Court of plea. What madnesse is this? What nature is this so opposite against gods and men? To debase vertues, and to violace holy things with malignant speeches? If you can, praise good men; if not, passe by them. But if you take pleasure to exerce this vnbridled liberty, assaile one another: for when you are mad against heauen (I say not that you commit sacrilege) but you lose your labours. Sometimes I ministred matter to *Aristophanes* to breake his selfe vpon me, and all that band of comicke Poets powred out their envenomed scoffes against mee: my vertue grew more famous by these very meanes, whereby they assayed her; for it becometh

By reason of silence which was
intreated by, he
sworneth by, an
exquisite commu-
nion, so as there
are not any peo-
ple in the world
more careful
to be listened
to then wisemen,
and they that
are virtuous, &
thereupon be in-
terview with So-
crates as the
most excellent
who magnifi-
eth vertue, and
showeth that
happy life con-
sisteth in the same.

behoueth her to be produced and attempted; neither doe any men more vnderstand what he is, then they, who by prouoking her, haue tired her forces. The hardnesse of the flint stone is knowne to no men more then to those who strike vpon it: I present my selfe vnto you in such sort, as a rocke in midst of a tempestuous sea, the which is on euery side, and incessantly beaten with the waues; and yet notwithstanding continues in his place, and neither by length of time, nor by the assaults of the same, is any wayes consumed. Enforce your selues against me, and leaue me at your pleasure, I will ouercome you with patience; whatsoeuer he be that attempteth those things that are firme and impregnable, imployeth his forces to the ruine of himselfe. And therefore seeke out some more soft and yeelding matter, wherein you may fixe your weapons. But haue you so much leasure as to examine other mens faults, and to giue your censures of any man: why this Philosopher hath so faire a house? why the other supbeth more daintily? you obserue puistules and little spots in other men, being your selues besieged with vlcers. It is as much as if you should carpe at some mens freckles and warts which should appeare in their fairest bodies, and you your selues were ouergrowne with a loathsome scab. Obiect against *Plato*, that he desired money; against *Aristotle*, that hee received the same; against *Democritus*, that he neglected it; against the Epicure, that hee spent it; obiect against me *Alcibiades* and *Phaedrus*. O how happy should you be, when you could but counterseit our vices! But why rather examine you not you owne vices which wound you on euery side; the one assaying you outwardly, the other burning in your bowels? The affaires of the world are not brought to that passe, (although you are wholly ignorant of your estates) that you may haue so much leasure as to employ the rest of your time, and your tongues in detraction of good men.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THis vnderstand you not, and you carrie another countenance then becometh your fortune; euen as many men doe, who sitting in the Circus or Theater, haue some one dead in their houses, and are wholly ignorant of that which hath happened. But I beholding from a high place, see what tempests either hang ouer your heads, (that will somewhat later breake from out their cloud, to such as are neerer at hand,) which shall raiuish both you and yours away, as soone as they shall meete you. And why? see you not already like wife, (although you haue little fence thereof,) a certaine tempest that transporteth your mindes, and hurleth you vp, flying and pursuing the same thing, and raiuishteth you now lifted vp on high; now battereth you against the ground.

The end of the Discourse touching a blessed Life.

THE
TRANQVILITIE
AND PEACE OF THE
MIND.
Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,
AND DEDICATED TO
SERENVS.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

AND this Booke is to be numbered amongst those that are prefitable and worthy both for their matter and handling. It was written in the beginning of his returne from his banishment when he was admitted to the Court and preferred to be *NEROES* Schoolemaster. This appeareth by these words, in his first Chapter. This dissolution abashed me, and this abundance of delight (spreading it selfe, and sounding round about mee, raiushed mee, coming from a place) where I had long time stilled my selfe to live in obscuritie. He toucheth and toucheth the dissolution of the Court, which before times was unknowne and hatefull vnto him. The order in the handling hereof is confused, yea scarcely is there any, neither any one oversight or defect (vnlesse I bee decciued) appeareth in many things; but this is the summe hereof. The occasion of his writing hee draweth from his inconstancy and irresolution, his minde being neither settled or quiet in any sort. This saith he is their custome who are in the way to wisdom, but haue not as yet attained the same, nor tasted the fruit thereof, which is Tranquillitie. O great good, and what is it? he describeth the same. How shall I attaine thereto? by flying inconstancy. What then is she? hee be punctually describeth, she is driven away by diuers remedies, first by occupation, and that either publike (if the times or thy vnderstanding admit it) or priuate, to the end, thou mayest conuerse amongst the best studies and meditations. Yet must not we suddenly flie from the Common weale, that there are many parts thereof, and that wee haue libertie to embrace any one of them. This vntill the fourth Chapter. Then addeth he, if we intend businesse, three things are to be considered; our selues, the businesse, or men for whose cause, or with whom we act. In our selues our forces are to be examined, what and how farre they may, neither let vs attempt further. In our affaires, what are we able to overcome them, whether likewise there be a chaine of them, and whether

whether they leade vs farther that our returpes ought to be alwaies free. In men: whether they be worthe of our labor or expence of time. But they are not vaine, ambitious, neither occupied in any serious matter. Afterwards in the seventh Chapter, he addeth but scarce to the purpose: That an especiall and perfect friend is an encurtainement of Tranquility and delight, but such an one as is not of an euill disposition, and such as accuseth all things: Again, there is no perfect text; and in the eight Chapter of the means of Patrimony, that it be not great nor small to nourish Tranquillitie, but meane and apt, and that may be maintained by parsimony. But excesse is to be avoided, yea in the very instruments of life, as in our Libraries or Bookes. After this he over-sleppeth in the tenth Chapter, and prooeth that troubles befall in euery estate of life, but that they are mollified by custome, by beholding another mans Fortune, which oft times is the worst. Likewise that desires are not to be banished farre from vs, but left neere vnto vs, and easie to be laid hold on. And thus instructeth he a proficient and young Scholler, for a wise man hath no neede to fight, for he ouercommeth all Fortune, which hee fore-thinketh to bee thin or that, and by fore-sight thereof mollifieth and breaketh it. This vntill the twelfth Chapter. After that another Treatise, that we are not to trauell in vnnecessary matters, neither as much as in vs lyeth, in forraine. He vrgeth DEMOCRITVS heavenly precept: That many things are not done, either prinatly or publicly. Presently after in the foureteenth Chapter, he driueth vs from Leuitie and Pertinacy. That is, neither busily to change in life, neither if thou hast chosen euill, obstinately to cleaue vnto that, but to behold all things with an equal and almost a pleasing countenance. For what is life, but a iest? Lastly in the sixteenth Chapter, that simulation is to be fled, and too carefull composition of a mans selfe. Let simplicitie be entertayned, and sometimes mirth, yea, and sometimes, banquet and freer drinking. This downeth carcs, and freeth and excolleth the minde. In the end he concludeth, that he hath set downe what they are that may maintaine Tranquillitie, and may restore it, by which you may see what the partition was, but truly it is not exstant as this present. Therefore as many things of SENECÆS, are the wordes to bee prayed in part, the order of the whole is defectiue, and that either by the iniuries of the time, or at leastwise by the negligence of transcripitors.

CHAP. I.



Debating with my selfe *Serenus*, and examining my present life, there were some vices of mine that appeared openly, and subiect to euery eye, and such as I might touch with the hand; some more obscure and closely hidden, some other that were not continuall, but such as returned at certaine times and spaces; and these of all the rest were most troublesome, because (if I may so speake it) they resemble such enemies, as charge and assault at vnawares, which keepe me either from being alwaies ready, as in time of warre; or

to liue in securitie, as I ought to doe, in time of peace: yet principally obscure I this habitude in my selfe, (for why should I not disclose the truth, since thou art my Phylitian?) that neither I am truly and intirely deliuered from those which I feared and hated, neither againe subiect vnto them. I am in your estate,

state, that is not altogether so euill; yet doe I nothing but complaine my selfe, neither find I any thing that may content me: I am not sicke, and yet I am not well. Thou must not here tell me, that all the beginnings of vertues are feeble, and that in time their continuance and strength is increased: I know well that these things which are of consequence, as honour and reputation, to be eloquent, and all that whereupon our neighbours ground their iudgement, are fortified by time; and those that require some prouision of true force, and they that are farded to please the eyes, respect some yeares, vntill such time as by little and little they get some time that may giue them tincture. But I feare lest custome which bringeth contancy to things, fixe this imperfection more deeply in mee. A long conuersation either with good or euill men induceth loue. But I cannot shew thee so well at once, as in part, what this infirmity of the mind is, which is howered now this way, now that way, without staying it selfe resolutely on that which is good, and without declining also vnto the euill. I will tell thee what befalleth mee; giue my infirmity afterwards what name thou pleasest. Great is my loue to parsimony, I confesse it; I like not a bed ambitiously furnished, I like not a garment newly drawne from the coffer, nor brought from the presse, where to make it thine it hath indured a thousand weights and torments; but a homely rayment, proper for the time, that hath not bene horded vp, nor is to be worne with too much care; that meate please me that few men may dresse, and lesse Pages attend, that is readily prepared, and that passeth through a few mens hands, that is easily gotten and easily drest, that is neither scanty nor deare, that may be found in all places, that neither spendeth the patrimony, nor hurteb the body, nor is like to bee returned by the way it entered. I like a homely and a home-bred seruant, olde and rustlike plate, such as my father vsed, without these new fashions, and the workemans marke: a table not checkered nor renowned amongst the people, because that diuers men had bene masters of it, who loued to make good chere; but fit for my vse, which for the beauty thereof shall not bewitch the eyes of my guests with pleasure, nor inkinde them with enuy. After I had taken pleasure to see these things abovesaid, if I happen to fixe mine eye vpon some mans seruants and slaues, better furnished and more richly appareled then mine; if I see a house wherein nothing is trod vpon but that which is precious, where riches are scattered in euery corner of the house, where the roofes shine with gold, and where the flattering people haunt, which follow and attend those patrimonies that fall to ruine. If I behold the fountaines so cleere that a man might see the bottome, which incessantly runne about those places where the feasts are solemnized: the princely seruices of the table answerable to the rest of the magnificence; these things amaze mee, and this delicious abundance comming to spread it selfe, and to sound about me who came from a place where I haue liued a long time settled in a solitary life, ravieth mee wholly, my sight is dulled somewhat, I more easily lift vp my minde then mine eyes against such pompe: I depart therefore not worse but discontent; neither walke I so ioyfull and merrie amidst my brittle houehold-ruffe, and a silent disgust and doubt assaileth mee, whether that traine were not better then mine: none of these change me, yet euery one of them shake me. Sometimes I am ready to follow that which my Maisters haue commanded me, and to thrust my selfe into the affaires of Estate. I am content to accept of honours and magistracy, not perfwaded to vndertake the same, either for purple ornaments or golden rods, but that being thus advanced I might bee more proper

and

Seneca is introduced Scienus or some other in his beginning, to whom he discouereth the infirmities of his mind, and demaundeth remedie at his hands to settle them.

and better disposed to doe pleasures to my friends, my kinsfolke, my Citizens, yea, and all mortall men. I follow *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, *Cryppus*, no one of all which intermedd with the Common-weale, though every one of them counsaileth others therunto. But when I had induced my minde therunto, which is not accustomed to such debates, if any vnworthy matter present it selfe (as in all humane life there are too many,) or if it goe not forward easily, or that things slight and frivollous require much time to be employed in them; I returne backe againe to my solitude, and doe as beasts that are tired and wearied, that runne more swiftly then they have done all the day before when they draw neere vnto their Stable: then is my mind conceited to containe it selfe within mine owne walles. Let no man hence-forward take one day from me, which cannot restore mee a sufficient recompence for so great a losse, let my mind cleave vnto himselfe, let him seeme himselfe: let him not intend forraigne businesse, or any thing that is subiect to every mans censure; let Tranquillitie be loned which is voyde of priuate and publicke cares. But when as reading hath roused and lifted vp my minde to more confidence, and noble examples haue pricked me forward: I take a pleasure to haunt the iudgement court, to lend one man my voice, another man my labour, which although it profit him not, yet was it aimed for his profit, to restraints another mans pride in the iudgement court, too badly puffed vp by his too great fortunes. In studies me thinks vndoubtedly that it is better to contemplate the things themselves and to discourse vpon them, and to fit them with convenient words, so as without search they may be subiect to the thing that is in question. What neede wee to compose workes that shall continue for many ages? Wilt thou beate thy braine to the end that men may speake of thee when thou art out of the world? Thou art borne to dye, the secret funerall hath the least troubles. If therefore thou wilt write any thing to passe the time withall, write it in a simple stile for thine owne vse, not to affect praise. They that studie for a day need no great labour. Again, when my soule is lifted vp with the greatnesse of thoughts, she is ambitious in coyning words, and as her conceptions are great, so endeoureth she to be eloquent; and according to the dignitie of the subiect is the carriage of the stile. Then forgetting this law, and this restrained iudgement, I am carried aloft, and speake now by another mans mouth. And not to prosecute the rest more at large, in all things this infirmity of a good mind altereth me, and I am afraid lest it should escape me by litle & litle, or (which is yet more tedious) that I am not alwaies in suspence and doubt as hee that feareth to fall, and hath as yet no more euill then I could foresee. For we iudge of our priuate affaires and behold them familiarly, and fauour is alwaies a hinderance vnto iudgement. I thinke that many men might haue attained wisdom except they had thought that they had attained the same; except they had dissembled something in themselves, and overpassed some things with open eyes. For thou must not thinke that other mens flattery maketh vs so euill as our owne doth. What man is hee that dare speake truth vnto himselfe? Who is hee that being placed amidst the troopes of his commanders and flatterers, that flattereth not himselfe more then all the rest? I pray thee therefore if thou hast any remedy to stay this debate of my soule, that thou wilt honour mee with this good, that I may say that thou art hee that hast let mee at quiet. I know well that the motions of my soule are not dangerous, provided that they be not ouer violent. To expresse vnto thee in an apt similitude the matter whereof I complaine, I am not tormented with the forme
but

but I haue a prouocation to vomit. Take from me then this paine whatsoeuer it be, and helpe him that is sicke in the light of the land.

C H A P. II.



Ruly, my *Serenus*, I haue long agoe sought for such a one without speaking a word of it, that had such and the like thought in his mind. There is nothing that admonisheth me more needfully then their example, who being deliuered from a long & grievous sickness, feele as yet by times some shiuering and slight motions: and when as they haue bin freed from the reliques of their infirmities, yet are they disquieted by some suspicions of a relaps; and being already whole, offer their hand to the Physitian to feele their pulse, and suspect every heat and motion of their bodie. Such mens bodies, *Serenus*, are healthfull enough, yet are they not as yet well accustomed thereto, but haue a certaine trembling agitation, resembling that of the calme sea or some lake when a tempest is ceased on it. They haue therefore need not of those harder remedies which we likewise ouer-passe, as in some place to oppose thy selfe against thy passions, in some place to be displeased, in some other place to be more grievously angry: but we haue most need of that which commeth last, that thou trust thy selfe, & belieuest that thou art in a good way, being no waies distracted by the by-walkes of many men wandring here and there, and of some that erre about the way. But that which thou desirest, which is, not to be shaken is a great and perfect thing, and approacheth the felicitie of God. This stable seat of the minde the Grecians call *εὐθυμία*, whereof *Democritus* hath written an excellent volume. I call it *Tranquillitie*, neither is it necessarie to imitate or to mould new words, according to their forme. It sufficeth that the thing which is in question hath a name which expresseth the force of the Greeke word, without representing the letters. So then we demand how the spirit may remaine alwaies like vnto himselfe, march with an equall traine, be fauourable to himselfe, and behold his attempts with a good eye, to be ioyfull and content, neither raising nor depressing himselfe ouer-much. This shalbe called *Tranquillity*, but let vs inquire in general how we may attaine herunto: take thou as much of the publique remedy as thou wilt; meane while, I will discouer the whole vice, whereby every man may know his part, and thou likewise mayest vnderstand how lesse trouble thou hast with the loathing of thy selfe, then they who tying themselves to a faire shew, and labouring vnder a great title, would willingly discouer themselves, but I know not what shame entertaineth them. All are in the same ranke, both they which are vexed with leuitie & anxiety, and a continual change of their purpose, who are alwaies better pleased with that which they haue left, and those that watch and gape after vain hopes. Adde vnto those men likewise, such who are not transported in their life by the means of inconstancie, but thorow their sloth. They liue not as they would, but as they began: moreover, there are innumerable of their properties, but only one effect of the vice, which is to displease themselves. This springeth from the intemperature of the mind, & from fearful and scarce prosperous desires, whereas they dare not as much as they desire, or attain not the same, and are wholly bent vpon hope alwaies instable and mutable, which must needs befall those that liue in suspence. Their whole life is in expectation, and they teach and inforce themselves to dishonest and difficult things, and whereas their labour is in vaine, they are vexed with their fruitlesse disgrace:
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He speaketh first of all the life, whence that is bewisest those that feele trouble of their minds, and others that haue no apprehension thereof, or that like pleasure to be in trouble. Then declareth he how the first should be handled.

neither are they sorie because they haue done euill, but that they willed the same in vaine. Then repent they themselves that they had begun, and feare to beginne it againe, and afterward they are surprisid with a confusion of the mind which cannot finde issue, because they neyther can commaund nor obey their desires; so that they leade a life which cannot be exempt from confusion, and haue their minds tied and languishing amidst fruitlesse vowes and desires: and all these are more grieuous vnto them, when as in despite of that misfortune that trauaileth them, they would haue recourse vnto repose, and to secret studies, which the mind cannot indure that is fixed on the affaires of the world, desirous to be in action, by nature vaquier, and hauing little solace in himselfe. And therefore their delights being drawne from them, which their occupations ministred vnto them; being thus left vnto himselfe, the mind endureth neither house nor solitude, the walls are displeasing to him, and being thus abandoned by himselfe, he vnwillingly beholdeth himselfe, now in one sort, and after in another. From thence proceedeth this tediousnesse, this contempt of himselfe, this perpetuall agitation of the minde, this sad and feeble patience in repose, especially when he is ashamed to confesse the cause, when shame tormenteth him inwardly, when couetous desires close vp his heart, when none of these finding issue, strangle one another. Thence cometh that sadness and consumption, and a thousand floods and assaults of the vncertaine mind, held in suspense by the enterprises he hath begun, abated by the remembrance of the remedies estate of his present affairs. Thence groweth that thought which maketh them detest the repose they enjoy, complaine themselves that they haue nothing to doe, and to beare endless hatred and enuie at other mens prosperitie; For vnhappy idleness is the nurse of enuie, and all of them desire to be dead, because they could not outstrip others. This enuie conceiued against other mens fortunes, and his owne disgraces, causeth the minde to fret and murmure against fortune, to accuse the malice of the time, to retire himselfe into some corner apart, and so sloop vnder his torment, in fretting and consuming himselfe. For mans mind is swift, and readie to be moued, and reioycest verie much when any occasion is offered to exercise himselfe. But aboue all others, this pleaseth those men that are malignant, whose mindes are sharpened and ordinarily whetted in manning affaires. Euen as there are certaine vlcers that are glad to be rubbed, and desire to be handled, & their itch is not pacified except a man scratch it; So these spirits which are seized with desires, as with malignant vlcers, take no pleasure but in trauaile and affliction; For there are certaine infirmities which delight our bodies with a kind of paine, with these those that turne themselves on this side, now on that, and refresh themselves in changing their bed. Such was *Achilles in Homer*, sometimes he lay vpon his belly, then vpon his backe, and could neuer remaine in one estate. It is the true act of a sicke man not to be able to suffer any thing long time, but to think that his health consisteth in his tossing and turning. Hence are diuers travells vnderaken, and shoares fought out, and leuitie which is alwaies an enemy to those things which are present, now by sea, and then by land, aduentureth daily. Let vs goe now into *Campania*, now that delicate soyle delighteth vs, let vs visite the wood Countries, let vs visite the Forrest of *Calabria*, and let vs seeke some pleasure amidst the deserts, in such sort as these wandring eyes of ours may be relieved in beholding at our pleasure the strange solitude of these sauage places. We must goe see *Tarentum*, and the haue so much esteemed, and the aire so sweet in Winter, and the stately houses of these ancient people.

Let

Of the Tranquillitie of the mind.

Let vs returne to *Rome* backe againe, our eares haue too long time bene estranged from the applause of the Theater, and the Circensian sports, now would I take pleasure to see mens blood spilt. Behold here how one voyage begetteth another, and how after we haue seene one thing we long for another.

After this manner each man flies himselfe.

But what profiteth it him to flie if he cannot elscape, he runneth after himselfe, and hath a verie dangerous companie that attendeth him. Let vs therefore know that the euill that presseth vs, cometh not from the place, but from our selues. There is no affliction how light soeuer it be, that is not ouer-waighty for vs, we are neither patient of labour or pleasure, we cannot beare our owne affaires, nor any thing else. Some by reason hereof haue procured their owne deaths, because that oftentimes hauing changed their deliberation, they fell backe againe alwaies into the same, and met with nothing that is new, by means whereof both their life & this world began to displease them, and these words which are the signes of foolish and enraged pleasures, come into their heads: *How long shall we alwaies see the same?*

CHAP. III.



How askest mee, what remedie I thinke necessarie against this perplexitie. It shall be good (as *Athenodorus* counsaileth vs) to detain our selues in affaires of Estate, and to serue the Common-weale. For as some spend the day in taking the Sunne, and in exercises and care of their bodies, and as it is profitable for wrastlers to employ the most part of their time in exercising their armes and strength whereunto they haue onely dedicated themselves, so is it requisite for vs who prepare our minds to the managing of publique affaires, to be alwaies in action. For he that hath resolued himselfe to become profitable to his Citizens, yea vnto all men, at one time doth two things, handling (according to that in deuour that is giuen him) both the publique and his particular affaires. But because (saith he) in this so mad ambition of men, where so many detractors wrest all things to the worst; simplicitie is scarce secure, and there will be alwaies more lets then succesfull euent, we ought to retire our selues from the managing of publique affaires; considering this, that a well seled heart hath the meanes to shew it selfe in his private house. It saith not so with men who for the most part haue their actions secret and hidden, as with Lyons and other brut beasts, who are locked vp in their grates to refraine their furie; yet in such sort ought a man to seeke out solitude, that where soeuer he remayneth in quiet, he may desire that the vigor of his mind, his speech, & action, may serue every one in particular, and all in generall. For not onely he alone serueth the Common-weale that produceth the Candidates to sue for offices, that defendeth the accused, who giueth his aduice as touching the affaires of peace and warre, but also that other that instruct youth, that in so great want of good manners informeth mens mindes with vertue, that layeth hold on, and retrayneth those who are addicted to auarice and dissolution, or at least wile that hindereth them from passing further, and who in his private house procureth the publique good. Who doth more, cyther the Iudge in a Citie that with his assitant pronounceth a brieve sentence in a proceffe that strangers and Citizens haue before him? or hee that teacheth what iustice is, that sheweth what

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pictie,

*For a fit remedy
he requirith
that the minde
should be occupi-
ed in some voca-
tion which might
be profitable to
others.*

pietie, wisdom, pureness, contempt of death are, and how excellent a good conscience is? If then thou employest thy time in studie, thou hast not lost these honours that are due to the execution of thy charge concerning the publique, neither shalt thou be exempted from the same. Neither is he a souldier that standeth in the front of the battell, and defendeth both the right and left wings; but he also that guardeth the gates, & standeth sentinell in a place though not so dangerous, yet necessarie, and keepeth his watch, that hath the government of the Ammunition house; which charges though they be not bloudie, yet haue they (that execute them) their pay as well as the rest. If thou shalt retire thy selfe to thy studies, thou shalt auoyde all care that tortureth mans life, thou shalt not be troublesome to thy self, nor vnprofitable to others; thou shalt get thee many friends, and the better sort of men will accept thee. For vertue, although she be poore and abiekt, yet is she neuer obscured, but she sheweth the beames of her brightnes a farre off, and whosoever is capable wil acknowledge, and follow her steps. For if we renounce all conuersation, and fle from humane societie, and liue onely to our priuate respect, this solitude deprived of all honest occupation, wil find nothing at last whereto to additt her selfe; we shall begin to build some houses, and to ouer-turne others; we shall turne the sea out of his place; we shall cause the riuers to alter their courses, and dispende the time very euilly which Nature gaue vs to bestow well. Sometimes we are too sparing, sometimes ouer-prodigall, some of vs employ the same in such fort that we can yeeld no account thereof, others haue none left them. And therefore there is nothing more shamefull then to see an old man (that to approue that he hath liued long time in this world) can produce no other witness but the number of his yerres. For mine owne part (my dearest *Serenus*) me thinks that *Athenodorus* submitted himselfe too much to times, and fled from them ouer hastily. I confesse well that wee ought sometimes to retire our selues, but leasurly, and with a secure retreat, our ensignes displayed, & without impeachment of our worldly dignity. They are more valiant, & more assured then their Conquerors, that make a faire and honest retreat. So in my opinion ought vertue to behaue her selfe: and if the inconstancie of worldly affaires disturbe all, and takerh away from a vertuous man the meanes to do good; yet for all this ought he not to turn his back, nor to cast away his weapons to saue himselfe by flight, and to thrust himselfe in a secret place, as if there could be any corner where fortune could not find him out; but he ought to be lesse busie in affairs, and find out some expedient with iudgement to make himselfe profitable to his Countrey. Is it not lawfull for him to beare armes? let him aspire to some publique charge: must he not liue priuately? let him plead. Is he put to silence? let him helpe his Citizens by his priuate counsel. Is it dangerous for him to enter the iudgement place? let him shew himselfe a faithfull friend, a gracious companion, a temperate guest in houses, in Theaters, at feasts. If he haue lost the office of a Citizen, let him vse that of a man. And therefore with a great mind, haue we not shut our selues within the wals of one Citie, but haue thrust our selues into the conuersation of the whole world, and haue professed that the world is our Countrey, that we might giue vertue a more spacious field to shew her selfe in. Is the *Tribunall* shut against thee, art thou not admitted to plead, or to assist the common Counsels of the Citie? looke backe and see what great Nations and peoples are behind thee, neuer shall so great a part be kept from thee, that a greater be not left thee. But beware that all this proceede not from thine owne error; for thou wilt not undertake a publique charge except thou

thou be a *Consul*,* a *Prætor*, an *Emballador*, a supreme *Dictator*. What? refusest thou to be a Souldier, except thou be a commander or a tyrant? Although that others haue the vantage, and fortune hath put thee in the reere-ward, doe thy deuoir in that place, fight with thy voice, thy exhortation, & thy courage. He also that hath his hands cut off in fight, findeth some meanes to animate his companions, who standeth onely, and encourageth them with crying. So must thou doe, if fortune hath drawn thee from the first rank of publique charge, yet stand thou, and thou shalt helpe with thy crying. If thy mouth be stopp'd by any man, yet stand; and thou shalt helpe with thy silence. The indoltrie of a good Citizen is neuer vnprofitable, for by his hearing, by his sight, by his countenance, by his becke, by his obstinate silence, and by his very gate, he may profit. Euen as certaine holefome drugs by their onely smell (without either touch or taste) do comfort greatly; so vertue, whether it be sowed or locked in it selfe, whether it be by authority, or by accident, whether she be constrained to scandle her failes, or to be idle or mute, confined in a streight, or lodged at larges, spreadeth a faire and vnperceiued, performeth some great and profitable good. In briefe she serueth in whatsoever estate and countenance she be considered. What? thinkest thou that the example of a man that liueth retired and to purpose, is of little vse? I say, that it is an act of a singular vertue to know how to forsake affaires, and to repose a mans selfe, when as the actiue life being hindered by diuers accidents, or by the condition of estate, cannot effect his designs. For neuer see we affaires brought to that extremitie, but that a vertuous man hath the meanes to doe somewhat that is good. Canst thou finde a City more wretched then that of the *Athenians* was, at such time as thirte Tyrants rent it in peeces? They had put to death thirteene hundred of the most noble and most vertuous in the City, & for all that crueltie ceased not thus, but increased it selfe and augmented daily. In that Citie (which was adorned with the most venerable Counsell of the *Areopagites*, where there was a Senate and an assembly of people worthie of so noble an assembly of Senators,) there were gathered daily a miserable troupe of murderers, and a wretched court of tyrants, too small to containe them. Could this Citie be in repose, wherein there were so many tyrants, as there were Souldiers? There was not any hope for these poore Citizens to recouer their liberty, nor any remedie whatsoever against such a multitude of mischiefs. For where is it that this poore Citie might find so manie *Harmodians*? Notwithstanding (all these miseries) *Socrates* was in the midst of them, who comforted the mournful Fathers, and exhorted those that despaird of the Common-weale, and reproued the rich (who feared their goods) for the ouerlate repentance of their dangerous avarice, and to those that would follow him, bare about a worthie example, whilest amongst the thirte tyrants he walked confident and free. Yet this man did the *Athenians* murder in prison, and he that safely insulted ouer the troupes of Tyrants, his libertie could not a free Citie endure, to the end thou mayest know, that a wise man hath an occasion to shew himselfe in an afflicted Common-weale; and how in a flourishing and blessed state, mony, enuie, and a thousand other disarmed vices doe reigne. Howsoever therefore the Common-wealth is disposed, howsoever fortune permitte, so either may we enlarge or contract our selues, provided alwaies that we be stirring, & suffer not our selues (being chained with feare) to be dulled and altonished. Nay he shall be truly a man who (when as dangers are imminent euery waies, and when as swords & chaines thunder in his eares) neither breaketh his fortune, nor hideth it. *Curius Dentatus* was wont to say,

* *Athenians* were those citizens of the *Athenians*.

C H A P. VIII.

The third yeme-
dy is not to leave
pauerty, because
the yore haue
many diuanti-
ges above the
rich.



Et vs passe ouer to riches which are the causes of all mens miseries: for, if you compare all things wherat we are agrieved, (as deaths, sicknesses, feares, desires, patience of sorrowes, and labours) with those euils which our money ministreth vnto vs, this part will weigh heauie: wee ought therefore to bethinke vs, how farre lighter the sorrow is not to haue them, then to lose them, and wee shall vnderstand that pouerty hath by so much the lesse torments, by how much she hath the lesse matter of losse: for thou art deceived, if thou thinkest that rich men doe with greater courage endure their losses. The paine of a wound is equall both in the greatest and smallest bodies; *Bian* speaketh very elegantly, *That it is no lesse trouble for those that are bald, to haue their hairs pulled off, then to those that haue long lockes.* Know thou this both in rich and poore, that they haue equall torments; for both of them told their money, neither without griefe & sence thereof could they endure to lose it. But as I said, it is more tolerable and easie not to get riches, then to lose them, and therefore shall you see them more merry, whom Fortune neuer lookt vpon, then those whom she hath forsaken. *Diogenes* saw this, who was a man of a great mind, and endeoured himselfe that nothing might be taken from him. Call thou this pouerty necessity, or want, and impole whatsoeuer ignominious name thou wilt vpon security. I will not thinke this man happy if thou find mee out another that can lose nothing. Either I am deceived, or it is a Kingdome for one to be among deceiuers, the thicke, and lewd persons, whom no man may hurt. If any man doubt of *Diogenes* felicity, hee may likewise doubt of the state of the immortall gods, whether they liue blessedly enough, because they haue no Fields, nor Gardens, nor Lands for an Husbandman to plow vp, nor a great banke of Money in the Market place. Art thou not alhamed who soeuer thou art that admirest riches? Behold I pray thee the Heauens Throne, and thou shalt see the gods wholly naked, giuing all things, and hauing nothing. Thinkest thou him poore, or like vnto the immortall gods, that hath dispoyled himselfe of all transitorie things? Callest thou *Demetrius* more happy wroth as to recall him when he was shewed vnto him. *It were a shame* (saith he) *that MANES could liue without* *DIOGENES*, and *DIOGENES* could not liue without *MANES*. Methinke, he said, meddle with thine owne busines Fortune, thou hast no more power ouer *Diogenes*. Is my Seruant run away? no, he is departed free. A Family requieth maintenance, men must take charge of the feeding of so many greedy beasts, rayment must be bought, Theeues hand-sell preuented, and such as weepe and detest, must be admitted to seruice. Hence, far more happy is he that oweth nothing but to himselfe, whom he may easily deny: but because wee haue not so much strength, our Patrimonies be to be husbanded that we may be lesse exposed to the iniuries of Fortune. The bodies of meanest proportion, and who may locke themselves in their armes, are more adressed then those great and vnweeldy bodies, which by reason of their length and thickenesse are exposed to strokes.

The

A content
speech of *Diogenes*.

An excellent ex-
ample to shew
the advantages
of the poore.

Of the Tranquillitie of the mind.

The best measure in riches is that which neither falleth into pouerty, neither is farre estranged from pouerty.

C H A P. IX.



And this moderation will be well pleasing vnto vs, if first of all parsimony content vs, without which neither any riches will suffice vs, neither any prooue great enough, especially whereas the remedie is at hand, and pouerty it selfe by the assistance of frugality may conuert it selfe into riches. Let vs accustom our selues to remoue pompe from vs, and to measure the ornaments of our honour by the necessary vse of things. Let our meat appease famine, our drinke thirst; let our desires be appeased by things that are necessary. Let vs learne to walke vpon our owne feet, not to clothe and feed our selues according to euery new fash-ion, but as the custome of our Ancestors perswadeth vs vnto. Let vs learne to encrease Continency, to decrease lasciuiousnesse, to temper our excesse, to pacifie our wrath, to behold pouerty with equall eyes, to respect frugality, not to be alhamed to yeeld such remedies to our naturall desires as cost very little; to haue our vnbridled hopes, and our mind that dependeth on future things, kept as it were vnder bonds, to behaue our selues so that we require not our riches at Fortunes hand, but rather from our selues. So great variety and iniquity of casualties cannot (I say) be so repulsed, that many stormes presse not vpon those that rigge forth much Shipping. Our affaires must bee drawne into a freight, to the end that aduersities may attempt vs in vaine. And therefore Banishments and calamities haue sometimes become remedies, and those incommo-dities that are most grieuous haue bin healed by lighter; which vsually happeneth where the mind is disobedient to precepts, and will not bee cured by gentle meanes. But why may not this be profitable? If both pouerty and ignominy, and the ouerthrow of a mans fortunes accompany these: one euill is opposed against another. Let vs therefore accustom our selues to bee able to sup without any guests, to be serued with lesse attendants, to be appalled according to our necessities, and to dwell more retyredly. It is not only in the course of the Circean sports; but also in the Careers of this life that we ought to retyre and contract our selues. And in Bookes likewise (in buying which the expence is most commendable) I shall behaue my selfe as it becommeth me as long as I keepe a measure. To what end serue so many infinite Bookes and Libraries, when as their Master in all his life time can scarcely ouer-reade their Tables? A multitude of Bookes burtheneth, and instructeth him not that learneth, and it is better for thee to addict thy selfe to few Authours, then to wander amongst many. Forty thousand Bookes were burned at *Alexandria*, a worthy monument of kingly riches. Some men may praye this as *Titus Lilius* did, who saith, *That it was a worke that shewed the magnificence and wondrous care of Kings.* But this was not magnificence or any other laudable act, but a studious excesse. Nay more, it was not studious, because they had gathered them, not to profit studies, but to shew their pompe, as it falls out with diuers Ignorants, who scarce knowing the Letters wherein their Slaues are exercised, heape vp Bookes not as instruments of study, but ornaments of their suppers. Let vs therefore gather so many Bookes as may suffice, and collect nothing for ostentation sake. It shall bee more honest (sayest thou) to employ my

mo-

The fourth re-
medie is to seeke
a measure in de-
sire, gathering,
pursuing and vs-
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goods.

mony herein, then in vessels of *Corinth* and painted Tables. That is euery way vicious where there is ouer-much. Why wouldest thou leste pardon him that would get reputation by means of his Marble and Iuorie, than another that searcheth through all Countreies to buy vnkowne Authours, and haply such as are reprobued and censured, and doth nought else but breathe vpon his Bookes, and takes no pleasure but in their couers, or in their titles? Thou shalt ordinarily see amongst the most idle, and whatsoeuer Ornatores or Histories there are, and find their studies filled vp from therop to the bottome: And at this day amongst the Bathes and Stoues are Libraries builded, as if they were a necessary ornament in the house. But all these Workes of Learned men excellently written, bound vp, and enriched with their Pictures, are bought to no other end but for shew and beautifying of wals.

If a great company of bookes be not accompanied with a serious study, and well gouerned, they are but a macerie.

CHAP. X.

BVt it may be, thou art false into some troublesome and difficult course of life, and ere thou knewest it; some Fortune either publicke or priuate hath entangled thee, in such sort, as thou neither canst loose or breake the bonds. Think with thy selfe, that such as are fettered at the first can hardly bear their shackles or the irons on their legs, but afterwards being better resolu'd doe suffer the same, and conclude to endure them patiently; necessity teacheth them to sustayne them constantly, and custome easly. Thou shalt find in whatsoever kind of life it bee, delights, remissions, and pleasures, except thou hadst not rather thinke thy life cuill, then make it hateful. The greatest good that we haue receiued by nature is, that the (fore-seeing how many troubles wee are to endure in this world) hath found out a remedie to lenifie the same, which is custome, which in short time maketh the greatest euils familiar and supportable; no man could endure it, if the continuance and sence of aduersitie were as bitter as it is at the first. For we are all of vs coupled by Fortune, some of vs haue a golden and easie chaine, some a more base and fardie inthralment. But what skilleth it, what is it all of vs are enuironed with the same guard, and they that enchain others are enchain'd themselves. It may be thou thinkest that the chaine which is tyed to the left arme weigheth not as much as that on the right. Some are enthralled by their honours, other some by their base estate. These are made subiect to another Empery, others are vassals to themselves; there are some that are confined in one place, others that are arrested by those charges that are committed vnto them. All our whole life is a seruitude, we ought therefore to accuse some our selues to our condition, and no wayes to complaine of the same, and to apprehend all those commodities which are about vs. There is nothing so distastfull wherein an equall mind cannot find some solace. Oft-times an ingenious man may write infinite things in the smallest Tables, and he that knoweth how to march readily, maketh the straightest abroad habitable that a man may find. Adde reason to thy difficulties, and the hardest things may bee mollified, the straightest laid open, and those things that are most grievous, will presse them least that discreetly can endure them. Besides, desires are not to be sent farre off from vs, but let vs suffer them to houer neere about vs, because they endure not to be restrayned wholly. Leaving those things which either cannot be done, or hardly can be atchieued; let vs follow those things that are neere vs, and are an-

two-

The best remedie is to endure quietly the difficulties of a mans vocation, and to accustom himselfe, because the flesh that pleasures are intermixed with perplexities.

answerable to our hopes. Yet let vs know, that all that which outwardly hath diuers appearances is equally light, and inwardly vaine. Neither let vs enuie those that are more highly preferred those things that seeme most highest are in most danger. They likewise whom aduersity holdeth in suspence, shall bee more assured by withdrawing pride from those things which of themselves are proud, and reducing their Fortune (as much as in them lyeth) to an humble place and out of danger. There are many that are informed to remaine in their high degree, from whence they cannot descend but by falling; but hereby they tellifie, that the greatest weight they beare vpon their backs, is to know that they are contrayned to be grievous and troublesome vnto others. That they are not relieved but tyed vnto their charge: and that by Iustice, Clemencie, and humane Lawes, and by a gracious manner of demeanour they prepare themselves diuers succours and defences against the assaults of Fortune that happen, by the hope whereof they may be more assured in their Feuers. There is nothing that can so much exempt these men from these agitations of the mindes, then alwayes to prefix a certaine limit to their encrease, and not to attend till Fortune retyre them from the same, but to take counsell of themselves, not to attend the extremities. So some desires, but they finite, shall acuate their minds, and shall not be infinite nor vncertaine.

CHAP. XI.

THIS Discourse of mine appertayneth to imperfect, infirme, and men of meane iudgement, and such as haue little knowledge, and are of depraued iudgement, not vnto a Wiseman. For bee must not walke fearefully or slowly. For so great a confidence hath he in himselfe, that he doubteth not to encounter Fortune, neither will he ever giue place vnto her; neither hath he cause at any time to feare her, because not onely he numbeth his slaues, his possessions, and dignities, but his owne body likewise, his eyes and hands, and whatsoever it be that maketh his life deare vnto him, yea, himselfe, as things that are hired: and liueth as though he were but lent vnto himselfe, ready to restore the whole willingly to those that redemand the same; neither therefore mispriset hee himselfe, because he knoweth that he is not his owne, but so diligently and circumspectly dealeth hee all things, as a religious and holy man is wont to doe with those things that are committed to his trust. And whensoever hee shall be commanded to make restitution, he will not question with Fortune, but will say, I giue thanks for that I haue possessed, and had: It hath cost me much to entertayne those things which thou hast giuen mee, but because thou commandest mee, I gratefully and willingly restore them againe, and if thou wilt haue ought continue in my hands, even now will I keepe it: if thou bee otherwaies minded, I restore vnto thee, and redeliuer into thy hands, my Money and Plate, my House and Family whatsoever. If Nature summon vs which first gaue vs credit, to her will we answer: Receiue a minde better then thou gauest me, I neither delay nor hide my selfe, I willingly and readily deliver thee that which thou gauest me, when I knew it not. Take it to thee; what euill is it to returne to that place from whence thou camest? He shall liue badly that knoweth not how to dye well. Wee must therefore about all things set light by this life, and account our soules amongst the number of those things that are not ours: We hate

He maintaineth alwayes to himselfe a conscience, and dares not to be overcome by Fortune, when hee rayeth about all humane fortunes, and delivereth himselfe from his contentments.

The fourth remedy is not to prize this life, nor that which is possible more then we need, but to dispose ourselves contentedly vnto death, as to what is necessary.

date (saith *Cicero*) those Skirmishers, if in any sort they desire to begge their liues, we fauour them if they pretend to contemne the fame. Know that the like bealeth vs; for oftentimes the cause of dying, is to dye fearefully: that Fortunate maketh sport for her selfe, whereto (saith the) shall I referue thee wretched and fearefull Creature as thou art? Thou shalt receiue more wounds and skarres, because thou knowest not how to yeeld thy throat: but thou shalt both liue longer, and dye sooner, that manfully entertainest thy death, not in plucking backe thy necke, or opposing thy hands. He that shall feare death, will neuer doe any thing worthy a liuing man: but he that knoweth that this ordinance of life and death was decreed and presently ordered in him at such time as he was conceiued, he will liue according to the rule and ordinance was prefixed him, and this likewise with no lesse constancie of mind will be performed, that none of those things that befall him, may seeme sodaine to him. For to foresee that which is to come, as though it were already past, is the meane to repulse the assaults of all necessities, which shake not these who attend them constantly, and know that there is nothing new in them: but they oppress those men that make themselves beleue that no misfortune shall euer surprise them, and who thinke on nothing but pleasure and content; for there is no sodainenesse cyther in sickness, or in captiuitie, or in ruine, or in fire. For I know well into what tumultuous retreat of dangers nature had locked mee: so oftentimes haue men cryed Fire and Water amongst my Neighbours, so oftentimes haue the Torches and Tapers which were carryed before the dead bodies of this or that mans children past by my doores. Oft haue I heard the noise of high Buildings that suddenly fell downe to the ground. One night barb carried away diuers friends that I had made in the Pallace, in the Market place, in company, and hath as it were cut off the hands of those which had promised and I worne fidelitie vnto me. Shall I wonder then that those dangers that haue hovered so long about mee, are finally false vpon me? The most part of those that are ready to set sayle, thinke not vpon a storme; for mine owne part in doing well I will neuer be ashamed of the danger that may befall me. *Publius* that had a more vehement spirit then either the Tragick or Comick Poets had, as often as he had giuen ouer his Mimick Fopperies, and such as ordinarily he vfed to delight the common people with: amongst many other words, not onely becoming the Comick but the Tragick Scene, he vseth these:

That which hapned to one man may chance to euery man.

Whofouer beareth these words in his heart, and considereth how many miseries his Neighbour suffereth from day to day, and thinketh that they are intended against him, will arme himselfe long time before hee be assailed. Too late is the mind instructed to endure danger when the assault is giuen: I would not haue thought that this should haue bin: I would not haue beleued that this should come to passe. And why not? what riches are there that are not readily attended at their beeles with Misery, Famine and Beggerie? what Dignitie is there, what Scarlet Robe, what Augures Purple Garment, what Noblemans Slipper, that is not attended with Disgrace, Banishment, Dishonour, Imputation, and extreme Contempt? what Kingdome is there, for which ruine, Desolation, Tyranny and Tormenters are not prepared? neither are these diuided by great spaces of time, but there is but a moment of an houre betwixt Royalty and Captiuitie. Know thou therefore that euery condition is subiect

The eighth remembereth that all evils that befall vs and all other men cannot happen, and consequently to detain our liues in good time.

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to alteration, and what fouer assaulteth one man, may assaile thee in like sort. Art thou rich? What richer then *Pompey*? who after that *Caius* his ancient Cousin and new Guest had opened *Cæsars* house to locke vp his owne doores, wanted both bread and water, in such sort, that he who possessed so many Ri- uers, that had their courses and fairs within the precinct of his Lands, begged for drops of water, and dyed for hunger and thirst in his Kinsmans Palace, whilst his heire prepared a publike Funerall for the Staruelling. Hast thou had great honors? What so great or so vnexpected, or so generall as *Scianus*? that very day wherein the Senate conducted him with honour, the people tare him in pieces with furie, and he whom gods and men had laden with so many honours as could be heaped vpon him, had not a Mammocke left of him for the Hangman to fasten his hooke in. Art thou a King? I will not send thee to *Craesus*, who was commanded to mount the pile where hee should be burned, and whence he descended, hauing recovered both his life and Kingdome; neither will I send thee to *Ingrith*, whom the Roman people law led in triumph that very yeere wherein he was so much feared. We haue scene *Ptolomey* King of *Africa*, and *Mithridates* King of *Armenia*, amongst the number of those Souldiers that were of the Emperour *Caligulas* guard; the one of these was sent into banishment, the other wished for it but vnder more faithfull conditions. In so great uncertaintie and mutabilitie of affaires (now mounting, then falling) if thou reputest not that already done which may be done; thou giuest aduersitie power ouer thy selfe, which hurteth not him that hath fore-seen her. The next after these is, that we labor not in superfluous & vnecessary things, that is, that we neither desire those things which we cannot attaine, or that haue attained the same, we feele not ouerlate, and to our great shame the vanie of our couetousnesse; in fine that our trauell be not vnprofitable and of no effect, or the effect vnworthy our trauell: for the most part, sorrow and sadness succedeth by these, if either that we expected faile vs, or we be ashamed of the successe.

For he was slain by the way.

The ninth remembereth that it is to free vn-necessity occupati- ons.

CHAP. XII.



VE must cut off these trettings vp and down practised by the most part of men, who doe nought else but runne from house to house from the Market place to the Theater. They entangle themselves with other mens affaires, resembling those who seeme to be al- wayes busie about somewhat. If thou aske any of these that goeth out of his doores: *Whither goest thou? what thinkest thou?* He will answer, verily I know not, but I will visit some friend, I will doe somewhat. They loyter about to no purpose, seeking out businesse, neither finish they those that they intended, but those they meet by chance. Inconsiderate and vaine is their course, resembling that of the Antes, which creepe along the shrubs, and now get vp to the top, and straight runne downe to the bottom, without ought else doing but running. Such a life doe many men leade, and a man may well say that they are idle without repose. Thou wilt haue compassion of some of those who runne as it were to a fire, and who ouer-turne all those that they meete with, and fall vpon them; for they runne to salute some man that will scarce looke vpon them, to goe to attend some Stranger to his Funerall, or

The tenth to free vn-necessity.

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to accompany some Lawyers: or to honour a Bridall, or to follow some Litter, or sometimes to beare it themselves: then returning home very weary and toyled into their houses, thou shalt heare them sweare, that they knew not why they went out, neither why they left the house, and notwithstanding the next day they will idlee after the same manner. Let therefore all our labour tend to some end, and haue some scope. It is not industry but the false appearance of things that tormenteth, and disquiet mad men: for they busie themselves not without some hope, the exterior beauty of this or that inflameth them in steade of taxing their vanitie, by reason that the fence is occupied. In like case are all they (who haunt the Market place to the intent to multiply the number of the people that walke about the streets,) are carryed away by vaine and light occasions; and hee that hath nothing to employ himselfe in, gets him out of doores vpon the day-spring, and after hee hath knockt at diuers mens doores, whence he hath bin honestly dismissed by the Porter, and by others, who haue hindered him from entrance, there is no man with whom he acquainteth himselfe more vnwillingly then with himselfe. On this euill there dependeth a most pernicious vice, which is curiositie; search into affaires and secret knowledge of many things that are dangerous, both to bee spoken and heard. *Democritus* hauing had prooffe hereof, said; *That hee that will liue peaceably, ought not to entermiddle with many affaires, either private or publike.* Hauing a reference to those things that are vnecessary, for if they are necessary, there are not many but innumerable things to be done, both private and publike: but whereas no solemne office inuiterh vs, our actions are to be restrained.

CHAP. XIII.

*To what danger they that accu-
rious oppose
themselves, and
why the Wiseman
is exempt from
these dangers.*

Hee that doth many things, yeeldeth himselfe subiect to Fortunes power, but the surest way is to make tryall of her very little, and to thinke alwayes of her, but neuer to put confidence in her. I will sayle except somewhat hinder me; I will be Pretor except some one let me, and my businesse shall come well to passe except some accident crosse it. This is the cause why we say, that nothing befalleth a Wiseman contrarie to his opinion; we say not that he is exempt from the chances of this life, but from the errors; neither doe all things fall out vnto him as he wisheth, but as he thought: and first of all he thought that somewhat might resist his purposes. The forrow a man conceiueh, for that he could not attayne to that which hee pretended, is light, and scarcely toucheth the heart, when hee promiseth not himselfe that things shall succeed as hee desired.

CHAP. XIV.

We ought likewise to accomodate our selues to affairs, without presuming ouer much of our conceptions. Let vs dispose our selues thither whither Fortune leadeth vs, neither let vs feare the charges of our counsels or condition, provided that leuity transporteth vs not, which is a mortall enemy to Tranquillity: for it must

needs

needes be, that obstinacie is both doubtful and miserable from which Fortune alwayes extorteth somewhat; and leuity much more grievous, that no wayes containeth it selfe: both of these are enemies to Tranquillitie, both too vnable to change any thing, and vnapt to suffer any thing. In all casualties a man ought to retayne his mind farre from all externall things, and to reflect vpon himselfe, to procure that he trust in himselfe, to reioyce in himselfe, to content himselfe with his thoughts, to estrange himselfe, as much as he may, from other mens affaires; to apply himselfe to himselfe, not to haue any fence of his losses, and take in good part his aduersities. When *Zeno* the Stoicke vnderstood that his ship was cast away, and all his goods drowned, *Fortune* (saith hee) *willets me to follow the studie of wisdom more freely.* A Tyrant threatned the Philosopher *Theodorus* with death, and that his bodie should not be buried: *Thou hast* (saith he) *an occasion wherein to delight thy selfe; thou hast a pint of blood in thy power: For as touching my buriall, then shouldst bee a great Foole, if thou thinkest that I care whether I rot above or vnder-ground.* *Cannius Iulius* an excellent man, whose glorie is no wayes diminished although he was borne in ourage, contested long time with the Emperour *Caius*; who, as *Caius* departing from him said vnto him, *Let happily thou flatter thy selfe with foolish hope, I haue commanded thee to be put to death: I thank thee* (saith he) *worthy Prince.* I know not well what he meant or thought by these words, for diuers considerations present themselves vnto me. I thought hee best to vpbraid him, and to shew how great his crueltie was, wherein death was a benefite? Or did he reproch him for his ordinary fury? for they gaue him thanks likewise whose children were slaine, and whose goods were taken from them. Or did he willingly entertaine his death as a libertie? whatsoeuer he thought he answered worthily. But some man may say that *Caius* after this might haue granted him life. *Cannius* was not afraid of this: *Caius* saith was too well knowne in such like commands. I thinkest thou that hee passed those ten dayes without feare, betwixt the day of his Sentence and that of his execution? It is incredible to be spoken what words he spake, what he did, and how peaceably he liued during this delay: He was playing at Chesse at such time as the Centurion who led a Troope of condemned men to death commanded him likewise to be cited. Hauing scarce finished his game hee counted his men, and said to him with whom hee played, *Beware* (saith hee) *when I am dead that thou beliegst me not, and sayest thou hast wonne the game.* Then nodding his head to the Centurion hee added, *Beare me witness* (saith he) *that I haue the vantage of one.* I thinkest thou that *Cannius* cared for the man? no, hee mocked. His friends were dismayde because they were to lose such a man. *Why* (saith hee) *are you sad? enquire you whether soules bee immortal? I shall know it presently.* Neither ceased hee to search out the truth euen vntill his latter breath, and according to his custome to propose alwayes some question. There followed him a Philosopher of his owne traine, and when hee approached neerer the place where the Toombe stood whereupon daily Sacrifice was made to *Diuus Caesar*: *Cannius* (quoth hee) what thinkest thou now, and whereon fixest thou thy minde? *I am resolu'd* (saith *Cannius*) *to marke in this most swift moment of time, if the soule shall feele that shee is passing forth.* And he promised that if he found out any thing, he would returne to enuy one of his friends, and tell them what the estate of soules were. Behold Tranquillity in the midit of a Tempest; behold a minde worthy of Eternitie, which summoneth his destinie for an argument of the truth, who seeing himselfe readie to

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deliuer his last breath, questioned with his departing soule, and that will not onely learne vntill death, but learneth something likewise out of death it selfe. No man philosophied longer. But this so great a man shall not be obscured so lightly, his prayse shall bee carefully eternized, wee will commend thee to euertlasting memorie, O worthy *Cannius*, the greater part of *Caius* cruell murtherers.

CHAP. XV.

BVe it profiteth nothing to haue cast away the cause of priuate sadnesse. For sometimes the hatred of Mankind possesseth thee, and a troope of so many fcarefull sins present themselves, when thou bethinkst thy selfe how rare simplicitie is, how vnknowne innocencie, how seldome faith, except when it ministreth profit, how the disadvantages of dissolution are as hatfull as the aduantage, and ambition is so execrable and proud, that she cannot contayne her selfe within her limits, and boasterh not but in her villanies. The mind is blinded and obscured, and as if all vertues were ouerturned, which neither we may hope for, neither is it profitable for vs to haue, darknesse ouercloudeth all things; we must therefore dispose our felues, that the vices of the common sort bee not displeasing vnto vs. but that they may seeme ridiculous, & rather let vs imitate *Democritus* then *Heraclitus*. For this man as often as he went abroad wept, and the other laught. To this man, all those things which we do, seemed miseries; to that man, follies: All things therefore are to be set light by, and to be endured with a patient minde; for it is more fitting to laugh at life, then to bewaile it. Adde hereunto also, that he deserueth better of Mankind who laugheth thereat, then he that bewaileth it: for he that laugheth leaueth some good hope, the other so foolishly bewaileth it, that he despayreth of the recovery thereof, and hee that cannot abstayne from laughter, in beholding all that which the World doth, is of a greater minde then the other that spendeth himselfe in teares: when as he moueth the lightest passion of the minde, and thinketh that there is nothing great, nothing seuer, nor any thing serious in this so great preparation and shew of men. Let every one present vnto himselfe the occasions which may eyther dismay or reioyce vs, and he shall know that that which *Bion* said is true, *That all the affaires of men are answerable to their beginnings, and that their life is neither more holy nor more seuer then their designs, conceived onely in their soules.* But it is better peaceably to behold mens publike manners & imperfection, then to torment himselfe thus for other mens afflictions; and inhumane is that pleasure that delighteth in other mens euils; euen as it is an vnprofitable humanitie to weepe and counterfeite sadnesse, because some men carryeth forth his Childe to bee buried. In thine owne misfortunes likewise it behooueth thee to carry thy selfe so, that thou yeld so much vnto thy sorrow as it requirith, not as custome demandeth. For many men powre their teares for a shew, and so often haue they their eyes dry as they want witnesses of their sorrow, iudging it an absurd thing not to weepe when all men are discomfited. So doe many an impression hath this euill fixed in our mindes, to depend on other mens opinions, that sorrow (which of it selfe is the simplest thing) is conuerted into dissimulation. There followeth another point which is accustomed to dismay and make men pensive, and not without cause, that is, be-

The twelfth remedy is this wee ought to despise all humane things, as if they were contented by that are imposed on vs, and laugh at the Democritus.

A comparison betwixt Democritus and Heraclitus.

Of the Tranquillitie of the mind.

be cause good men dye miserably. As *Socrates* is compelled to dye in Prison, *Rutilius* to live in Exile, *Pompey* and *Cicero* to yeeld their neckes to be stricken off by those whom formerly they had defended, and that *Cato* (the liuing Image of vertues) leaning on his Sword should at once loose his life and his Countries libertie. It must needs torment vs to see Fortune recompence good deserts so vniustly, and what now may any man hope for himselfe, when as he seeth the best men suffer the worst afflictions? What shall be done hereupon? Consider how euery one of them behaued himselfe constantly, and as if they were valiant, desire their mindes; if they perished effeminately and basely, there is nothing lost. Eyther they are worthy that their vertue should please thee, or vnworthy that a man should bewaile their cowardise. For what is more hatefull then to see great men dying valiantly, to cause other men to be Catifes and Cowards? Let vs prayse him that was so often worthy to be prayed, and say; *The more constant, the more happy thou art*: thou hast fled humane casualties, hatred and sicknesse, thou hast left thy Prison, thou wert not worthy in the gods opinion of an euill fortune, but vnworthy against whom Fortune might now doe any thing: but those that would retyre themselves, and in the instant of death looke backe vnto life, must haue hands laid on them. I will neither weepe for any one that laugheth, or any one that weepeth. The one hath himselfe wiped away my teares, the other hath by his teares effected this, that he is vnworthy of any teares. Shall I weepe for *Hercules* because he was burned alive, or *Regulus*, because his flesh was pierced with so many nailes, or *Cato*, because he courageously endured the wounds he gaue himselfe? All these men by a light expence of time found out the meanes to make themselves eternal, and by dying attained to immortality. There is yet another great subiect of careful thoughts that thou disguise and counterfeite cunningly, neither euer shew thy selfe to be such outwardly, as thou art inwardly, resembling the lues that stand thus alwayes on our guard, and to feare to bee surprised in an other estate then we are accustomed. We are neuer void of care, as long as this opinion governeth vs, and that men estimate our persons as oftentimes as they see vs: for many things fall out which discouer vs in spite of our hearts, and although so retyred an obseruation of a mans selfe succeedeth well, yet so it is, that to liue alwayes thus disguised, doth but afflit and affright the life which would enioy a thousand pleasures if he were beautified with an open and simple manner of action, and let not a veile before her manners. True it is that this life is an hazard of contempt, if all things were discovered vnto all men; for some there are that disdain all that which they approach somewhat neere vnto and obserue; and better were it to be contemned by reason of simplicitie, then to be tormented with a perpetuall dissimulation. Yet oughtest thou to keepe a measure, and it importeth thee as very much to be aduised, whether thou liuest simply or negligently; we ought to retyre our felues very inwardly within our felues: for the conuersation of those men that are of different humour from vs, disturbe those things that are well composed, and reneweth affections, and exulcerateth whatsoeuer is eyther weak or vnured in the minde, yet notwithstanding it is needfull to intermixe solitude and freedom together, in such sort as the one may be practised neere vnto the other. Conuersation will make vs loue our felues, solitude inciteth vs to goe and find out others, the one will comfort the other, solitude will heale the discontent we haue conceived against the presse of so many people that we haue met withal; and to frequent with di-

The thirteenth remedy is to thinke that good men are neither miserable in their life nor in their death, and that for the same cause we ought to resemble them.

The fourteenth remedy is to flye hyperisie.

The fifteenth, to keepe a measure in solitude and conuersation.

The factcomb
to give some re-
p levents the
made according
to Socrates,
Cato, and Sci-
pioes exam-
ples.

uers men remedieth that discontent which solitude breedeth. Neither is the mind to be entertained equally in the same intention, but to bereouked vnto some pastimes. *Socrates* was not alhamed to play with children, and *Cato* made him merrie with Wine when publike affaires had tyred him, and *Scipio* exercised his warlike and triumphant bodie in dancing (not foolishly as men are wont to doe at this day with refluences and tricks that are more then effeminate) but as the Ancients were wont to dance in their sports and festiual daies, with a decent and comely behauiour, whilst no dishonour or reproch might ensue, though he had bin noted by his very enemies. There must some remission be giuen to our mindes; for after a little repose, they will become more better and actiue in all things. Euen as we ought not to overlay our fruitfull lands, lest by continuall fecunditie their heart and forces bespent and consumed; so continuall labour ruinateth mens minds; if you suffer them to expatiate and delight themselves a while, they will recouer new forces. Continuall trauell dulseth and bluneteth the edge of vnderstanding; neither to this vicissitude would the desire of man bend so much, except that sport and pastime had some pleasure and naturall content, the frequent vse whereof taketh away all that which presseth and afflicteth our spirits. For sleepe is necessarie for digestion, and if a man continue the same both day and night, it will be death. There is a great difference betwixt giuing some libertie to a thing, and leaving it wholly at randome. The Law-makers haue ordained festiual daies, to the end that men should assemble together to entertaine publike sport, enterposiing the same as a necessary temperance and refreshing of trauels. And as I haue said, great personages allowed themselves certaine play-dayes in euerie moneth, and some other neuer passed day which was not as it were diuided betwixt trauell and repose: such (except I forget my selfe) was the great Orator *Asinius Pollio*, who gaue ouer all occupations after ten of the clocke; nay more, he would not reade ordinarie letters, for feare lest some new affaire might fall out, but he inclosed all the trauel of the day time, from the morning vntill that houre. Some tooke their pleasure about twelue of the clocke, and referred ouer those affaires that were of smallest importance till after dinner time. Our Ancestors haue forbidden to make any new report vnto the Senate after ten of the Clocke. The Souldier disposeth his Sentinels by houres, and they that returne from some voyage of warre, are exempted from night watch. It is a necessary thing to giue liberty to the mind, & to grant him intermission, which may serue to nourish, and reinforce the same; Furthermore, to walke here and there amidst the fields, to the end that hauing free and open aire, he may be the more comforted and lightned. Sometimes to goe in Coach, to trauell and change Countries, augmenteth the forces; likewise to make good cheare, and to drinke somewhat freely more then custome, and so farre as we drowne not our selues in Wine, but to drowne our cares in it: for wine driueth away cares, searcheth the secrets of the minde, driueth away all sicknesse, and is the remedy of sadnesse; and therefore *Bacchus* the inuentor of Wine was not there fore called *Liber*, because of the liberty of his tongues but because he deliuereth mens minds from the seruitude of cares, and maketh them more disposed and forward to attempt anything. But as a moderation in vsing liberty, so a temperance in wine is commendable and wholesome. It is supposed that *Solan* and *Arcefilaus* were good drinkers: and *Cato* was taxed for drunkennesse: but who soeuer reprocheth him in this sort, shall rather proue that this crime of drunkennesse is an honest thing, then that *Cato* behaued himselfe dishonestly. But ney-

The order of the
ancient Romans
in the manner
of their lues.

Of the libertie
which is some-
times allowed
good mindes.

neyther is it to be done often, lest the minde should contract some euill custome, although at sometimes a man ought to giue him libertie, and present some meanes of delight, and lay aside for a while the ouer seuer and sober manner of life. For if we giue credite to the Greeke Poet,

Its sometimes pleasure to be mad and foolish:

Or *Plato*, He that is in his right wits, loseth his labour to goe and knock at the gate of the Muses: or *Aristotle*; There was neuer any great wit that had not some spice of folly; if the mind be not stirred, and as it were mounted aboue it selfe, he can speake nothing highly, nor aboue others. After he hath condemned vulgar and ordinarie things, and that a holy heate hath raised him aboue ordinarie, then beginneth he to sing with a mortall mouth, I know not what that is more then humane. As long as hee is in himselfe, he can attaine to nothing that is hie and difficult. He must desist from his vsuall custome, and rowse himselfe, and bite the bridle betwixt his teeth, and beare away him that governeth him, and carrie him thither whither of himselfe he was afraide to ascend. Thou hast, my *Serenus*, these instructions that may conferue and restore the tranquillity of the minde, and make head against those vices that daily steale vpon vs; yet know thou that none of these are forcible enough for those that slight them ouer, but it behoueth the minde which is inclined to fall and erre, to be retained by an intente and continuall care.

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The meanes
how to make all
these remedies
efficacious.

The end of the Booke of Tranquillitie, and repose of the Mind.

OF
THE CONSTANCIE
 OF A WISE MAN:
 OR,
 THAT A WISE MAN CANNOT
 FEELE ANY INIVRIE.
 Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,

The Argument of **IVSTVS LIPSIVS.**

THIS Booke betokeneth a great minde, as great a wit, and much eloquence: In one word, it is one of the best. It was published (as I suppose) about the time of the former Booke which he wrote of Tranquillitie, whereunto they annex this, but improperly. The Argument is different, and thus handled. He beginneth with the praise of the Stoicks, whose Paradox he debateth upon, That a wise man is not affected with iniurie. What then? (saith Seneca) Was not Cato touched with contumelious strokes and spittings upon him? From this objection he entereth into the matter, and yet (saith he) he was not affected with iniuries. For he was a wise man, and iniurie hath no power over a wise man: which notwithstanding (saith he) is spoken in that sense, not that iniuries are not offered him, but that he admitteth them not. This worthily handleth he untill the fourth Chapter. Then divideth he that whereupon he is to debate into two parts, by setting downe the difference betwixt Iniurie and Contumelie. Touching the former, hee denieth that it is incident to a wise man; and as for the last, he admitteth it not. Of Iniurie these are his Arguments. A wise man suffereth no cuill, but iniurie is an euill thing. Secondly, Iniurie detracteth and diminisheth: but nothing is taken from a wise man, for he hath all things reposed in himselfe, and that strongly, as Stilpo. The third. The stronger is not harmed by the weaker: and therefore not vertue by malice. Here it is objected: But was not Socrates vniustly condemned? He was so, but without his iniuries. They proffered it him, he reiecteth them by wisdom. As for example, thou giu'st me venome, and I repress the force thereof by an Antidote: thou committest the crime, and I suffer. The fourth Argument. Iniurie is mixed with iniustice, but this befalleth not a wise man; Ergo, not the other. The fifth Argument. No man profiteth a wise man; Ergo, no man hurteth him. The sixth. Iniurie is either through hope or feare: but a wise man is touched with neither of them. The seventh and last. No man receiveth iniurie that is not moued: A wise man is not moued. And in this place is the conclusion

of

of the first part, and an exhortation to imprint this lesson in our mindes. The other was of Contumelie, which he explicated in the tenth Chapter, what properly it is, and then drineth he it from a Wise man. First, because a Wise man knoweth his owne greatnesse, and therefore Contumely appertaineth not vnto him, which hath both her name and being from Contempt. Secondly, Proud and insolent men inferre Contumely; The Wise man contemneth such men, and therefore this vice is condemned by them. Thirdly, No man contemneth his superiour or his better; but such is the Wise man. Therefore smileth he at those things that are spoken against him, as in banquets at childrens toys. But what? Doth a wife man endure all these things? Doth he not correct and moderate them? Yes, hee doth it sometimes, as men are wont to checke their children, not because he hath receiued any iniurie, but because they haue done it. And hitherto vntill the 14. Chapter, he argueth against Contumely or iniurie onely, now refuseth he them both together, by this argument; Securitie is proper to a Wise man. It is not if either hee is certain or can admit any of them. The like the Epicures maintaine, though not so confidently. In conclusion, he aduise vs to reiect diuers slight and frivolous things, whereas the common sort are offended, and to laugh at them, lest we be deuided. His conclusion is how iniuries are to be borne, eyther by him that seeketh after wisdom, or him that hath attained the same. The one suffereth it with some touch of mind, and with some resist also. The other with both, and like a conqueror chastiseth them before him, and triumpheth ouer them. I repeat it againe; This Booke was written by a man of great minde, let vs confirme our selues there by in this so great malice both of times and men.

CHAP. I.



He insinuateth the doctrine of the Stoicks, and aduiseeth their vniuersitie in animating men to vertue.

May well say (my *Serenus*) there is as much difference betwixt the Stoicks and other Philosophers, as betwixt Females and Males, whereas both the one and the other are equally assittant to the good of humane societie; but the Sect of the Stoicks is borne to command, and the other are made to obey. For other Philosophers handle mens infirmities tenderly and flatteringly, as for the most part domestically and familiar Plurations are wont to doe to their sicke patients, not healing them by the best and speediest means, but by feeding their humors. The Stoicks entertaining a more constant course, they care not whether their followers find the way pleasant or no, but labour to pull vs presently out of danger, and to conduct vs to so high a place, which is so farre raised aboue any humane miserie, that it over-looketh Fortune. But the waies wherunto we are called are high and rugged, for who ascendeth to an high place that keepeth the plaine? Yet is not the way so difficult as some men suppose. True it is, the first entry ouer is stony, steep, and seemeth inaccessible as they that behold from a farre suppose, that the Countrey through which they trauel, is wholly of one leuel, and hath neither path nor way; which proceedeth from the great distance that deceiveth their sight: but in drawing neerer and neerer, these diuers waies which the error of our eye had confounded, seeme by little and little to be distinct, and that which happened a farre off

to

to be a steepe, proued afterwards an ordinarie path, easie, and to be mounted. When as of late we happened to discourse of *Cato*, thou wast mightily displeased (as thou art alwaies impatient of iniquities) because so great a person as he was not so well knowne in his time, because (although he were farre more worthy then either *Pompeys* or *Cæsars*) they ranked him lower then the *Vatinius*; and it seemed an vnworthy matter in thy iudgement, because that disswading the Law they tooke from him his gowne in the Market place, and drew him from the place where the laws were published, as farre as the *Arke of Fabius*, by the hands of the seditious faction, and for that he endured the cruel reproches, shamefull spittings, and other contumelies of the vnbridled multitude. To this, I answered thee at that time, that thou hadst more occasion to be moued in the behalfe of the Common-weale, which *Clodius* on one side, and *Vatinius* on the other wicked men on the other side set to sale, and being blinded with couetousnesse saw not, that in selling their Country they likewise sold themselves.

CHAP. II.



Touching *Cato*, I besought thee not to trouble thy selfe about him, for I told thee that a wife man could neyther be iniured by words or deedes: but that the immortall Gods had given vs in *Cato* a more liuing example of a wife man, then either *Fufyes* or *Hercules* in former ages. For these haue our Stoicks pronounced in all Countries. *Cato* contended not with sauage beasts, and conquerours and Pelants are to prosecute and hunt; neither by fire and sword subdued he monsters; neyther liued he in those times wherein it was thought that one man could carry the whole heauen on his shoulders, for these old fables are out of credite, and men in these daies are better aduised. But he waging warre against ambition, a monster of diuers formes, and with the immesurable desire of rule (which the whole World being diuided into three parts could not satisfie), against the vices of a degenerate Citie that sunke vnder the weight of her owne burthen, stood alone and vpheld the decaying Common-weale, as much as one hand could then sustaine, vntill such time as being either rauished or torn from his Countrey, he accompanied long time the ruine that he had sustained, vntill such time that such things (which without hainous crimes could not be separated) were extingvished together. For neither did *Cato* liue after liberty was lost, neither liberty after *Catoes* death. Thinkest thou the people could in any sort iniurie this man, because they eyther tooke from him the Pretorshippe or his Gowne, or soyled his most sacred head with the excrements of their mouths? A Wise man is secure, neyther can he be touched with any iniurie or contumelie.

The occasion of the question.

The resolution of the same in a word, the subject wherof is *Cato*, is compared with *Vlysses* and *Hercules*, whereas we are not to misse, because the Stoicks haue taken *Cato* as the exemplary image of a wife man.

C H A P. III.

*Answer to this
refutation, grow-
ded on the Pa-
radoxes of the
Stoicks.*



E thinks I see thy mind incensed, and boiling with anger, and thou art addrest to cry out, These are they that lessen the authority of your precepts: you promise great things, and such as neyther may be wished, nor can be believed. Afterwards, after so many great words, and when you haue denied that a Wife man is poore, you confesse that oftentimes he hath want of a seruant, of cloathing, of a house, and of meat. Hauing denied that a Wiseman is a fool, you auow that he is sometimes transported, and that he speaketh some things vnproperly; in briefe, that he suffereth himselfe to be distracted thither, whither the violence of his passion carrieth him. You deny that a Wife man is a slaue, and yet confesse that he may be sold, that he will doe that which is commanded him, and will subiect himselfe as a slaue to all that seruice which his Master shall require at his hands. Thus, after you haue braued a long time, you fall into the condition of other men; and there is no difference betweene you, but in change of names. I therefore suspect that there is some such likeness in this, that vpon the first appearance seemeth faire and magnificent, in that thou propolest, that a wife man cannot be outraged cyther in deed or word. But these things be different; that is, if you say, that a wife man cannot be angrie, or cannot be iniured. For if you say that he endureth the iniurie patiently, he hath no priuledge. He partaketh onely a common good, that is to say, patience, which is learned by a cosome of hearing, and bearing iniuries. If thou sayest that he cannot be outraged, that is to say, that no man will attempt to doe him iniurie: I will giue ouer all other affaires, and become a Stoicke. But my intent is not to dignifie a Wife man with an imaginarie honour of words, but to lodge him in such a place where no iniurie may attaine vnto him. What then? shall there be no man that will attempt or prouoke him? There is nothing so sacred in this World, that meeteth not with some sacriledge. But the gods cease not to be rayled aloft, although there be some so wicked men that will attaine a greatnesse and maiestie, so high placed that they cannot hurt or attaine vnto. That thing is exempt from harme, not because it is not stroken, but because it is not interested. By this mark I will make thee know a Wife man. Doubtest thou that an inuincible force, although it be assailed, is no more assured then that force which is not prouoked, considering that there is not any force in those forces that are vnapproued, and that contrariwise the constancie which despieth all assaults, is iustly held for the most certaine? So know thou that a Wife man is more to be esteemed, because no iniurie can doe him harme, then if no man prouoked him any wayes. I will call him a valiant man that is inuincible in warre, that is not astonished vpon the enemies charge; who taketh no pleasure in sitting idleness, nor in the conuersation of such as doe nothing. I say then that a Wife man is not subiect or exposed to any iniurie whatsoeuer, neyther careth he how many darts are shot against him, since hee knoweth that hee cannot be pierced. Euen as there are certaine hard stones which Iron cannot enter, and the Adamant will neither be cut, filed, or beat to powder, but abateth the edge of those tooles that are applied vnto it: as there are certaine things which cannot be consumed by fire, but continue their hardnesse and habitude amidst the flames; and euen as the rocks that are fixed in the heart of the sea, breaketh the waues, and although they haue bene as-

*An answer to
this reply.*

*Diuers compa-
risons to fortify
his answer.*

Of the Constancie of a Wife man.

faulted, and beat vpon many infinite times, retaine no impression of the stormes that haue assailed them; euen so the heart of a wife man is solid, and hath gathered such force that hee is as secure from iniurie, as those I made mention of.

C H A P. IV.



What then? is there no man that will attempt to doe iniury to a Wife man? Yes, hee will attempt, but it shall not attaine vnto him; for hee is so highly raised above all the attaints of worldly things, that there is no violence whatsoeuer that can ayme his attempts so high, be it your Princes and Monarkes who haue so many engines and seruants at their command, should enforce themselves to hurt him. All their endeauours shall be frustrate before a Wife man bee offended; euen as Arrowes and Bullets that are shot into the ayre, mount more hie then our sight, but they fall backe againe without touching heauen: what? dost thou thinke that that foolish King when hee had darkened the day with the multitude of his arrowes, could hit the Sunne with any one of them? that casting his chaines into the bottome of the sea, hee could haue touched or enthralld Neptune? Euen as celestiall things are not subiect to humane hands, and they that ouerturne temples, and melt downe Images, doe no wayes hurt the Deities: so whatsoeuer is attempted cyther crabbedly, immodestly, or proudly against a wife man, is done in vaine. But it were the better if there were no man that would attempt the same. Thou wiltst the world a thing hard to come by, that is to say, innocencie. As touching those that doe the euill, it were better for them that they did it not, but in regard of him that endureth the same, it is no euill for him. I will say further, that I thinke that wisdome discovereth the forces of his content, more where he is barked at and assailed; as securitie is in an enemies Countreie, a great argument of a wortheie Generall, and exercised Captaine. But if thou pleasest, my *Serenus*, let vs diuide iniurie from contumelie. The former of these by nature is more tedious, the other more light and distastfull, onely to those that are delicate, whereby they are not hurt but offended. Yet so great is the dissolution and vanity of men: minds, that some men thinke there is nothing more displeasing and tart. So shall you finde a seruant that had rather bee scourged with whips then buffeted with strokes, and that suppoeth that death and stripes are more tollerable then contumelious words. The world is growne to that folly, that we are not onely vexed with sorrow, but with the opinion of sorrow also: as children are wont to doe, who are affrighted with their shaddowes, with deformities of men, counterfette faces, and are prouoked to teares, when they heare some name that they like not, and start at the motion of our fingers and other things, which the weaknesse of their iudgement makes them readily condemne.

*See particularly
describeth the
priviledges of a
wiseman, and
first that the
outrages that
are done vnto
him, touch him
not.*

*The second, that
although he is
turbled, yet
endureth he the
euill.*

CHAP. V.

The third, he can neither suffer miserie at subiection, or good, or loss, and then weeds he can no wayes be injured.



Niurie hath this intent to harme some man. But wisdom leaueh no place for euill: for there is no euill for her but vice, which cannot enter there where vertue and honesty dwell, and therefore iniury doth not affect a Wiseman: for if iniurie be the sufferance of some euill; and a Wiseman cannot suffer euill; there is no euill that appertaineth to a Wiseman. Every iniury is a diminution of him to whom it is offered, and no man may receiue iniury without some detriment eyther in honour, body or in goods; but a wiseman can lose nothing: hee hath all his good inclosed in himselfe; hee no waies putteth confidence in Fortune; he entirely possesseth his riches, contenting himselfe with vertue, which hath no neede of accidentall things, and therefore may neither increase nor decrease: for hauing attained to the height, there is no place for increase. Fortune taketh away nothing but that which shee hath giuen; shee giueth not vertue, and therefore cannot take it away; vertue is free, inuiolable, immutable, assured, and so hardened against casualties, that she neither may be shaken or overcome. She holdeth her eyes fixed against the most dreadfull objects in this world, the neuer changeth her countenance, whether they present her with prosperities, or tempt her with aduersities. So then a wise man loseth nothing of that which he perceiueth is subiect to losse; for he is in possession of vertue onely, from whence he may neuer be driuen, and vseth other goods as things that are borrowed. But what man is hee that is moued at the losse of that which is not his? but if iniury can attempt nothing which is proper to a Wise man, because the whole is conserued by his vertue, it followeth, that a man cannot iniury a Wise man. *Demetrius* named *Poliorcetes*, that is, a taker of Cities, hauing brought in subiection the City of *Ategara*, asked *Stilpo* the Philosopher if he had lost any thing? No (saith he) for I carry all my goods with mee, and yet his house had bene ranackt, his daughters rauished, and his Countrey ruined: But *Stilpo* got the victory ouer *Demetrius*, and although his City were taken, he shewed himselfe inuincible, yea, exempt from all dammage, for hee kept with him the true goods which may well bee laid hold on. But as touching those goods that were pillaged & taken from him, he iudged them not his, but reputed them to be casuall, and such as followed the becke of Fortune; and therefore felted he not his heart vpon them, as if they had bene his owne. For the possession of all those things that abound externally, is slippery and vnassured. Betinke thy selfe now whether either a thiefe, a backbiter, a dangerous neighbour, and enuious rich man, or some King broken with olde age could doe him iniury, from whom warre, and thatenemy, who professed a goodly Arte, to subuert and shake Citties, could take away nothing. Amidst so many naked weapons, amidst the tumult of so many boote-baling souldiers; betwixt fire and bloud, and the sacke of a Citie, surprised by assault, amidst the ruine of temples falling vpon the gods; one only man remained quiet and constant. Then art not therefore to thinke that I promised thee more then I can performe, for if thou wilt not credite me, I will giue thee furies; for thou scarcely beleeuest that there is so much constancy in a man, or that his minde may be so great, except he preffe forth and tell thee.

CHAP.

The image of vertue confirmed by a succeeding and notable example.

CHAP. VI.



O the end thou mayest know (saith hee) that a mortall man may raise himselfe above all the accidents of this life, may regard with an assured eye the paines, losses, wounds and strokes, and the hurlyburly of infinite calamities that enuiron him; that hee may endure aduersitie, content himselfe moderately in prosperitie, without relying on this, or grudging himselfe at that, but remaining alwaies like himselfe in good and euill fortune, not to esteeme any thing but except it be himselfe, or in regard of that part of himselfe which maketh him vertuous: I am ready to proue this vnto thee, and to shew thee that vnder this ouerturner of so many Cities, the walles are beaten downe by the violence of his Rammer, the high Towers fall to the ground by the meanes of his Mines, and if he rayseth his platformes as high as the tallest Towers, yet notwithstanding hee cannot finde out any engines that may shake a heart that is well assured. I haue crept out from vnder the ruines of mine owne house, I haue past thorow fire, flame and sword, wherewith I was enuironed on euery side; I know not whether my daughters are more courteously vsed then the rest of the City, I am old, and alone, seeing nothing but acts of hostilitie; yon what side so euer I turne my selfe, yet I maintaine that all my goods remaine in security, I auerre, that I haue all that whatsoever was mine before. Thou must not thinke *Oserenus*, that I am overcome, or thou art victorious. Thy fortune hath overcome mine: I know not what is become of these my goodds which are subiect to losse, and change their master. As touching my true goods, they are and shall be mine, and with me. The rich haue lost their riches, the voluptuous their liues and minions which they had entertained with the hazard of their honour, the ambitious neither haunt the Pallace nor the Market-place as before, nor those retreats wherein they made shew of their vanities; the Vsurers haue lost their bonds and bookes of account, wherein Auarice made drunke with the loue of her selfe, imagineth commodities of all sorts. For mine owne part I haue all my goods in such sort, as no man hath either touched or spoyled them in any sort: Speake vnto those that weepe, that lament, who to saue their money, present their disarmed bosomes to naked weapons, that slee with a heauy burthen vpon their backs before the enemy. Resolue thy selfe therefore *Serenus*, that this perfect man, full of vertues both diuine and humane, loseth nothing: his good are enuironed with solide and impregnable ramparts, with him thou canst not compare the walles of *Babylon*, vpon which *Alexander* mounted, nor the fortresses of *Carthage* or *Nimantium*, enforced by one onely hand, nor the Capitoll or any place whatsoever, how strong and defended so euer it may be. The enemies either haue or might set foote therein: but the fortresses that defence the Wise man, cannot bee surprised, neither feare they fire, they cannot be entered or scaled, or vndermined, they are impregnable like the nature of the gods.

What profit we may reape by Stilpons constancy & exultation. The description of a virtuous man.

The miserie of those that seek content in corruptible things.

LII 2

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

*An excuse of
that which he
hath expected of
a wife man ver-
tue.*

*The fourth pri-
uilege, the ver-
tuous cannot be
injured by the
vicious, but ver-
tu is more pow-
erfull then vice,
and easily sub-
dueth the same.*

Say not therefore as thou art accustomed to doe, that this our Wife man is found in no place; we paint not vaine glory in a mans vnderstanding, neither conceiue we a *Colossus* of counterfeite vertue, but such as wee haue confirmed and approued, wee both haue and will present thee. Haply such a one is rarely found, no not in many ages; for these things that are great and exceede custome and vulgar measure, are seldom engendred and brought to effect: but I beleuee that *Cato*, for whose cause we entred into this dispute, exceedeth by farre the wife man which is now in question. To returne to my purpose, that which offendeth ought to haue more force then that which is offended. But wickednesse hath not more force then vertue, whereupon it followeth, that a wife man cannot be offended, good men cannot be injured but by euill men, peace and friendship is entertained by good men: But if none but the weaker can be wronged, and the euill is more weak then the good; neither can iniury bee done to the good, except it be by the bad, the wife man cannot be injured. For I am not now to remember thee, that no man is good but a wife man. But (saist thou) *Socrates* was condemned vniustly, and receiued iniurie. In this place we ought to obserue, that it may so fall out, that some man may outrage me, and yet I shall not be injured; as if a theefe had stolne something out of my grange in the Countrey, and locked it vp in my house: he hath robbed me, but I haue lost nothing. A man may be guilty although he hath committed no offence; if he lie with his owne wife, imagining that he lay with another mans, he shall be an adulterer, although his wife shall not be an adulteresse. Some one hath giuen me poyson, but hauing intermixed it with my meate, it loseth his force; in giuing me this he is guilty, although no euill ensue thereupon. Hee ceaseth not to bee a murdherer, who hath thrust his sword at me, although I haue put by the blow by the benefit of my cloake. All wickednesses are accomplished in regard of the offence before the mischiefe beated. There are certaine things of that condition, and so vnited, that the one cannot be without the other: that which I say, I will endeavour to lay open; I can moue my feete, and yet runne nor, I cannot run except I moue my feete: although I am in the water, I can chooseth whether I will swimme, and if I swim I cannot chuse but be in the water: so is it in this case that is in question; if I haue bene injured, it must needs be that the iniury hath bene done: but although the iniury hath bene done, it followeth not consequently that I haue receiued it: for many things may fall out that may prevent the iniury, euen as the hand that is lifted vp to strike, may be prevented by some accidents: and arrowes that are shot, may be auoided in some sort, so may some things repulse and stay all iniuries whatsoeuer, in such sort as they shall neither be done nor receiued.

CHAP.

Of the Constancy of a Wife man.

CHAP. VIII.

Furthermore, Iustice cannot endure any iniustice, for contrary things cannot be vnited together: but an iniury cannot bee done but vniustly. It followeth therefore, that a man cannot doe iniury to a wife man; neither oughtest thou to wonder that no man can doe him iniury, since there is not any man that can bring him any profit: for a wife man wanteth nothing which hee can receiue in way of gift, and an euill man can bestow nothing on a wife man: for hee must haue it before he giue it; but hee hath nothing which a wife man would bee glad hee should bestow vpon him. Therefore no man can either hurt or profit a wife man. As the immortall gods neither desire to be aided, neither can bee hurt; no more also can a wife man, who is neighbor to the gods, and like vnto God, except in this that he is subiect to death: Tending and walking towards those thing that are high, gouerned, assured, permanent, peaceable, impregnable, gracious, and created for the good of all men; assisting himselfe and others, he will couet no base thing, he bewaileth nothing because that in all accidents hee dependeth on reason, and marcheth with a diuine thought. He cannot receiue iniury by any means, I say, not only in that respect that hee is a man, no not from Fortune herselfe, which as often as shee encountreth with vertue, neuer retireth but to her disadvantage; if wee entertaine that great euill with a willing and constant heart, in respect whereof the most rigorous laws of the world can doe nothing, and the most cruell tyrants can doe nothing, wherein fortune seeth all her Empery consumed. In briefe, if we know that death is not an euill thing, lesse cruell shall we deeme an iniury to be, more courageously shall wee endure all other euils, such as are lesse displeasures, ignominies, banishments, the death of our parents and quarrels; for although all these incommmodities inuiron a wife man, yet stiffe they him not, nay more, he grieueth not at any of their assaults. And if he patiently endure the iniuries of Fortune, how farre more easily suffereth he these of the rich and mighty sort, who are but the instruments of Fortune?

*The fifth, since
a wife man want-
eth nothing, hee
can receiue no
iniurie, for his
felicitie is com-
plete, a more
Stoicall Para-
dox; the Chri-
stian expected a
greater comple-
ment.*

CHAP. IX.

Hee therefore endureth all these misfortunes as hee would abide the rigor of the winter, raines, heats and other accidents; neither iudgeth he of any man so well, that hee imagineth that hee did any thing by counsel, which is only incident to a wife man. The rest doe nothing with prudence. All their actions consist in fraudes, ambushes, and disordered motions, which the Wife man ranketh amongst casuall things. But all that which is casuall assaileth and enuironeth vs externally. Remember thy selfe likewise, that these things, by means whereof men endeavour to hurt vs, produce many occasions of offences. As if a man should wrongfully accuse vs, or suborne some witness against vs, or if they should disgrace vs in the presence of great men, or attempt such other accustomed practises amongst men that haue either leasure or credit. It is likewise another ordinary iniury, if a man take that profit which another man thought to make, out of his hands, or a reward long deserued, or an inheritance recou-

*All iniuries to a
wife man are
but as cold and
heate, raine and
siccnesse.*

LII 3

red

*The seventh, he
braving in his
passions, judges
of and others
seeing them pas-
sionate men does
and converteth
all to good.*

red with much trauell, or the credite of a house wherein he had done faithfull offices. The wise-man neither lueth in hope nor in feare, but disburtheneth himselfe of these difficulties. Furthermore, no man is iniured except hee be moued, and hee is moued and troubled, as soone as he is touched: but an vpriight man is neuer vexed, hee brideleth in his extravagant discourse, he enioyeth a deepe and peaceable repose, and although an iniury touch him, and moue, and hinder him, yet is hee not attained with choller, which groweth from a pretended iniury; and the reason why hee is not displeased, is, because he knoweth that a man cannot wrong him. Thence proceedeth it, that hee walketh alwayes with an vpriight countenance, a merry cheare, possessed with a continuall ioy, which in such sort strengthneth it selfe, that in stead of being abashed at those iniuries which men may offer him, and for those disasters that may happen in life, hee maketh vse of these difficulties, as meanes to know and make prooue of his vertue. Let vs make profite I beseech you of this discourse, and let vs listen attentively both with heart and care, how a Wife man behaueth himselfe when hee is outraged, although that for all this wee are not so well aduised, as to cut off any thing of our wantonnesse, of our violent courtesoufnesse, nor of our pride and arrogancy. The Wiseman seeketh this liberty without meddling with your vices, neither is it a question here, whether it be lawfull for you or no to doe iniury; but how a Wiseman beareth all iniury, and continueth firme, patient, and confident in courage. In this sort haue diuers borne away the palme in combates and exercises, when by their inuincible patience they had wearied the hands of those that strooke at them. Suppose our Wiseman to be one of those men, who by long and constant exercise haue recovered the force to endure and weary the force and assaults of their enemies.

CHAP. X.

*The eighth, that
all complaints
of those that
suppose them-
selves iniured,
are so wild and
wonderfully that
were a disgrace
for a wife man
to thinke that
he should be mo-
ued at such
things.*

SINCE we haue discoursed vpon the first part, now let vs descend vnto the second; in which, by some particular reasons, and by diuers common, wee will confute that opinion men haue of contempt and contumely. Contumely is an iniury so small, as no man either complaineth or reuengeth himselfe, therefore neither do the lawes themselves prefixe any penalty thereunto. This passion is moued by a certaine baseness of the heart that is displeased, for some either dishonorable deede or word. As for example: This Lord hath not giuen mee audience to day, yet hath admitted another: He hath carelessly turned his head aside when I spake vnto him, or hath mocked me before all men: In stead of placing mee at the vpper end of the table, hee hath set me below. What shall I call these complaints (or such like) but vomiting of a sicke soule, whereunto they are subiect, who are ouer delicate, and such as liue too much at their ease; for I haue no leisure to note these in particulars, when as worse doe follow. Our mindes weakened and made effeminate by too much repose, and become insolent for want of knowing what true iniury is, are moued at such things which (for the most part) proceede from this, because hee that either sayeth or doth them, vnderstandeth not himselfe. By meanes whereof, the other that is moued and passionate, pretending to be iniured, sheweth himselfe to be a man both heartlesse and witlesse. For vndoubtedly hee suposeth himselfe to be

bee contemned, and this misprision of his proceedeth from nought else but his base, vilde, and abiect courage. But a wife man is contemned by no man, hee knoweth his owne greatnesse, hee is resolu'd that no man (except himselfe) can attempt any thing to his advantage or disadvantage. And as touching all these miseries (or rather distractions of the mind) so farre is he from not overcoming them, that hee feeleth them not. There are other crosses likewise; although they overthrow him not, as paines and weakenesse of body, losse of friends, and children, ruine of Countries afflicted by warre. I deny not but a wife man hath some sence of these euils, for we say not that he is hard and stупide, like a flint or as a barre of Iron. There is no vertue that hath not a sence of that which she suffereth.

CHAP. XI.



HAT is it then? I confesse that a wife man receiueth some strokes, but he rebatheth them, he healeth them, and maketh them without effect: as for these that are lesse hee feeleth them not, neither vith he his accustomed vertue, constancy and patience, in respect of these, but either he marketh them not, or thinketh them worthy of derision. Besides, whereas the greater part of contumelies are offered by proud and insolent men, and such as know not how to carry their good fortune: the wife man hath a meanes to despise that ywolne affection, which is the constancy and greatnesse of his mind; which is the greatest of all vertues, the which passeth swiftly aboue all these vanities, as vaine appearances of dreames and nightly visions, which haue nothing solide or true in them. He thinketh likewise that all other men are so base, that they haue not sufficient courage to contemne that which is so highly raised aboue them. Contumely is so called of contempt, because he that outrageth another doth it but in contempt. But no man contemneth his better or him that is more excellent then himselfe, although he say, or doe something which contemptners are accustomed to doe. For young children, strike their parents on the face, and an infant hath towed and torne his mothers lockes, and spit vpon her, and discouraged such things in the sight of the seruant which should haue been hidden, and hath not abained from dishonest and disorderly speeches, and yet none of these doe we call contumelies. And why? because they doe it not in contempt. The same is the cause why wee beare with the vrbanity of our flanes, and take delight to heare them iest at their masters, and after they haue gibed at them first, they haue liberty to raunt others that are at the table; the more contemptible and ridiculous a man is, the more liberty hath hee of his tongue. There are some men that buy wanton children, and animate them in impudencie, and giue them masters to teach them to scoffe and bite at euery man, as if they had but recorded their lesson, neither call wee these contumelies, but merry iests.

*The ninth. Al-
though hee feele
the strokes, he
hath a remedy as
hand, whence
followeth his
cure which de-
serueth not this
name; consider-
ing that the
hurt is rather
an imagination
then any other
thing, if we con-
sider those who
pretend to doe
these wrongs.*

C H A P. XII.

The tenth, Hee esteemeth the injuries that are offered to him by the vicious, as slightly as hee would the words of children, which know not what they say. A comparison between young & old fooles of the world.

BVt what folly is it now to bee delighted, and strait againe offended with the same thing? and to call that a reproch which is spoken by a friend; and a bitter iell that is vetered by a seruant? The same mind whiche we haue towards children, the same hath a wife man towards all men, who after their youth are become childishly old. Haue these men profited any thing, whose minds are depraued, and errors increased, and who differ in nothing from children, but in the bulke of their bodies, and outward formes? but are no lesse inconstant and vncertaine, and desirous of pleasure, without choice, fearefull, and quiet, not in mind, but for feare. Neither therefore will any man say, that there is a difference betwixt them and children, because the one is couetous of cheeke-stones, nuts, and small moneys; the other, of gold, silver and Cities. Children make Princes and Iudges, amongst themselves; counterfeit Senators, and with flauers and peeces of wood represent ridiculously the ensignes and markes of Iustice. Theie play the like sports in good earnest in the field of *Mars*, in the Market place, and in the Senate. Children sitting by the riuers side, make them houses of sand. These as if busied about some great matter, are occupied in stones, in walles, and building houses, and haue made those things dangerous which were invented for the conseruation of our bodies. So then both the young and olde are infants; but the one are more advanced in beastlinesse, and more fooles then the other. And therefore vpon good ground the wife man taketh pleasure and pastime in the outrages of these great infants, and sometimes he chastiseth them as children, not because he hath received iniury, but because they haue done it, and to the end they should doe it no more; for so are wild beasts tamed by strokes, neither are we angry with them, because they cast their rider, but wee stroke them and checke them with the bit, to the end that by managing them we may make them tame. Know therefore that this is answered which was opposed against vs, why a wife man, if hee hath neither received iniurie or contumelie, punisheth those that did the same: for he reuengeth not himselfe, but punisheth them.

C H A P. XIII.

In this place bee answered some questions, and the first, why the wife man suffereth the impudency but of young and old.

BVt why is it that thou thinkest not that the same infirmity of minde attendeth a Wife man, when thou mayest obserue the same in others, though not vpon the same cause: for what physition is angry with a lunatike person, who will interpret a sick mans reproches to the worst, that is vexed with a feuer, and is forbidden to drinke colde water? The same affection hath a Wife man towards all men, as the Physition hath towards his sick Patients, who disdaineth not to handle their priuities, if they haue neede of remedy, nor to see their vrinés and excrements, nor to heare the outrages which feare maketh them to vtter. The wife man knoweth that all these which ier in their gownes, or are apparelled in purple, who, although they are well coloured and faire, are sicke and diseased: whom in no other sort he looketh vpon but as intemperate sicke men. Therefore is he not angry with them, if during their sicknesse they haue

becne

Of the Constancie of a Wife man.

beene so bold as to speake iniuriously against him who would heale them; and as he setteth light by all their honours, so tormenteth he himselfe as little with their despight and insolencies. Euen as he taketh little pleasure, if a begger doe him honour, no more will he iudge it a contumely, if the basest companion returne him not the like when he hath saluted him; so will hee neither waxe prouder, if many rich men doe him honour, for hee knoweth that they differ nothing from beggers, nay, that they are more wretched then the other, for the one neede little, the other much. And againe, the wife man will not be moued, if saluting the King of *Medes*, or *Attalus* of *Asia*, hee passe by him without speaking, and with a disdainfull countenance; for he knoweth well that he hath as little cause to enuy such a Princes state, as the condition of him that in a great famine, hath the charge to keepe and oversee the sicke and mad men. Shall I be angry if one of those who negotiate in the market place neere to the Temple of *Caster*, or that make it their traffique to buy flauers, and who haue their shoppes filled with a troupe of base flauers, salutch mee not by my name? not, as I thinke, for what goodnesse is there in him, vnder whom there are none but euill men. Therefore as he will neglect this mans humanity, or inhumanity; so will hee doe a Kings. Thou hast vnder thy gouernements, both *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Bactrians*, but such as thou containest by feare; neither darst thou lay by thy bowe, by reason of them who doe nothing in regarde of thee, whom thou must handle as flauers, but such as desire likewise to bee rid of thee, and seeke for a new Lord. So then a wife man is not offended at any mans iniurie, and although that one is not of the same reckoning as others, yet hee esteemeth them alike, because they are no lesse fooles the one then the other: now if but once he embase himselfe, so farre as either he be moued with iniury or contumely, he can neuer be secure, for security is the proper good of a wife man; neither will hee endure that by reuenging the contumely that is offered him, he honour him that did the same: for it must needs bee, that hee whose euer is displeased for an iniury that is done him, will likewise bee glad to be honoured at his hands.

C H A P. XIV.



Here are some men that are possessed with so great madnesse, that they thinke that a woman can offer them outrage. What matters it how rich the bee, how many vassals shee haue to carry her litters; what though her eares are laden with pendants, and her chaines be large and spacious? yet all of them alike are impudent creatures, and except shee be endowed with much science and learning, shee will bee cruell and incontinent in her desires. There are some are much vexed, because they haue bene repressed by some Ladies Groomes that helpe to make her ready, and call it contumely, if a Porter bee ouer curiish, they fret at the pride of the Clerke of Checke, and the losinesse of a Groome of the Chamber. O how much are wee to laugh at these toyes? with how great pleasure is the mind to be filled, when a man beholdeth his owne quiet amidst the tumult of other mens errors? What therefore! shall not a wife man be bold to approach the gate where there is a crabbed & froward Porter? if any affaires of importance shall command him, he shall attempt and appeale the Porter whatsoeuer hee be, in giuing him some present, as we are wont to giue bread

If the second sentence is cometh that hee confesseth readily the faults both of the one and the other.

or

or meate to a dog that barketh; in brieft, he will not disdain to disburfe some thing to enter, remembering himfelfe that there are certaine bridges which a man cannot paffe ouer without paying towle; and therefore hee giueth some money to this Towle-man or that Porter, for hee knoweth how to buy fuch things as are vendible. Contrariwife that man hath a bafe minde that boafteeth that he hath fpoken freely to a Groome of the Chamber, that he hath broken his ftaffe, that he hath gotten accesse to his Maſter, and cauſed the Varlet to be beaten. He that contendeth maketh himſelfe an aduerſe party, and vaunting that he hath ouercome, maketh himſelfe equall. But what ſhall a wife man doe if he be buffered? that which *Cato* did at ſuch time as an enemy of his gaue him a boxe on the eare, hee entered not into choller, neither reuenged hee that inſolencie. True it is that hee pardoned not the iniury, but hee denied that hee had receiued it: hee ſhewed himſelfe more couragious in proceſſing that hee was not moued, then if he had pardoned him that ſtrucke him. Wee will ſtay no longer on this point: for who knoweth not that in matter of theſe things which a man ſuppoſeth either good or euill, a Wife mans opinion is different from all other men, he reſpecteth not what they repute either villanous or miſerable, he followeth not the common tract, but as the ſtarres are retrograde in their courſes, ſo carries hee himſelfe in a faſhion which is contrary to all others.

CHAP. XV.

Eaffe therefore to demand whether a wife man ſhall bee outraged, if he be ſtrucken, if his eyes be pulled out, if bale fellows exclaime againſt him in the open ſtreets; if at a Princes banquet he be placed at the lower end, & ſet to eate amongſt the grooms, if hee bee conſtrained to endure all the indignities and deſpites that may be done to a man of honour. Theſe inſolencies either great or little, ſhall appeare vnto him of one nature: if the ſmaller touch him not, no more ſhall the greater, if a little moueys not, a great deale ſhall not ſtirre him. But you meature a great mind according to the extent of your owne weakenefſe, and conſidering onely how farre your patience doth extend; you thinke you doe very much, if you allow a wife man ſome further terme and limit of patience then you allow your owne. But his wiſedome hath placed him in other confines of the world, that haue nothing common with you. Therefore if croſſes, incommodities, and aduerſities, which both the eye and eare abhorre, preſent themſelues on euery ſide, and in great number: he ſhall not be diſmaied thereat, and as he croſſeth euery one of them, ſo ſhall hee make head againſt all together: who ſaith, that a wife man may ſupport one thing and not another, and cloaſeth his magnanimity in certaine bounds, doth amiſſe: Fortune ouercometh vs, except he be wholly ouercome, neither thinke thou that this is onely a Stoicall auſteritie; for the Epicure whom you haue made choice of for a patterne of your idleneſſe, and whom you ſuppoſe to be the Maſter of delights, idleneſſe, and meere paſſime, ſaith that Fortune ſeldome times viſiteth a wife man. How necerly vtered he a manly ſpeech; Wilt thou ſpeake more brauely, and wholly driue away fortune? Conſider that a Wiſemens houſe is narrow, without pompe, without noice, without decking, without Porters who giue or reſuſe entry to goers out or in; but although the gate bee not kept by any man,

yet

The fourth,
what is the cauſe
why a wife
man is ſo patient.



yet Fortune ſetterh no foot therein; knowing wel that ſhe ſhall not be entertained there where ſhe hath no credit at all. But if the Epicure himſelfe who hath giuen his body all the pleaſures that he can imagine, diſgeſteth iniuries: is there any occaſion to thinke it incredible, extraordinary, and aboue nature, which the Stoickes pretend? The Epicure ſaith, that a wife man ought to endure iniuries, but we ſay that a Wife man cannot be iniured.

CHAP. XVI.

Neither haſt thou cauſe to conclude that this repugneth againſt Nature. We doe not denie but that it is an incommodious thing to be beaten, to be enforced, and to be maimed in ſome member; but we denie that theſe are iniuries. Wee take not from them the ſenſe of paine, but the name of iniury which cannot be admitted without empaichment of vertues reputation. Let vs conſider which of theſe two opinions are to be admitted. Both of them conſent in the contempt of iniurie. Aſkeſt thou me wherein they differ? Such difference is there betwene them as betwene two ſtout ſword-players, whereof the one diſembleth his wound and ſtandeth on his guard; the other, looking backe at the people that crie out, maketh ſhew that it is nothing, and will not endure to haue them parted. You muſt not therefore thinke that the difference is ouer great. But there is another point that properly concerneth vs. Theſe two examples teach vs to contemne iniuries and outrages, the which I call ſhaddowes and ſuſpitions of iniuries, to contemne which we ought not to ſecke out a wife man, wee need but a well aduifed man that may ſpeake thus vnto himſelfe; whether do theſe things befall me deſeruedly or vndeſeruedly; if deſeruedly, it is no contumely, it is but a correction; if vndeſeruedly, let him be aſhamed, that deales vnjuſtly; and what is that which is called contumely? Hee ieuſteth at mee, becauſe I ſhake my head, becauſe I haue weake eyes, becauſe I haue little legges, and am of a low ſtature. Is this an outrage, if a man tell mee that which euery man ſeeth? Wee laugh at any thing that is ſpoken in the preſence of one; wee are angry, if it bee before many; and wee permit not men the libertie to ſpeake that of vs which wee our ſelues will ſay our ſelues: wee are delighted with temperate icſts, and are diſpleaſed at thoſe that are immoderate.

To miniſter that
which is paſſible
ſheweth not to be
attended by the
word iniurie.

How a man
ought to ieuſt
at thoſe things
that are ſpoken
by an obſer.

CHAP. XVII.

Hryſippus ſaith, that a certaine man was much diſpleaſed becauſe another man called him ſheeps-head. Wee ſaw *Fidus Cornelius Naſas* ſonne in law ſtand weeping in the Senate houſe, becauſe *Corbulo* had called him pild Autrich. Againſt other reproches wounding both his manners and life, hee carried alwaies a ſetled countenance; but vpon this ſo impertinent a ieſt, hee could not abſtaine from teares; ſo great is the infirmity of our minds when reaſon is abſent: for example, wee are offended, if any man counterſeite our ſpeech, our gate, or any imperfection either in our body, or in our tongue: as if they ſhould waxe more notorious by another mans imitation, then our owne action. There are ſome

How a man
ought to ieuſt
at thoſe things
that are ſpoken
by an obſer.

that



that cannot endure to be called olde, gray-head, or other such names, whereunto many are desirous to attaine. Other some haue beene displeased, if they haue beene called poore; but he truly calleth himselfe poore that concealeth his povertie. The true meanes to cut off all those scoffers and iesters is, if thou thy selfe prevent them, and obiect against thy selfe, all that which they could speake against thee. Whosoever laugheth at himselfe, first cutteth off other mens occasions to laugh at him. It is said that *Valerius* (who was a man borne to be laughed at and hated) was of himselfe a pleasant and talkatiue Companion. This man iested much at his owne gouty feete, and his swolne chaps; so escape he the derision of his enemies, and especially the bitter iests of *Cicero*, which were in number farre more then the sicknesse that had seized him: if *Valerius* a shamelesse fellow could doe this, by meanes of his bitter speeches, who had learned impudence by his continuall iesting, why cannot he doe it, who by honest occupations of the mind, and exercises of wisdome, hath attained to vertue? Adde herunto, that it is a kinde of pleasure to pull from an outrageous man the pleasures which he taketh in speaking or doing euill. These men are accustomed to say; *Wretch that I am, I thinke he vnderstood not?* So is the fruite of contumelie in the fence and indignation of him that suffereth. Moreover, hee will one day bee met withall, and some one will light vpon him that shall reuenge thine iniury.

CHAP. XVIII.

The end of inconsiderate mockers, they see a mote in their neighbours eyes, but will not spee a beam in their owne.

AMongst all other vices, wherewith *Caius Caligula* was replenished, it is reported of him that hee was a great mocker, who daily had a fling at other mens faults, where himselfe was a bountifull subject of laughter: For his countenance was pale and deformed, betokening his melancholy fury, his eyes funke and buried vnder his olde and beetle browes; his head bare in diners places, a tuft of curle and thicke haire about his necke, his legges small, his feet plat and vnmeasurably broad: but I should neuer make an end, if I should specifie every particular, wherein he reproached his fathers and grandfathers, and in generall all sorts of men. I will onely relate those which were the cause of his destruction. Amongst his especiall friends, was *Valerius Asiaticus*, a man of a fierce minde, who could scarcely digest those contumelies that were offered to a stranger. To this man did he obiect at a banquet, and afterwards with a loude voice in an open assembly, the motions and fashions of his wife, at such time as he accompanied and lay with her. Good gods! that the husband should heare this, and the Prince should know it, and that liberty of speech was so vnbided, that he should discouer, (I say not to one that had bene Consul), I say not to his friend, but to her owne husband) the adulteries of his wife, and how his lusts were satisfied! *Chereas* the Tribune of his Souldiers had no ready speech, and hadst thou not knowne him by his deedes, thou wouldst haue suspected him to bee an effeminate fellow. To this man when hee came to fetch the watch word at *Caius* hands, he sometimes gaue him the name of *Venus*, sometimes of *Præpæ*, reproching in one or other sort this warlike man who made profession of armes; that he was effeminate, and that it was hee to whom the name appertained to be painted, socked and decked with bracelets: he therefore enforced him to vse his weapon, lest hee should bee often enforced to fetch his Watch-

word

See Suetonius and Lucius in the life of Caligula.

word from him: he was the first amongst the conspirators that lifted vp his hand; he it was that cut his necke halfe off at one stroke; and afterwards hee receiued diuers other stabbes and strokes at their hands, who reuenged their publique or private iniuries. But he whom *Caligula* least suspected, was the first that shewed himselfe a man; and yet the same *Caius* who tooke all things for iniuries and outrages, could himselfe endure nothing, though here most desirous to offer all: he was angrie with *Hercennius Macro*, because he had saluted him by the name of *Caius*; and he caused a Centurion of the first Legion to be seuerely punished, because he named him *Caligula*; yet was he usually so called, because he was borne in the Campe, and was wont to be called the infant of the Legions: In briebe, the Souldiers knew him not by any name so well, as by that: Notwithstanding, in the end he tooke this word for a reproach and outrage. Let this therefore be for our comfort, that although our frailtie omitteth reuenge, yet wil there be some one who wil reuenge vs on an audacious, proud & iniurious enemy, which vices are neuer consummated in one man, or in one contumely. Let vs consider their examples, whose patience we praise, as that of *Socrates*, who tooke in good part the taunts and reproofoes which the Poets and Players published against him, and laugh not lesse then when his Wife *Zantippe* powred foule Water on his head: but *Sphicrates* being reprovod because his mother was a Barbarian, and a Thracian, answered, that the mother of the gods was borne on the mount of *Ida*.

Imple that it's true reuenge belongs to God, and patience by his example to a wife man.

CHAP. XIX.



VE are not to fall to brawles or debates hereupon; let vs returne our selues farre from these, and neglect those errors which the imprudenter sort commit: for none but imprudent men will commit the same. Both honours and publike iniuries are to be esteemed alike, neither let vs grieve at the one, or reioyce at the other: otherwise wee shal omit many necessary things through the apprehension or distaste of contumelies; neither shall we execute either publique or private offices, no not those that are most necessarie, whilest effeminate care troubleth vs, for feare we should heare something against our minde, and sometimes being displeased with mighty men, by our intemperate liberty, we should discouer this affection. But it is no liberty to suffer norbing; we are deceyued: this is libertie, when we oppose a resolute minde against iniuries; when a man getteth a habitude that breaketh all pleasure, estranging from himselfe those things which are without vs, for feare, lest being afraid of the laughers and disgraces of the World, we drowne our life in a continuall disquiet: for what man is he that cannot iniurie another, if every man may? But a wife man and he that is a follower of wisdome, wil vse another remedy: for to those that are imperfect, and who as yet conforme themselves to the iudgement of the people, we ought to propose that they are to liue amongst iniuries and outrages. All things are light vnto those that expect them: the more greater a man is, the more generous, renowned and rich, the more ought he to shew himselfe confident and couragious, not forgetting this, that the bravest Souldiers are set in the foremost ranks; let him endure opprobrious words, ignominies, and other disgraces, as the cries of his enemies, as arrows shot from a farre, and

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To avoid life is a remedy against trouble, and there is no better wisdome then to be prepared and content against all incumbrances.

stones that rattle about the Helmet without wounding; and let him sustain injuries, neither dejected nor moved from his place, as he would strokes inflicted on his armor, or infixed in his breast: although thou be oppressed, and the enemy presse thee neerely, it is a base thing to giue place; maintaine that place which Nature hath assigned thee: Askest thou me what this place is? That of a mans. The Wiseman hath an expedient contrary thereunto: for you are in the conflict, he hath gotten the victorie: resist not your owne good, and till such time as you haue attained the truth, nourish this hope in your hearts; assure your selues boldly of some better thing, presse forward to attaine it with hope and honest desire; it is for the profite and advantage of the whole world, that there is some one inuincible, that there is some one, ouer whom Fortune hath no power.

* *

The end of the Booke of the Constancie of a wife man.

O F



OF
THE SHORTNES
OF LIFE.
Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,
TO
PAVLINVS.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

THE time wherein this Booke was written is vncertaine (except it were after CAIVS gouernement;) but for the goodnesse thereof it is not to be doubted. O subiect of an excellent and profitable Argument! The Argument is, that our Life is not short, but that we make it short, either by not vying it, or by abusing it, or vaineely vying it. This deduceth he thus: First, wee are bound slaves to vices, wherein we consume and lose our yeares: Secondly, we are vnprofitably busied in triuiall matters, and such as we call Offices: Thirdly, we sinne either in opinion or presumption, and this maketh that life short which we thinke to be long; We despise things present, we dispose the future, as though we had them in great and assured abundance: and for the most part we are intangled with vaine or forraigne pleasure, and lose our lines as it were in sport. Such as this vntill the tenth Chapter; Thence diuideth he time into three parts, into that which is past, into the present, and into the future, and teacheth vs how euilly and foolishly we behaue our selues in euery one of them: he inuiceth against fruitlesse occupations, against delights, against excessse, against idleness, and superfluous studie of knowledge. Hence hee discourseth pertinently, and would to God he might either allure or change the learning louers of this time: That onely that time is well spent, which is employed in the studie of wisdom, whereby our life is truly lengthened. The common sort thinke otherwaies, for they estimate the same by fortune, and according to her smiles, so thinke they that our life is shortened or lengthened: In prosperitie they wish for death, in aduersitie they feare it. In the end he exhorteth PAVLINVS, and what

At m m 2

he

he saith to him, let every man apply to himselfe, and grow maturely wise, and retire himselfe into the haue of life, which is an honest repose. This vow I, thou wilt I endenour.

CHAP. I.

He beginneth
with the ordina-
rie complaint
both of the great
and small, that
life is short.



He greater part of men (*Paulinus*) complaineth of the hard dealing of nature with vs, who hath brought vs forth to liue so short a while, and yet of the time allotted vs, that the moments should so sodainly and swiftly run away, as we see they doe: in so much as besides some few amongst vs, the rest are then most commonly bereft of life, when indeed they begin but newly euen then to liue; nor doth the populous or foolish people only lament this euill (so generall as it is counted) but euen many famous men haue likewise thought and lamented in like manner this our misfortune; whence springeth that especial complaint of the greatest amongst Physicians, that our life is short, and their art very long. Hence also *Aristotle* takes occasion to quarrell; (although it scarce becometh so wise a man as he was, so to doe) with dame Nature, who (saith he) hath allotted vnto beasts, some five, some ten hundred yeares, where man, who is created to so many weightie purpose, hath a terme of life prefixed him so much shorter as we see: whereas indeed we haue no scantnesse or scarcitie of life, but we rather lose much of our life; for long enough & large enough is life allowed vs, were it spent in greatest matters, or were it all spent in good matters; but when we haue by riot and negligence once lost it, when it is once spent and gone, and we cannot shew any good we spent it in, at length need driuing vs to make an end thereof; we see that now it is spent, which we did not seele to spend, before in deed it was very wel nigh wholly spent: so that we had not given vs so short a life, as we will make it, but such we made it as it is; nor had we giuen vs so little life, but so prodigall and lauish we are. Euen as a Princes ample Patrimoine, if it come in Hucksters hands, goeth away in a moment: which if it were the hundredth part thereof, and were well husbanded, would yet by good vsage, encrease rather then proue but scarce; euen so our age if it be well employed, will proue faire and long enough.

CHAP. II.

The diuers
meanes we fol-
low to shorten
our daies.



Hy then complaine we of Nature? she hath dealt well with vs, and thy life, if thou know how in good things well to spend it, shall appeare long enough. One is wholly possessed with vnassailable auarice, another is as busie as a Bee in labours, euery way needlesse and superfluous: a third drinkes out his daies, a fourth is idle, a fifth liues gaping after preferments, which yet are in the will of another to bestow; a sixth, is led euen round about the world, by a desire to buy and sell, with hope to gaine; and some there are that continually haue their mindes on warre-fare, neuer minding either the perils of other men, or regard-
ding

during their owne, as some there are also that wilfully enthrall themselves to such Potentates, as scarcely euer giue them any thanks for so doing, and yet delight in their folly; many likewise spend their daies in affecting others Fortune, and derailing of their owne; and diuers men doe nothing but delight themselves with changeable, vnconstant, neuer pleasing fantasies, still attempting new deuices; as also some like nothing, wherein to spend their time, but consuming in their idlenesse, doe nothing but still accule their fate and Fortune: so that which the greatest of all the Poets hath laid in manner of an Oracle, is true, *A little part of our life it is we liue*; for indeed the whole course of mans age is not life, but time rather, in which almost hourly new vices so assaile vs, as we neither can recover our selues, nor so much as lift our eyes to see what is decent and true in things we thinke of: but if once we begin to take footing, new desires anew assaile vs, and keep vs downe: no, they cannot so much as recall themselves to minde, but if haply they be quiet, yet as in the sea after a storme is fully passed, euer remaineth there a wallowing, and continuall rowling; so beate they still vp and downe, nor haue they perfect rest from their desires. And here perhaps ye thinke I speake of such men only, whose fancies all men gaze at, and talke of too; but looke on them, whose felicitie all men most maruell at, and you shall see, that euen these men are cloyed with their good fortune: of which sort many account wealth a burthen, many haue also a goodly gift of eloquence and vtturance, spend themselves in delight to heare themselves speake: and many weare away, euen surtetting with selfe pleasing delights & pleasures: and how many, I pray you, know you that haue scarce any time almost to breath for continuall suitors to them? Goe but ouer them all from the lowest to the highest; he sues, he helpes, he is in danger, he defendeth him, and another iudgeth him; euery one, to be short, spends himselfe vpon others: and enquire of these mens liuing, whose names and persons all the world talkes of and knowes, and you shall see them distinguished by these particulars: he is wholly at the deuotion of such a one, another altogether depends of him: and none of them all is his owne man, or intends his owne businesse. And here I find a sond complaint made by some men, they mislike forsooth the coinesse of their superiors, who are not oft at leisure, when they would sue or doe their duties to them; and dareth any man complaine of the pride of another, who himselfe is neuer at leisure to bethinke himselfe of himselfe? The great man be he neuer so proud, yet sometimes at the length he giues thee access; he giues thee audience at some time, he calls thee at last, yet canst thou not vouchsafe to looke into thy selfe, or giue hearing to thy selfe.

CHAP. III.



How art not therefore to impute these offices to another, because that when thou didst them, thou wouldest not be with another; but couldest not be with thy selfe: and if all the wits that euer were renowned for any thing, would intend this one point; yet can they not all of them sufficiently wonder at the blindness of mans minde in this one false folly. They suffer not their lands to be vsurped by another, and be the controuersie about neuer so little a quantitie, or circumstance of their possessions, they take vp phones, and betake them straight wayes to armour, and yet they suffer others to be masters of their liues, yea
they

We ought not to
accuse the short-
nesse of our life,
but our felicity.

they put such in possession, as are like to be Lords and Rulers of it: yee see no man willing to part with his money, but with good conditions to another; and yet with how many, I pray you, doe we all part stakes, and make diuidents of our life, euen many times for nothing? Every one is a niggard to part with his Patrimoine, and yet most lauish be we when we come to losse of time, wherein onely a man may honestly shew himselfe a nip-crust. I will therefore entertaine some one of these that are stricken in yeares, and I will say vnto him, Sir, we see you are as old as a man almost may be, you are on wards on a hundred yeres, or rather more then so; doe but call your yerres to a reckoning, and say in sadnesse, how much time your creditors, your the friends, the Citie matters, and other suitors to you haue spent thereof? Your suites about wiuings, breaking your head to frame your seruant; your desire to pleasure friends in euery corner of the towne: how much paine haue these things put you to? then adde what sicknesse your selfe haue bene procurer of, as also what time haile and vnadvised anger hath possesed you with, euen in things triuolous; yea what time hath past you to no fruit or purpose, & you shal see you haue not liued so many yeares as you make reckoning of: call to mind when you were resolute what to doe in any thing, and how many dayes you euer passed as you determined, then what fruit you reaped of dayes so spent? what haue you now to shew as the fruit thereof: nay, how many haue stolne peeces of your life, whilst your selfe did not consider or perceiue the want thereof; how much of it haue false ioyes, needlesse griefes, greedy, couetous, pleasant company mispent I pray you? and then count how little of your owne life is left to your selfe, and you shal finde you die, before you are readie to depart the world.

CHAP. IV.

WHat is then the reason forsooth you liue, as if you had a warrant to liue for euer? you reckon not how little time you liue to your selfe; you count not how much time you spend, while you spend as it were of a full and ouer-running reckoning; when as haply that same day spent in another mans pleasure, or to his vse, may chance to be your last; you feare all things as men mortall, yet you long for all things as immortal. You shal heare some men say, were I fittie, I would betake me to my beades, were I threescore, I would meddle no more with worldly matters; yet they haue small warrant of longer life then the present moment: for who can giue thee assurance that thou shalt doe euen iust as thou determinest? Shamest thou not to make reckoning how to leade thy life to come, and to poynt such time for amendment, which almost can serue for nothing? How late is it to begin to liue then when thou must leaue to liue? or how fond forgetfulness of mortality is it to delay amendment to thy fiftieth yeare of age, and to make account that then thou wilt begin to liue, when few men vse to aspire to such an age? Yee shal often heare great mighty men giue out speeches in praise of rest, of leisure, and quietnesse: they with it, they preferre it before all their wealth; yea they with it might with safetie come downe from that high top of their authoritie, and intend the same; for although a great prosperitie be not assailed or battered externally, yet ceaseth she not to decay, and to be intangled in her selfe.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

GREAT *Augustus* whom the gods did more far, then euer else for any man, ceased not to pray for rest and exemption out of common causes; all his speech still was aymed to this end, that hee once might come to quietnesse: yea he fauced all his labours with this false but pleasant comfort, that he would one day surely liue to himselfe; and in one Epistle which hee wrote vnto the Senate, (wherein hee protested that his rest and quiet priuate life should doe him more good and credit also, then his life already led in renowne and glory) I finde these words inserted: *But I know it were more credit for me so to doe, then to say so; howbeit such desire I haue thereto, as because I cannot indeed performe it, some pleasure yet I thought to reape, by talking onely of so pleasant a matter.* So great a thing was rest in his conceit, that being vnable to attayne the same in effect, hee apprehended it in thought; he that saw that all things depended on him, and that he was truly able to make happy or unfortunate whomsoever, or whensoever he pleased, took great pleasure to remember the day and time, when he should cast off his owne greatnesse, and become his owne man: hee had tryed what sweat and swinke his estate (which all men deemed to bee so good and glittering) did cost him to maintayne: and how much priuy heart-burning, and heart-aking too it daily harboured, being forced to make war first with the Citizens of *Rome*, then with his fellow Officers, lastly with his kindred, shedding blood by Sea and Land, in *Macedonia*, *Sicilia*, *Egypt*, *Syria* and *Asia*, coursed almost throughout all Countries; yea, and when he had thus glutted himselfe in a manner with Romane slaughter, hee was forced to turne himselfe against forraigne Nations. And being likely to quiet some troubles in the Alpes, hauing vanquished other enemies that disturbed this his peaceable and seiled Empire, while he set forward to enlarge the same beyond *Rhenus*, *Euphrates* and *Danubius*, at home euen in the Citie, *Murena*, *Cepio*, *Lepidus*, and the *Fignis* prepared Armes against him: yea, and hauing scarcely fully escaped these their attempts, his Daughter *Julia*, and many noble young Gentlemen (knight in League by reason of their too much familiarity with that loose Lady) began to be terrible vnto the Father, who in their opinion liued somewhat too long: after whom also *Fulvia* caused her Husband *Anthony* to take weapon against him, no History sheweth why. All which fores when he had cut away, with the parties also in which they were, yet still there arose new, not vnlike a body too full of humours, whereof alwayes some one part or other breaketh out continually into a sicknesse: wherefore he wished to liue in rest, the onely hope and thought whereof, was the onely ease of all his labors, and this one thing was the daily prayer and desire of him, who was able otherwise to make euery man Maker of his desires beside himselfe. *Marcus Cicero* long time tossed vp and downe betwene *Catiline* and *Clodius*, betwixt *Pompey* and *Craffus*, who were his open enemies, the rest his doubtfull and vncertaine friends, whilst hee wrestled with the Common-Wealth, and laboured to hold it vp that now was running more and more to ruine, was at length ouer-borne and forced to yeld to the burthen of it, being neither quiet in prosperitie, nor patient in the contrary: this *M. Cicero*, how often not without cause also doth he dect that his Office borne as *Consul*, which till then at first, he neuer ceased to commend without end; which in truth hee did not without cause extoll, when hee spake most

Since the example of the greatest (such as Augustus Caesar was himselfe) that repose is a thing to be desired, this ought to induce euery one to making his life in constant allayes, instead of complaining.

The same cause of this shortnesse of our life, proceedeth from this, because we thinke not upon death.

most of it. What doleful speeches fals he into in one epistle to *Atticus*, vpon the newes that *Pompey* the father was vanquished, when his sonne the yonger *Pompey* renued his fathers quailed quarrell in the parts of *Spain*? *Aske you*, quoth he, *what I make here? I keep my selfe to my Tusculane, now at length halfe become mine owne man*: adding also other things in the fore-said Letter, wherein both he bewyleth his time fore-spent, he complayneth of the present, and delpayreth of any good in the time to come: he calleth himselfe now halfe his owne, where in truth no Wiseman euer could vse so base and slauiſh a terme, who will neuer bee so little as halfe his owne, but alwayes will bee whole his owne, his owne entyre, free from others becke and board; his owne to vse without respect, what others account thereof; for what needeth hee regard what others say, who, treadeth Fortune vnder foote, as euery Wiseman cyther doth or should doe?

CHAP. VI.

Another example of *Lucretius*.

Lucretius *Drusus*, (one of the Ancestors of *Luia*, *Augustus* his Emperresse,) a hot spirited, and a very vehement fiery humor'd man, hauing put new Common-Wealthes in the peoples head, and firste anew the old tumults of the two Brethren, the *Gracchi*: being manned almost with all the power that *Italie* could make, hauing not yet well weighed the end of things, which now hee could not accomplish to his desire, nor had he yet the liberty to leaue in the midst; fell in detestation of his owne vnquiet state from the day of his birth till then, and is said to haue vttered these very words: *I am only hee I thinke that neuer yet had leaue to play, no not when I was a Boy*: for indeed being vnderage, and coming but as children did into the Senate with his father, hee presumed to speake, to iudge in the behalfe of diuers mens, and layd his credit on the matter in so vehement a sort, that it was said, many iudgements were giuen wholly as it pleased him. Whither would not so young an aspiring humour, if it had continued? (for a man may well coniecture,) so soone ripe a stirring head, that must needs grow in time to the great hurt, publike or priuate, some where or other; and therefore too late he made complaint, he had neuer yet leaue to play, who was of a childe so troublous, and importunate to the State where hee liued, as he was. Some make question whether he kild himselfe or no: (for a wound he had in his groin, which was his death:) but at that time, though some men doubted, whether hee had slaine himselfe or no, yet all men thought it high time for him so to be dispatched. It were needlesse here to reckon more of this same humour, who being in the eye of other men most fortunate and happie, notwithstanding gaue true testimony against himselfe, that they hated and disliked of all that euer they had done; but with these complaints of theirs, they did neither alter others nor amend themselves: for the words sometime brake from them, to the sence I haue said: yet their desires kept on the old vnconstant course, and were no changelings. Truly when our life shall be extended to a thousand yeares, yet shall it be reduced within a little scantling. Time shall deuoure all this, and in respect of this course which Nature sunnisheth, and Reason prolongeth, of necessity it must escape from vs so daingly, and bee incontinently ended, for wee lay not hold on it, wee possesse it not, we giue not any stay to the swiftest thing that may be imagined. No, but we suffer it, to passe,

passe, as if it were scarce worth the looking after, or elswhere easie to be recovered. I place in the foremost ranke those who addict themselves to nothing but drunkennes & palliardize, for no men haue a more infamous occupation then these. As touching the others, astonished at the image of vainglory, yet are they distracted by some faire appeatance; although they reckon vp vnto mee the auaricious, although they number me the wrathfull, or such as exercise vnjust barreds or wartes, all these doe sinne manfully. But the foyle of these that abandon themselves to the sinne of Letcherie, and other such fleshly pleasures, is both filthy and villanous. But examine a little I pray you the life of all these. Consider how much they employ in accompting, in complotting their practices, in fearing, in courting and being courted; how much time their owne procelle and other mens spendeth them, and how much their Feasts which at this day are accounted for Deuouires and Obligations; and thou shalt see that their euils or their goods giue them not leisure to take breath. Finally, all men doe confesse that nothing can be well performed by such a man who is distracted with forreigne affaires, neither Eloquence nor liberal disciplines; because the spirit that is distracted, hath no grounded apprehension of any thing, but reiecteth all things as if they were triuiall. There is nothing wherein a man that is buried in businesse occupyeth himselfe in lesse, then how to liue, yet is there not any thing more difficult to be knowne.

CHAP. VII.

The Professors of others Arts are ordinary and many, and some of these Arts haue children so perfectly learned and vnderstood, as they could teach them for a need. To liue a man must learne euen all his life long: and (that which happely you will rather wonder at,) all our life wee must learne in the end how to dye. And of so many great men as despised all lets and stops, despising riches, Offices and all voluptuousnesse, doing nothing all their life long, but learning still to liue; yet diuers were there amongst them, that departed this mortalitie, confessing they had not then as yet come to the knowledge: so farre off are these our busie braines from attayning thereunto. So that trust me, very wise is he, and a man aboue the common case and capacite of men he must needs be assuredly, that spends amisse no iot of all his dayes: and therefore longest is his life, who spends all his life, be it much or be it little, in his owne affaires, and hath neither mispent with folly, nor lost by idlenesse any houre thereof, and much lesse hath intended any other men or matters, then himselfe and his, deeming nothing in this world worth exchanging ot his leisure for it, which his leisure he did spare as a thing most precious. And to this man I say his life was long enough, whereas on the contrary part, those men may well complaine of scarcitie, who spend much time in matters popular, to their fruit none at all, or very little, and yet they vnderstand not their owne losse. Oftentimes you shall heare great men (to whom good fortune is a burden) midst their route of Suiters, causes, actions and other miseries (which great port makes notwithstanding to seeme felicities) cry out, *I cannot bee suffered to liue to my selfe*. All these men that seeke thy helpe to doe them pleasure, draw thee from thy selfe. That Defendant, how many dayes did hee beare thee of? and how many

Who so will liue long, let him learne till he die.

many dayes that other standing to bee Consul; as also that old Gentlewoman, who hath troubled thee with the prouing so many of her Husbands Wils? As also that olde Gentleman, whom thou visitest in his sicknesse, which hee doth yet but counterfeite, to set greedie mindes on edge, to long for that he lea-
 ueth: and that great friend of thine, who yet reckens not otherwise of such friends as thou art, then onely to bee credited by thy courting and attending him. And hauing cast thy dayes in this manner of account, see how few daies and how foolish a remainder of them comes to thy share. Hce that now hath got the Office he was long a Suiter for, is by and by contented to be rid of it, & saith, *Oh when wilt thou goe come to an end?* Another sutes to the Senate, that he may be at cost to prouide Playes for the people, and was wondrous ioyfull then when leaue was giuen him, so to spend his money; and yet shortly after he cryeth, *Oh when shall I be rid of them?* A third, whom every Clyent seekes to retayn in counsell, who fills the barre when he commeth, and leaues every Court empty at his returne, saith, *Oh when wilt this T carme be at an end?* Thus every man lets life at nought, whiles he desireth things future, and is glutt with the present; but he that turneth every moment to some good purpose, that disposeth of every day as hee would of all his life, this man doth neither feare nor wish for to morrow: for what is there wherein any houre can breed him new delight? He knowes that all is vanitie: he hath had his wishes his belly full; for the rest let Fortune doe as her selfe shall please; his rest, his stocke is safe. This man may haue something added to him, but nothing taken from him; but so added as meate which is let before him that is glutt and full, which hee neither desireth nor digesteth.

CHAP. VIII.

Long life consists not in the great number of years, but in virtuous actions



And therefore neuer say, This man hath liued long: his white head, his wrinckled face imports the same; for whether he liued long or no thou knowest not: but long indeed I confesse, thou seest that he hath bene. For how canst thou say that he hath sayled much, whom a cruell tempest takes immediately, as soone as he is out of the Hauens mouth; and after much hurly-burly, much trauersing his way, and beating vp and downe, it brings him euen the selfe-same way backe to the Hauens that euen now he went out of? This man hath not much sayled, but much hath he bene beaten. And here I often maruell much, when I see some men so earnestly desire rest and repite, the men that they desire it of being both so easie to be intreated, and so vnable to hinder it or keepe them from it: the thing in whose respect they wish for rest and leisure so greatly as they doe, doth much concerne them, I meane both the requester and the granter: the thing it selfe is *Time*, and yet they wish for it so coldly, or rather so indifferently, as if it were a thing of no value at all; so little doe they weigh the thing which yet indeed is most precious. And indeed this one thing greatly deceiueth them, because time is not subiect to their senses, nor is it easie by eye to iudge thereof; and therefore no man accounts more of it then of a very base matter, or rather a thing worthy no mans money. Euery new-yeares tide our *Romanes* vse to receiue gifts and presents of mightie men, in respect whereof they bind themselves to dance attendance on the giuers, to bestow their labour, their paine and diligence at anothers deuotion all the yeare after; no man valuing the time hee must

must bestow: for the same they vse and abuse many times so lawfully, as if indeed it cost them nothing. But if the meanest man amongst them should chance to be sicke, if death come neerer then they were aware of, see what suit straight they make to the Physician: or if they feare the punishment of death by Law, see if they doe not offer gladly all the wealth they are worth, to redeme their life; so diuers and so different be their desires. And if it were as easie to say what yeares each man hath in future time to liue, as it is easie to tell you how many he hath liued already: how would some men tremble that should see so few yeares remaying; and how chary would they bee in bestowing them? And yet notwithstanding contrarywise, it is an easie matter to order that we see is certaine: and more cause haue we to be charie of that, which wee know not how soone it will decay. Nor are wee yet to thinke they know not what a lewelly this time is which we speake of: for their common words of courtesie to their best friends, are these; I would goe, I would ride, I would spend a moneth to pleasure thee: and indeed so they doe for other men, though they perceiue it not, or rather they lose so much of their owne, without either turning it to their friends behoofe, or perceiuing the losse thereof in themselves; which makes them take the losse in better part, because they doe not feelee it. Howbeit no man will restore thee thy time againe. Thy dayes shall still goe on as they haue done hitherto, nor canst thou euer either recall time spent, or cause it for time present to cease to spend: no, thy dayes shall make no more noyse then yet they haue done; nor shall they giue more warning of their swiftnesse now then euer. Time shall slide and will say nothing as it still hath done alwayes. It is not like the prorogation of our dayes, and of an Office, neyther Prince nor people can giue it thee the second time, but euen as it begonne from the first moment, so shall it still continue. Ye shall take vp Inne at no place; how then? forsooth thou art occupied and thy life hastes away, and death shall come euen then when thou least dreamest of it; and wilt thou, or haue thou no will to it, thou must yet needs intend it.

CHAP. IX.



An any mortall man, be he neuer so wife and politick, tell vs how we may more thoroughly intend our selues then yet wee doe? or prescribe vs how to liue hereafter more our owne, then yet wee are? Nay, themselves with losse of life are long occupied in telling how themselves will liue, and (God wot) long they be about their owne conceits; and indeed the greatest losse of our life is delay, which weares away the first day, bereauing vs of present time whilest it promiseth vs things future. Nor is there any greater impediment why wee liue not out of hand then expectation, which hangeth alwayes on to morrow: so thou lovest this day, and determinest what shall become of that which Fortune is wholly Lady of, while it passeth and slippeth from thee that thou art Lord of. What hopest thou, what gapest thou for? All that is to come is vncertaine, and therefore liue out of hand: for the greatest Poet that euer was, as it were by inspiration, giues thee whole some counsell,

Our happiest dayes doe passe from vs poore mortall men,
 First, and before the rest.

He that seeks out the means to liue virtuously, liueth long enough.

And therefore why delayest thou? Why stayest thou? Life flyeth if thou lay not hands vpon it; and if thou doe lay hands vpon it, yet neuertheless it flyeth; and therefore struetheou alwayes with the swiftnesse of time, and bee as swift in vlage and turning it to profit, as thou wouldest be quicke to draw water out of a River that thou knewest would not continue in his running. And in this, well saith the Poet, he calleth them not happy yeares, but happy daies, thereby hitting vs in the teerth with our infinite conceit of time to come. Why doest thou in securitie and in such swift reuolution of time so leifurely dreame of moneths and yeares, yea, and draw thy yeares also (to please thy fancy withall) so long in such a number? He talketh with thee of daies, and of daies also now fleeting. It is not to be doubted therefore, but as he saith, each more happie day flies from vs most miserable and mortall men, that is to say busied, whose childish minds age as yet oppresseth, to which they come vnprepared & disarmed. For they haue nought readie for it, but it lights vpon them vnawares, before they dreame of it, nor did they feele it coming day by day as they should. Euen as those men whom a Tale or some pleasant matter read, or other secret meditation deceiue in their iourney, so that they know and see they are come to their iournies end, before they thought that halfe their way was spent thitherward, euen so this daily quicke race of our life, which as well we passe on sleepe as we doe awake, it Hewes not it selfe to vs whiles we be occupied, but in the end when it is gone.

CHAP. X.



And that which I proposed, if I would prosecute by peece-meale as I might, I could find great reason why to prouoe the busied mans life shortest as I said. *Fabianus* was wont to say (who was none of these great formall talkatiue Philosophers, but one of those formed, former aged, true and plaine Philosophers) *We should fight against afflictions, not by flight but by might, not by ease and gentle reuence, but with all the force we can make. We should strue to beat downe their senselesse Armie, for touching would not helpe the matter, they must bee strongly set on: yet to shew these men their error, I will not onely inueigh at them in bitter manner, but I will strue plainly and sensibly to teach them this their folly. All our life is diuided into three parts, that is, that was, and that is to come: that we doe God knowes is short, that we shall doe is doubtfull, that we haue done is out of doubt: for in this last indeed, dame Fortune hath lost her force, nor can it now be put in the power of any thing to make vndone; and yet this time the busied man hath wholly lost; for hee hath no leaue to looke backe, or if once he haue leifure. Yet small pleasure takes he to record a thing past, which he hath such reason to repent him of: for little lust he needs must haue to call to minde time mispent, which he dares not now vnfold againe, for feare the faults, which at that time vnder colour of delight he was content to commit, by new handling become more manifest, and shew themselves in their kind; and indeed no man doth willingly straine himselfe to looke backward but such an one as doth all things vnder guard, and in awe of his owne conscience, which is neuer deceiued. He that hath in many things desired with ambition, despised with disdain, conquered with insolencie, cozened with subtiltie, scraped to him with couetousnesse, mispent by prodigalitie; this man must needs bee much afraid*

To make vs more careful that our life should not be fruitlesse, hee sheweth that we cannot make account of any part the col, but of that which is past, and is counted vnder the foot, adding that they who treadle them mispent too much with this World, are frustrated of the fruits of that time, and consequently line not.

fraid to recall himselfe to memory. And yet this recapitulation of time past and spent, is the time already thrived, already past all chance, and feare of change, free from Fortunes counterbuffes, out of danger either of penurie, of feare or sicknesse, this cannot be dissembled, nor taken from vs, but remaineth our perpetuall and impregnable possession: daies are present neuer more then one and one, and they by moments also: but of time past many moneths, many yeeres at your commandement, are readie prest at a becke, they are content you looke on them, you handle them, and hold them, which the busied man is neuer well at leifure to performe: none but the quiet careless man can fetch a vagary leifurely throughout all parts of his life; the busied mind is (in a manner) ringed and yokt for rowing; he cannot bow nor bend, nor intend to looke backe; and such mens liues sinke into a bottomlesse gulfe: but euen as it doth not profit thee to haue powred to thy behoofe neuer so much in quantitie of any thing whatsoever, neuer so good in qualitie, if thou haue not wherein to hold it and preserve it: so little booteth it thee, how long time thou hast to liue, if thou hast not wherein to hold it, or bestow it; but lettest time slip away through thy fancy shaken, chinked and rotted desires. Now the present time is short, and so short, that some men thinke it in a manner nothing, for it is euer flitting: it runneth, it huddles forward, and it ceaseth (in a manner) before it come, nor doth it otherwise make stay then the World or the Starres, whose neuer resting rowling, neuer stands in one place long: and yet this onely present time belongs to the busied man, which it selfe is yet so short as it cannot haue hands laid on it, and yet it amongst so many matters slips away ere we are aware of it.

CHAP. XI.



A word, wilt thou see how little while they liue? no more but see how desirous they bee still to liue yet longer. Old layed vp, aged Siers, yet cease not still to begge one yeere, yet more and more: yea their conceit still runneth, they are younger then they seeme for; they feed themselves with leasing, and such a pleasure they take to belie their age, as if their destinie and death would come so much the later for their false belying it; and let any weaknesse giue them but neuer so little a warning of their mortalities, how fearfully they die, not as if they did depart, but as if, will they, will they, they were pulled out by the eares, then they cry; what Fooles were wee that took no pleasure in life? then they vow, they will liue at hearts ease, then they see how in vaine they fought for that they could not enioy: then they acknowledge all their labour was to small effect: but they that liue to themselves in seuerall, tending to no mans businesse besides, what lets vs to account their liues large enough? none of it is lost or mispent, here and there in other matters: none of it is hazarded at fortunes command: nought is lost by negligence, nought is giuen away by largesse to other mens vies, nought is lost as superfluous, but euery jot or moment of it is counted good reueneue: and therefore life thus spent, be it neuer so little, is enough, nor will a Wiseman feare at any time without feare to die. But here you aske me whom I call the busied man? Thinke not that I meane them, only whom the Dogs barke at behind the Palace gates, who are pressed with a Troope of Attendants that follow them, or thronged amongst other that make no great

They that build vpon the World, liue but a dying life.

N n n account

account of them, who by reason of their charges are constrained to forsake their houses, to goe and knocke at another mans gate; who make themselves rich by per-sale, & who are verie oftentimes troubled to leaue their account. For there are many others that are busied in their Countrey houses, or in their beds, who trouble themselves verie much in the midst of their solitude, and although they are vnaccompanied by any, yet must we not say that their life is idle, but that it is an idle occupation.

CHAP. XII.

They are far out
of the way that
inapley them-
selves in idle and
unworthy actions.

C Allest thou him at quiet, who with great care seekes in all corners for the metall that was made at the burning of *Corinthe* and spends the more part of his time in searching out amongst rustie Copper, to see if he can light on any of it? or annoints his seruants whom he keepes to get prizes at wrastling? or is suruaying either his Sheepe or his Land, or other reuenues? or sayest thou, hee is at leisure, that euery day spends an houre or two in the Barbers shop, cutting euery day downe againe that which grew the night before? deuising vpon euery haire he hath, whether it be better to cut it, Or let it grow? chafing like a young Emperour, if the Barber were but neuer so little negligent, or lesse curious, because he thought hee had a man of discretion in hand to cut, who are streight waies in great rage, if neuer so little of their Loue-lockes be nipped away? or if euery knot thereof fall not round in a Ring? Of which sort of curious Fooles, some had rather see disorder in the Common-wealth they live in, then in their haire? and had rather see their lockes kept faire, then regard their owne health? and care more to be accounted a neat nice fellow, then to haue the voice for honestie? Doeest thou say that this man is at rest and leasure? so wholly busied and occupied betwene the Combe and the Glasse? or that hee is so, that spends his time in making, hearing and learning Songs, forcing his voice, (which of nature is best, and easiest so to be kept when it is full and plaine) into a kind of warbling or relishing against nature? whose fingers are euery going, as if they still were tuning, or striking time in a Song: who, be they vsed in a matter of neuer so great importance, yea, sometimes sad and sorrowfull, yet are euery and anon refounding some piece of a Song or other? These men (say I) haue not leisure, but are busied with a needlesse and thriflesse labour, whose time of feasting, I count not time of pleasure or vacation; I see them still so carefull how their Plate and their Seruices, and their Seruants may in decent manner become the Feast, where hence they seeke the name of fine neat fellows, and so curiously they regard this fond humour of their owne, as they neither eat nor drinke in quiet for it. Nor account I them their owne men, who all day long iog vp and downe from this friend to that in their Coaches and Wagons, and will not misse an houre of their daily gaddings in them, but haue their Seruants to aduertise them, it is now time to bathe, to swimme, to sup; yea so much they giue themselves ouer vnto this idle veine, that of themselves they know not, or will seeme to bee ignorant when themselves are an hungred?

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

IT were long to run ouer these fellows one by one, whose liues haue bene spent either at Tables, or at Ball, or in basting themselves against the Sunne; I cannot call them leisurable, whose pleasures put them to such paine and businesse. As for them that spend their daies in vnprofitable studies, no man doubts, but that with much adoe, they doe nothing, of which sort there are many now amongst vs *Romanes*. It was the *Grecians* olde disease to beat their braines in finding out how many *Rowers* *Ulysses* Ship had? whether *Iliad* or *Odyssea* were foremost written? or whether one man writ them both? and many such like questions; which whether you keepe the knowledge of them to your selfe or no, they neither greatly benefit your conscience to keepe them, nor seeme you better to know them, but rather somewhat busier or more curious then others. And euen this vaine desire to learne things needlesse possesseth now the *Romanes* also. When I was last in *Rome*, I heard a learned man reckon vp, what things each *Romane* Captaine had first bene Authour of; *Dulius* first did win in fight by Sea: *Curius Dentatus* first did lead Elephants in triumph; and these things though they tend not to true glory in deed, yet they belong in some sort to matters politike. Such knowledge will not profit much; yet doth it leade vs forward in a sort with a preie pleasant discourting vanity. Grant we also them leaue to search what man first perswaded the *Romanes* to goe to Sea. One *Claudius* forsooth it was, whom they therefore called *Caudex*, because any building much of boords, was then called in Latine *Caudex*, and Bookes of Record, are also at this day called *Codices*, and Boats or crayers that carry any thing vp & downe the *Tiber*, are and haue bene euery since named *Caudicarie*. Be it also not amisse to know, that *Valerius Corvinus* was the first that wan *Messana*, and thereupon had the name of *Messana*, added in reward of his prowesse, which by little alteration of a Letter or two is now called *Messala*; the originall whereof euery man is not acquainted with. Beare we also with him, that searcheth how *L. Sulla* first let Lions loose to fight in our *Romane* Circus or Parth Garden, what time King *Bocchus* sent him Dart-flingers to kill them loose, or as our Forresters now speake, to hunt them of force, where before time they were alwayes presented tyed. Let vs not likewise enquire, if it were to the purpose, that *Pompey* caused those (who were condemned) to fight in the same Parke with eightene Elephants. This principall person in *Rome* (who amongst the ancient Chieftaines of Warre is renowned by reason of his bounty, and singular mildnesse in manners) hath supposed it would be a memorable spectacle to cause men to die after some new fashion. It is a little matter to make them fight, and to be wounded in diuers places, hee must haue them crushed vnder the insupportable weight of these great and huge creatures: it had bene better to haue buried such an Historie, for feare lest afterward some other great Lord hearing the recitall thereof, should conceiue a liking to practise the like inhumane and barbarous action. O how much doth great prosperitie ouerspread our vnderstanding with darknesse! *Pompey* reputed himselfe equall with the gods, at such time as he exposed so many troupes of poore men to sauage beasts, that were brought from forreine Countreies; and when he caused a mortall Fight to bee performed betwene creatures so different, shedding much blood in the presence of the *Romane* people; when as hee himselfe anon after

The time that is
imployed in plea-
sure & vanitie
is not life but
sickness and
death.

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was

was to bee reduced to that necessitie to shed others: but hee himselfe also (deceiued by the disloyalty of the Councill of *Egypt*) was stabbed by one that had serued vnder him, and then vnderstood at last how vaine that surname of Great was, which was attributed vnto him by others.

CHAP. XIV.

He approacheth
to that mans
reuerend marcel-
lous studye, to
his Studies.

BVt to returne to my purpose, and to shew in other recitals the superfluous diligence of others, the same Discourse aboue mentioned reporteth that *Metellus* having conquered the *Carthaginians* in their quarrels for *Sicilia*, was the only man that euer led an hundred and twenty Elephants Captiues before his Chariot. He told also, how *Sylla* was the last *Romane* that enlarged the common or void ground without the wals of *Rome* (which was not suffered to be done amongst our Ancestors for any conquest or Land gotten in any Countrey, but only in *Italy*, though *Syllas* Conquests, were all of them out *Italy* wee know: which point was yet more worth the knowledge, then how the hill *Auentinus* was without the compasse of this ground I speake of without the wals; for one of these two reasons, either for that the people seuered themselves from the Senate into this hill, when the Senators would haue made a Law, that no Patrius or Senators child should marrie with him or her that was not so, or for that the Vultures, (whose sight *Romulus* obserued, when hee built this Citie) did not compasse in this Hill with the other sixe. Many more curious points did this man declare, which if hee did not inuent, yet did hee little better; for grant all these nice points to be written in good sooth, yet, I pray you, what amiss doe any of them mend? whose desires doe they minish? or who by them is made more couragious or iust, or more liberal? Mine old friend *Fabianus* was wont to doubt whether it were better be ignorant, or to know such vanities. But I take them to make best vse of time, that studie diuine Wisdome, which no time present can consume, nor no time to come diminish, and wholly exercise themselves in celestiall Contemplation: for such men doe not onely vse their owne time well, but they also adde thereto the Ages spent before they were borne, and enjoy them also as their owne, yea all the famous Records of most sacred opinions, were, after a sort, as it seemeth euen borne for them, and in a manner prepared the way for them how to liue the better. Which worthy Writers bring vs with much ease and little labor to most worthy matters brought by them out of darknesse into light, yea they keepe vs not from things done or said in any Age ere we were borne, they admit vs vnto all things, yea, if we list (by the greatnesse of an heroicall minde) to passe the narrow bounds of mans weak reach; we haue time enough to doe so. Why then leaue wee not this brittle transitorie time of life? and why betake wee vs not wholly (at least in minde and cogitation) to these infinite and euerslasting matters, which we haue in common with better natures. These men that runne continually courting and waiting alwayes vpon great men, troubling others and themselves in their so doing, when they haue gone a madding, and danc'd attendance at all mens doores, not leaving any great man vnwayted on, when they haue done their daies labour in saluting them; how many, I pray you, can they haue visited of so infinite and busie a number of great men in *Rome*?

Among

Of the shortnesse of Life.

Among which great mightie ones how many are there, whom for because, that either they were asleepe, or otherwise occupied, or not at leisure to intend them, they could not therefore be admitted to speake with all? How many are there, who after that they haue long bene wayted for, come out, and sodainly looke for them, and are gone againe? nay; how many are there that thinne to take their way through such troupes, as come to waite vpon them to the Hall or Senate? and rather take some backe-ways through some secret by-corner, and leaue them all, as if it were not much more vnseemely, and worse manners of the twaine in this sort, rather to coozen them by auoiding them when they were once admitted, then absolutely to keepe them out before they came; and yet how many are there that hauing scarcely slept out their yesterdaies surfet, yet breake their sleepe poore soules themselves to waite till it please another to rise? like sorsooth for their paines to bee saluted in some rechelesse or proud sort, by their names of the great men, after he hath had the same a thousand times put into his head by some prompter or other. But indeed if we will needs dance attendance with fruit, I tell you they waite wisely that dailie court *Zeno*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, and the rest of the Pillars of good Learning; that endeavour to make *Aristotle*, and *Theophrastus*, well knowne vnto them. None of these but will be alwayes at leisure to intend thee: none but will dismisse thee a man happier for thy selfe, and more in loue with him for his company, then thou wast at thy first coming. They will not let thee goe empty, whensoever thou wilt goe, come at midnight or at midday, any man may speake with them. None of these will force thee to dye before thy time, as great Princes doe their most faithfull Seruants, but euery one will instruct thee how to dye; none of these will spend or take away any iot of thy daies, but are all rather readie to bestow their time on thee; thou needest not feare what thou sayest in their company; yea, no enemy of thine can suspect thee for being often with them.

CHAP. XV.

If these thou mayest obtaine whatsoeuer thou wilt; nor will they be in the fault if thou take not of them as much as thou art able: Oh how happy is that olde man that hath spent all his daies in the seruice of them! hee is sure of secret friendes with whom he may consult in great things or small, whose counsaile he make aske euery houre at his pleasure, from whom he shall heare truth without vpbaying, praise without flattery, and whom well he may imitate without note of apishnesse. We say commonly, we could not choose of whom wee would be borne; but of such we came as our fortune was we should come: but in this case yet we may chuse of whom we will be borne. These worthy Wits and Writers haue their Stock and Families; chuse of vvhich thou wilt be, and thou shalt be not onely of his name, but his Successor also for his vvealth and liuelihood, vvhich is also commonly the more ample, among the more it is diuided: these vwill leade thee to eternitie, & vwill lift thee vp so high, as vvhence no man liuing shall bee able to remooue thee. And this is onely the vway to stretch out thy mortalitie, yea, to change it into immortalitie if any there bee. Honours and other Moniments, vvhich euer either ambition hath by Law esta-

He continueth
to shew the great
and profitable
pleasures in re-
uerend Studies.

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blished, or cost hath built, do quickly perish. Time weares out all things, yea, & soonest weareth those things which it hath made hallowed; only wisdom cannot be hurt nor impaired any way. No time present can consume it, nor time to come diminish it, the longer it lasteth the more it is still regarded; for Enue toucheth onely things neere in memory; and more absolutely doe wee reuerence things farther off. And so we see the Wifemans life is large enough, he is not inclosed as others are, but is onely freed from the Lawes, that otherwife Mankind is streightned withall: yea, all time doth yeeld vnto him, as it yeeldeth we confesse to the gods themselves. Time is past: this consideration doth him good. Time is come: this he vseth. Time will come: he preuenteth it; and thus comparing time with time, makes his life very long, whereas their life is very short, who forget the time past, neglect that is present, and feare the time to come: which when it once is come, too late poore men they find, they were all very buisie in doing nothing.

CHAP. XVI.

Neither art thou to thinke that by this Argument it is approved that they leade a long life, because sometimes they call vpon death. Imprudence vexeth them with vncertaine affections, and such as assault and encounter those which they feare: they therefore oftentimes wish for death, because they feare it; neither is that an argument likewise whereby thou shouldst bee perwaded that they should liue long, because the day seemeth oftentimes long vnto them; because whilst the appointed houre of Supper time commeth, they complain that the houres steale on slowly. For if at any time occupations faile them, they storme because they are left without businesse and idle: neither know they how they may dispose or enlarge the same. They therefore intend some occupation, and all the time that is betweene, is grievous vnto them: in such sort vndoubtedly as when a day is proclaimed wherein the Sword-plaiers are to skirmish, or whe as any appointed time of any other, either spectacle or pleasure is expected, they long and labour to out-strip the houres. The delay of all that which they hope for is long vnto them. But that time which they loue is short and headlong, and becommeth likewise more short by their fault, for they flie from one delight to another, and cannot fertle themselves vpon one sort of pleasure. The daies are not long vnto them, but displeasent and tedious. Contrariwise, how short thinke they the nights to be, which they lose in embracing their Harlots and Drunkenesse? From thence grew the fury of those Poets, who fed and flattered mens errors with fables, who fained that *Iupiter* being bewitched with the pleasure of his adulterous embraces, redoubled the night: What other thing is it to animate wickednesse then to make the gods the authors of them, and to giue an excusable licentse to an infirmite by the example of diuinitie? But can these men find the nights other then very short, that they buy at so high a price? They lose the day in expectation of the night, and the night through the feare of the day. Their pleasures are accompanied with feares, hurried with diuers disquiet perturbations; their greatest ioy is drowned in careful thought. How long shall this continue? Because of this passion Kings haue bewailed their power; neither did the greatnesse of their fortune delight them,

That they who
wish for death
haue not for all
that liued long.

them, but the end that was to ensue, terrified them. When that most insolent Persian King spread his army along the fields, whose number he could not tell, and scarcely could he tell what quantity of ground would well containe it; it is said he wept, considering that within one hundred yeares there should not one of all that number be left aliue: but he himselfe that wept was euen the man that hastened all their deaths, as indeed afterwards proued, when as what by Land, what by Sea, what in fight, and what in flight, euery mothers sonne almost, verie shortly after miscarried, which he feared should not liue an hundred yeares.

CHAP. XVII.

Noreouer, their ioyes are full of feares, they build them not on sure ground, but by the same vanitie they rise, by the same they fall. And what will you thinke of those their times, which in their own confession are vnhappie, if these whereof they vaunt themselves, and in which they take themselves to bee more then men, bee scarcely perfect? Euerie highest type of happinesse is full of feare; nor may we liue in truth lesse build on any fortune then that which is happiest. One free Citie needeth another to maintaine it, and hauing once that we desired, we are forced straight wayes to desire anew, to haue wherewith to maintaine the former state: for euerie thing that fortune giueth is vncertaine; and the higher alwaies that felicitie is, the neerer euer is it to a downfall and ruine. And no man can take pleasure in the state he knoweth assuredly shall shortly fall: and therefore most vnhappie, not onely short is their life who with much adoe procure that which with much more labour they must possesse, with much trouble compassing the thing they desire, but with much more care continuing the thing once gotten; all which while no care is had of time, of precious time, that neyther shall nor can be recovered againe. Olde businesse breeds new businesse, one hope bringeth forth another; this high desire makes way for an higher then it to follow it, and so no end is sought of the miseries we are in, though euerie day we change the matter which procureth miseries. Our owne preferments proue burdens to vs; others honours haue cost vs time to procure them for them: Nor haue we so soone left to sue for our selues, but immediately wee are suiters in the same case for others. We will plead no more as Counsellors, as it were to day; to morrow we are admitted to the Bench as Iudges; the third day haply called to the Councel-table. *Marius* is no sooner dismissed out of warre, but at home he is in suite for the Consulship. *Quintus* is dismissed of his Dictatorship to day, not long after he is called from the Ploughes thereto againe. Yong *Scipio* scarce fit for such a charge, is sent against the Carthaginians as it were to day; he conquereth *Hannibal* and *Antiochus*, is made Consul, and getteth his brother to be made next after him, and so from dignity to dignitie: and if himselfe be not the hinderance, in time he shall be dignified no lesse then *Iupiter*; but after that by his industrie Rome was deliuered from the feare of *Hannibal*, & he returned home to his wife and children, he was straightwaies occupied in ciuill factions and suits for offices: and rather then he would satisfie himselfe with ordinarie preferments, he chose wilfully to goe into exile, and was proud thereof; as if forsooth when happy and fortunate businesse began to fayle him, hee would rather buisie himselfe in vnfortunate proceedings then

What the pe-
simes of the
worldly and
voluptuous
men are.

then it should be said he wanted business; so farre we are from enioying the leisure and pleasure which yet we euerie day desire and wish for.

C H A P. XVIII.



Hy then, good friend *Paulinus*, exempt thy selfe from this common error that possesseth the world; and now thou hast beene busied more then any of thine equals in age or honour, betake thy self at length into a haven of quiet; call to mind what storms thou hast endured, what tempests, partly for priuat matters, and oftentimes for publicke affaires thou hast entangled thy selfe withall: thy vertue hath beene tried sufficiently in troublesome vnquiet matters: trie what it can doe in peace, at home in quiet. Thou hast spent the greater, or at least the better of thine age in publique business, in causes common to thy wife and children; turne some part thereof to thine owne vse, to thine owne behoofe. I with thee not to betake thee to an idle, or vnlearned, or vnprofitable vacation, nor would I haue thee to spend the residue of thy worthy nature, in sleepe or other vnseemely common peoples pastime, this I count not rest or quietnesse. Thou shalt finde many greater matters then those that yet thou hast beene conuerfant in, to bestow thy repose and leisure in. Thou hast kept the accounts of the Roman Store-houses, which is as much almost as the accounts in a manner of all the World; the same, I say, thou hast kept with such abstinence, as if they had not belonged to thee, with such diligence as if they had beene thine owne reuenues, and yet with such integritie, as if thou knewest well it were the wealth of the Citie and State of *Rome*, and thou to answer for euerie halfe-peny: and in this thine office thou hast won the loue of all men, wherein other men could hardly auoid much hatred; and yet trust me, it is a wiser part to be able to giue a good account of thine owne life and liuing, then of all the corne in the country. Recall therefore this worthy minde of thine, fit I know for greatest matters; recall it yet from this honorable, yet scarce a happy service, to shew thy selfe at home a while: & remember this was the finall and most principall end of thy creation & first being, that in the end thou shouldest be Surueyor of the Cities corne; thou must propose a more priuate, but yet a higher and better calling: nor will there want any frugall and painefull men to supply thine office; so farre fitter are slow and vnwildy iades, or yong and vntamed Colts to beare great burdens, then the trampling and stirring Steede, whole life and activitie no man durst euer charge with a lumpish burthen. Besides this, berthink thy self how much care attendeth thee whilst thou vndergoest so great a charge. Thou hast to deal with the bellies of men. A people that indureth hunger is not subiect vnto reason, neither is mitigated by equity, nor pacified by any priers. It is not long time since that vnder the emperor *Caligula*, although now displeased (if dead men haue any sense) to bee dead in a few daies, and to haue left the Roman people aloue, that there was not found sufficient virtuels in the Citie for seuen or eight daies: and whilst this Prince made bridges of boats, and ported himselfe with the meanes and forces of the Empire, the most dreadfull of all other euils, that is to say, famine besieged *Rome*. His imitation of a furious and forrain King, & vnhappy puffed vp with pride, well may cost the overthrow and famine of his country, and that which followeth famine, the ruine of all things. What minde then had they and care, who

An exhortation
to Paulinus
to forsake the
troubles of the
world, and to
enuestaine a
happy iournde.

who had the charge to prouide corne for the common store? They prepared themselves to receiue the strokes of fwords, to be stoned, burned, and to meete with *Caligula*; yet dissembled they verie carefully the cure of this euill, that was hidden in the intrayles of the Citie; for there are some infirmities whereunto we ought to apply remedies, without discouerie of the sicknesse, as contrariwise diuers men are deade, because they knew they were sicke.

C H A P. XIX.



Retire thy selfe into these hauens more calme, more assured, and more great: thinkest thou that to giue order that the Corne be more closed vp in the store-houses good and cleane without being spoyled by the malice and negligence of the Porters, in such sort that wet neither seaze or ouer-heat it, and consequently, that it returne to his measure and weight, is a thing of as great importance, as when thou approachest the celestiall mysteries, and when thou comest to enquire what the nature of the Gods is, there will their condition, their forme, the state of thy soule, and the places where nature shall lodge vs alter our decale, what it is that sustaineth the most weightiest of all the workes of Nature in the centre of the world, and suspendeth the lighter things aboue, and carrieth fire vp on high, and exciteth the Starres in their courses? In briefe, all the rest fall of great miracles: Wilt thou forsaking the earth, rowse thy mind and consideration to these things, now, and so long as thy blood is warm, and vigor strong? thou must aspire to that which is the best. An ardent loue of praise-worthy sciences, the practise of vertue, the forgetfulness of passions, the science to liue and dye well, a deepe repast discharged from all worldly affaires, attend thee in such a manner of life. True it is, that the condition of all those that are entangled with worldly affaires is miserable: but yet more miserable is the estate of those men who are not busied in their affaires, but sleepe, walke, and eate according to other mens appetites, and are constrained to loue and hate those things that are most free of all others: if such men would know how short these mens liues are, let them consider how much they rebate of their owne. You enuy not those whom you see attaine vnto charges, and grow in reputation amongst the people. Such aduancements are got with the expence of life, and to obtaine the credite that a man may count the yeare of his name, they vse all the yeares of their life. Some other there are, that being desirous to attaine the highest degree of honour, after they haue travelled long therein, are deade in the midst of their way: and others, which hauing attained the same by infinite and euill practises, haue beene seased with this distastefull apprehension, that they haue travelled much to build them a Tombe, and make themselves spoken of after their death: some also, conceyuing new hopes in their olde yeares, as if they had beene in their prime, haue lost their hearts, and perished in the midst of their vnquiet and vnuiol attempts and endeauours.

That the exercise
of those things
that properly
concerne the
tranquillitie of
the spirit, is to be
preferred before
all worldly dignities.

C H A P. XX.

*An amplification
of those mens
miseries, who can
de a vaine hope
to change their
names, abridge
their lines.*

B Ase is the man, who being already olde, hath sought to grow in credite amongst the foolish common people, and is dead in spending himselfe to plead for meere strangers that would let him on worke: as abieft is he, that being rather weary of life, then of trauell, is false amidst the affaires which he hath embraced; and also as miserable is he, that hauing death at his doore, toseth his papers and affaires to the great contentment of his heire, who long time expected for such a prey. I cannot bury in silence one example that cometh to my memory: *Turanus* was an olde man of exact diligence, who after the ninetieth yeare of his age, being discharged of his office of Commissary of victuals by the Emperor *Claudius*, got him into his bed, commanded all his seruants to muster about him, and to bewaile him as if he were dead: the Family lamented the repose of their old master, and continued this sorrow vntill such time as he was restored to his office. Is there so great a pleasure then to die busied? There are many that resemble this *Turanus*, they desire to trauell euen at that time when they can no more, they combat against the feebleness of their bodies, and thinke not their age troublesome, except it be because it commandeth them to liue in repose. When a Souldier is fiftie yeares olde, the Law constraineth him not any more to beare Armes: a Senator hauing attained to threescore yeares, is no more bound to attend the Senare; men more hardly obtaine leaue to repose themselves at their owne hands then from the Law. In the meane while whilst they assaile others, and are assailed themselves, whilst one breaketh an others rest, whilst every one tormenteth himselfe, life slippeth away without profite, without pleasure, or any content of the minde; there is no man that representeth death vnto himselfe, there is no man that extendeth not his hopes farre off. Some likewise there are that dispose of these things which are after life, as of their proud Sepulchres, of inscriptions, and dedicacy of their buildings; of sports, combates, and other solemnities of their ambitious funerals: but vndoubtedly, these mens obsequies should be solemnized with torches and Tapers, as if they had liued verie little.

The end of the Booke of the shortnesse of Life.

O F



OF COMFORT.
Addressed by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,
TO
POLYBIVS.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

T His Booke was written during the time of his exile, at such time as he was dejected both in minde and bodie, (we must confesse it) and the writing thereof about the third yeare of his banishment: for he openly maketh mention of the first entrance into Britaine, which was about that time. As touching *POLYBIVS*, he was one of the most powerfull free men that belonged to *CLAVDIVS*, and receyued that title by reason of his studies, for hee was learned in the Greeke and Latine Tongues, and that may we gather apparantly by the praises which *SENECA* loadeth him with. He comforteth him in the death of his brother, and the whole disposition of the Booke is hidden, because both the beginning and diuers things else are missing. In that which is extant, this is his order: he denieth that we should grieue at the death of one man, because the world it selfe, and whatsoever is in it, is condemned by that Law: Likewise, because the griefe is vaine, and without fruit. Thirdly, that we are borne to afflictions, and that we ought to fashion our selues thereunto. Fourthly, he calleth to witnesse, the will of the dead, and sheweth his desire not to liue. Fifthly, that in constancie and example he ought to exceed his other brothers, because he was a worthe person, and all mens eyes were fixed on him. Sixthly, he wiseth him to take comfort from his studies, which he alwaies loued. This and such like vntill the 31. Chapter. From thence forward he intermixeth the examples of those who haue endured the like courageously; amongst these (not without wilde flattery) he produceth *CAESARS* example, whom he wonderfully praiseth; and in conclusion, once againe sendeth *POLYBIVS* to his booke and studies, as a remedie of his griefe. We cannot denie, but this was *SENECAES* writing: I thinke, not to the intent he meant it should be published, but according to his present fortune, abiection, and

and too humbly written to a slave (alas!) adorned with how many prayes? I am ashamed, I am ashamed, whosoever published this, was an enemy to SENECA, and his glorie.

Out of the XX. C H A P.

In this his first entrance into consulation, he requirerh Po. libius not to change in strange that his brother in dead face that all creatures (yea the world that containeth them) might perish.



If thou comparest our bodies, in considering them the one after the other, they are strong; if thou reduce them to the condition of Nature, that destroyeth all things, and recalleth them thither from whence shee made them, they are frail; for what can mortall hands make immortal? Those seven miracles, and whatsoever else more wonderfull then these, the ambition of succeeding yeares haue builded, shall be scene leuelled with the ground: Certainly nothing is perpetuall, and verie few things shall last long.

One is facile in one sort, another in another sort; the issues of the affaires of the world are diuers. Some maintaine, that the world shall perish (and if thou thinke it lawfull to believe so much) there shall a day come that shall dissipate the same, and drowne the whole Vniuerse (which containeth all whatsoever is diuine and humane) into his former confusion and darkenesse. Now then, let him lament that list, by reason of the death of so many persons that haue been, let him deplore the destruction of *Carthage*, *Numantium*, and *Corinth*, or whatsoever places were notorious, eyther in their flourishing or fall, when as this likewise as evidently appeareth vnto him, that even that which hath nothing whereupon to fall, must perish; let him goe and complaine himselfe, that the Destinies (which must one day attempt and execute so great a mischief) haue not spared him likewise.

C H A P. XXI.

Secondly, there is nothing that befalleth vs, that hath not befallen others.



What man is he of so proud and insolent arrogancie, that in this necessitie of nature that reuoketh all things to the same end, will haue himselfe and his exempted out of the ranke of all others, and discharge some howe from that ruine which shall deuoure the whole world? It is therefore a great comfort for a man to bethinke himselfe that the same hath hapned vnto him, which all others haue suffered before him, and all that follow him must endure, and therefore in my iudgement nature hath made that most common which is most gricuous, to the end that the equality thereof might in some sort lenise the crueltie of the fate. This likewise will yeeld thee no little comfort, if thou thinke that thy sorrow will neither profit him whom thou bewailest, nor thy selfe; for thou wouldest not haue that long that is vnprofitable: For if sorrow would profit vs any thing, I refuse not to intermixe the remainder of those teares that my aduerser fortune hath left me with thine. Moreover, likewise I will finde out some remnant of remorfe, that may flow from mine eyes (which are dried vp by so many teares which I haue spent by reason of the misfortunes of my house: if that may

Neither doe our sorowes profit shole whom we bewaile, nor our felices.

may returne thee any profit, why ceasest thou? let vs complaine: I will take the cause in hand, and make it mine owne. O Fortune, that in all mens iudgement art most vnstaid, vntill this present it was supposed that thou sparedst this worthe man, who by thy fauour had attained such credite, that his felicitie (which is a thing both rare and lesse heard of) was not enuyed by any man; behold, thou hast impressed a sorrow in him more greater then he could receiue, but in the losse of the Emperour; and when thou hadst attempted and fought into him every wayes, thou couldst not finde any fit meanes to assaile him but this: for what other iniury couldst thou haue done him? What; take away his money? neuer was he a slave vnto it, and now also as farre, as in him lieth, he casteth it from him; and in this his so great felicity & meanes of enriching himselfe, he seeketh no greater fruit thereby then the contempt thereof. What, take away his friends? Thou knowest he was so well beloued, that he might easily substitute others in their places that were lost; for of all those great Lords whom I haue knowne in the Emperours house, this man alone in my iudgement was such a one that although it were expedient for all men to entertaine his friendship, yet their affection and desire to be in his fauour, was farre more great then the assistance they pretended to reap by his countenance. What, deprive him of his honour? but that is so setled in him, that thou hast no power to shake it. What, rob him of his health? thou knowest that his minde was so well grounded in liberrall sciences (wherein he is not onely bred vp but borne) that all infirmities of the body whatsoever cannot abash him. What, take away his life? how little haddest thou hurt him? the excellency of his mind had promised him a life of longer continuance, he hath carefully endeauoured himselfe to eternize the better part of him, and to warrantize himselfe from death, by the excellent and learned works that he hath composed. As long as learning shall be any waies honoured, as long as the vigor of the Latine tongue, and the grace of the Greeke shall haue credit amongst great men, so long shall this man liue amongst the men of most reputation, whose sufficiency and worth he hath either equalled, or (if his modestie refuse this testimonie) hath very neerely imitated.

A probable satisfaction vnto Seneca's mind but here we observe how quickly affliction humbleth the mightiest mindes.

C H A P. XXII.



Thou hast therefore bethought thee of this one meanes, whereby thou mightest harme him most; for the better a man is the more ofner is he accustomed to thy assaults, who art displeased without election, and dreadfull amidst thy greatest benefites. Was it so great a matter for thee to warrantize this man from affliction, whom thy fauour in some sort seemed to haue sufficiently defended, and not according to thy vsuall custome to haue light vpon him rashly? but if thou wilt let vs adde to these complaints the gentle nature of thy brother, ranshed out of this world in the prime of his youth; he deferred to haue thee to his brother, and thou vndoubtedly art most worthy to lament such a brother as he was: all men giue an equall testimony of him, he is bewayled to thy honour, and prayed for his own deferre, there was nothing in him which thou wouldest not willingly acknowledge. For thine owne part thou wouldest haue shewed thy selfe good to another brother, who might haue bene lesse good, but thy pietie haueing found an answerable subiect in this man, hath expressed it selfe more freely.

Fourthly. Some complaints against our estate, seeme in some sort to be able to lessen our griefe.

ly. Although his meanes were great, yet neuer offended he any man, neyther threatned ne any man with thee who wert his brother: hee was formed according to the example of thy modelly, considering what honour it was vnto him to be so neerely allied vnto thee, and of what importance that was, so likewise knew he how to manage such a charge. O cruell destinies, enemies to all vertue; thy brother was taken out of this world before he knew his owne felicity; I am not displeased or angry more then I should be, for there is nothing so difficult when a man is extremely vexed, as to finde out wordes that are answerable to his sorrow: yet againe, if this will yeeld vs any remedie wee will lament. Whereon thoughts thou vniust and iniurious Fortune? why hast thou so sodenly repented thy selfe of thy fauourable dealing? what cruelty was this to breake in amidst brothers, and by so bloudy a rapine to lessen such a companie as liued in the greatest peace of the world? why wouldst thou trouble and diminish without cause a house so well furnished with vertuous young men? amongst whom, there was no one that degenerated. By this reckoning perfect innocency preuaileth nothing, ancient temperance is vnprofitable, a loueraigne honor (accompanied with vnspokeable modesty, & intire, and pure loue towards good letters, and an vpright conscience) shal be vnfruitfull. *Polybius* mourneth, and being admonished in one brother, what he is to feare of the rest, is euen afraid of those very comforts which should lenise his sorrow. *Polybius* mourneth and is sorrowfull, although he be in great fauour with the Emperour: vndoubtedly therefore, O malignant Fortune, thou hast made choice of this meanes to shew that no man, no not *Cesar* himselfe can warrantize a man from thy furie.

CHAP. XXIII.



E might accuse the Destinies longer, but we cannot change them, they continue obstinate and inexorable; no man can moue them cyther with vpbaides, or teares, or perswasions: they acquit no man of any thing, they pardon nothing: let vs therefore spare our teares, because they are vnprofitable: for sooner will sorrow lodge vs with him then returne him vnto vs; since the tormenteth vs, & comforteth vs not, let vs shake her off in good time, and let vs retire our minds from vaine solaces, and from a bitter desire of sorrow: for except reason restrain our teares, fortune will not. Goeto, turne thy selfe on euery side, and consider all men in this world: there is in euery place an ample and continuall cause of teares; one man is called to his daily labour, by a laborious poertie, another tormented with insatiable ambition, another feareth those riches he hath wished for, and is sicke of his owne desires; this man is afflicted with care, that man with labour, this man is tyred with a troupe of tutors that besiege his doores, this man is sorry that he hath children, that man because he hath lost them: we shall sooner want teares then cause of sorrow. Considerest thou not what life it is that nature hath presented vs with, since she would that teares should be the first presages of our condition in this world? This is our beginning whereunto all the course of our yeares haue relation: Thus liue wee, and therefore we ought to keepe a measure in this thing, which we ought to doe so often: and then considering how many fatall accidents attend vs, if wholly we cannot giue ouer our teares; at leastwise we ought to reserue some

part

Fifty.
We ought not to
grieve and tor-
ment our selves
for that which
is firme, un-
dible, and
immutable.

part of them for time to come. There is nothing wherein wee ought to be more sparing then this whereof we haue so frequent vse. Moreover, thou shalt be verie much comforted, if thou thinkest that thy brother, for whom thou afflictest thy selfe in this sort, taketh lesse pleasure in that thou doest, then any man thou canst name: he willeth not, or he knoweth not that thou art thus tormented. It is therefore an vnprofitable labour to grieve for him, for if he feeleth nothing, it is superfluous: and if he feeleth, he taketh no pleasure therein.

CHAP. XXIV.



Oldly dare I say, that there is no man in the whole world that is delighted in thy teares. What then? Thinkest thou that thy brother is worse affectionated towards thee then any other man? that he should desire thy affliction, that he should withdraw thee from thy businesse, that is, from thy studies; and from *Cesar*? This is farre vnlike; for he hath loved thee as his brother, honoured thee as his parent, and respected thee as his superior; he would thou shouldst remember him, but not torment thy selfe for him. What aualeth it thee therefore to consume thy selfe with sorrow, which, if the dead haue any sense, thy brother desireth it should be finished? For another brother whose inclination might seeme vncertaine, I should put all these things in doubt, and I should say, if thy brother desireth that thou shouldst be tortured with incessant teares, he is vnworthie of this affection; and if he would not, then giue ouer thy vnprofitable griefe. Neyther should an impious brother be so bewayled, neither would a pious be so lamented. But in this, whose pietie is so well approved, thou art to resolute thy selfe, that nothing can be more grievous vnto him, then if this his death be distastefull vnto thee: if it vexeth thee any waies, if it troubleth and spendeth thine eyes vnworthie of so great miserie, with causelesse showers of complaint. But nothing shall withdraw thy pietie so much from vnprofitable teares, as if thou thinkest that thou oughtest to be an example to thy brethren, whereby they may be instructed to sustaine these iniuries of Fortune with constancie. That now art thou to doe which great Capitaines doe in desperate dangers or vncertaine, who purposely faine a merry demaure, & cloake their discontents with a pleasant countenance, for feare lest their Souldiers should be discouraged by discouering their gouernours discontent. Shew thou a countenance that is contrarie to thy thought, and if thou canst not purge thy selfe of all sorrow, at leastwise hide and containe it inwardly, lest it appeare; and endeavour thy selfe that that thy brothers may imitate thee, who will thinke that honest whatsoever they see thee doe, and will assume their courage according to the temper of thy countenance. Thou must both solace and comfort them; but thou canst not withstand their sorrow, if thou make a wanton of thine owne.

Seventhy.
They condemne
not our affliction,
but they would
not haue vs tor-
ment our selves.

The eighty.
We ought to be
much aduised of
constitutions and
patience to sup-
port that seruice.

C H A P. XXV.

The ninth,
The more en-
dured our voca-
on is the less
occasion to be
we to make our
neighbour be-
lieve that we
have lost our
courage, and that
we are cowardly
to all that which
is committed to
our charge.

THisting likewise may reſtraine thee from ſorrowing extreame-
ly, if ſo be thou informe thy ſelfe, that none of thoſe things
which thou doeſt can remaine hidden. The common conſent of
all men hath made thee great; maintaine that. Thou art enui-
roned with a troupe of men that come to comfort thee who care-
fully conſider thy thought, and diligently obſerue whether it be fortified a-
gainſt grieſe: beſides, not onely if thou know how to vie proſperity diſcreetly;
or if thou canſt endure aduerſity manfully: they obſerue thine eyes. All things
are more free vnto thoſe whoſe paſſions may be covered. As touching thy ſelfe
thou canſt not hide thy ſelfe; Fortune hath placed thee in all mens eyes. Every
man ſhall know how thou haſt carried thy ſelfe in this conſlict; whether vpon
the firſt aſſault thou gaueſt ouer thy weapons, or if thou haſt ſtood confidently
in the battell. Heretofore the fauour of the Emperour, and thine owne valour
haue made thee riſe to great eſtate, and therefore all bare and vulgar inſirmities
ill beſetteth thee. But there is nothing ſo vilde and ſo baſe, then for a man to
ſuffer himſelfe to be deuoured in ſorrow. In the ſame grieſe it is not lawfull
for thee to behaue thy ſelf ſo as thy other brothers. The opinion which is con-
ceiued of thy ſtudies and manners, permitteth thee not many things; men re-
quire many things at thy hands, and expect much: if thou wouldeſt haue had
all things lawfull for thee, thou ſhouldeſt not haue drawne all mens eyes vpon
thee. But now ſo much art thou to performe as thou haſt promiſed all men,
who prayle and applaude the endeouers of thy wit, who, whereas they haue no
need of thy fortune, yet haue need of thy wit. Theſe are the watchmen of
thy minde. Thou canſt therefore doe nothing that is vnworthy the profeſſion
of a perfect and learned man, but that diuers men will repent themſelues, be-
cauſe they haue admired thee. Thou muſt not weepe immoderately: nay fur-
ther, thou art not to loſe a part of the day in ſleep, neither in ſeeking thy repoſe
muſt thou forſake the bulke of affaires, and goe and triſte it in the Countrey,
nor vndertake with a ſprightly conceit a long voiage to recreate thy bodie, (be-
ing wearied with continuall trauell of thy weightie charge) nor loſe thy ſelfe in
diuers paſtimes in the Theaters, neither ſpend the houres of the day according
as it beſt liketh thee.

C H A P. XXVI.

The tenth,
ſic that is in
authority muſt
not ſole himſelfe
with abſolution of
mind, for a great
mans example
doth more harme
on a ſodaine
diſolute care,
mede all his liſe
time.

THere are many things which are vnlawfull for thee, which are per-
miſſible in men of baſe condition, and ſuch as liue in obſcurity. A
great dignity and proſperity is a great ſeruitude. It is not lawfull
for thee to doe any thing according to thine owne minde. Thou
muſt giue audience to a thouſand perſons, read an infinity of pe-
titions; thou muſt be accoſed by a numberleſſe number of ſutors, poſſing
from euery part of the World. Thou haſt need of a gouerned minde to diſ-
patch readily and ſodainly the affaires of the greateſt Prince in all the world. I
ſay it is not lawfull for thee to weepe, becauſe thou art to heare diuers men
that weepe; and to the end that thy teares may be profitable vnto them that
are in danger, to obtaine the mercy of moſt milde *Cæſar*; thine are to be dried
vp.

Eloquence ſpent
in vaine and yel-
low ſtature.

vp. Yet behold what will comfort thee greatly, and proue a ſingular remedie
for thee: caſt thine eyes vpon *Cæſar*, when thou wouldeſt diſburthen thy ſelfe
of ſorrowes. Conſider what a charge his fauour hath impoſed vpon thee, how
much induſtrie thou oweſt him, and then ſhalt thou vnderſtand, that thou art
no more to be humbled by theſe croſſes, then hee (if a man may giue any cre-
dite to fables) who beareth the whole world on his ſhoulders. For this cauſe
diuers things are not lawfull for the Emperour, who may doe all that which
hee pleaſeth. His vigilancie conſerueth the houſes of all men in particular:
his trauell giueth them repoſe, his induſtrie maketh them liue at eaſe, and
in delight. His occupation furniſheth them with time to diſport themſelues
in. Since that time that *Cæſar* dedicated himſelfe to the World, and rauſhed
himſelfe from himſelfe, hee as the Planets which inceſſantly runne their
courſes, cannot repoſe, neyther diſpatch any thing of his owne affaires. So
in ſome ſort, the ſame neceſſitie is enioyned thee, thou art neyther to re-
ſpect thine owne proſite, nor affect thy ſtudies. As long as *Cæſar* is Lord
of the World, thou canſt not addiſt thy ſelfe to pleaſure, or grieſe, nor to
any thing elſe; thou art wholly *Cæſars*. Adde hereunto, that hauing al-
waies made the World believe that thou loueſt *Cæſar* better then thine owne
ſoule, it is not lawfull for thee as long as hee liueth to complaine of thy for-
tune. He being in ſafetie, all they that appertaine vnto thee are in ſecuritie;
thou haſt loſt nothing, thine eyes muſt not onely be dried, but be joyfull.
In him thou haſt all things, and hee to thee is as much as all. I will tell thee
without impeachment of thy prudence and pietie, that thou haſt little re-
ſpect of his greatneſſe, if as long as thy bodie is in good health, thou giueſt
way to any thy ſorrow whatſoeuer. But I will ſhew thee another remedie
which is not ſo ſtrong as the precedent, yet is it more familiar, if at any time
thou retire thy ſelfe into thy houſe, then wilt thou haue ſome cauſe to ſuſpect
thy ſorrow; but as long as thou ſhalt behold *Cæſars* godhead, ſorrow will
finde no acceſſe vnto thee, *Cæſar* will poſſeſſe whatſoeuer is in thee: when
thou departeſt from him, then as if occaſion were giuen, ſorrow will finde
out thy ſolitude, and will creepe by little and little into thy ſoule that defi-
reth repoſe. Thou art not at that time to intermit any time of ſtudie; then
will ſciences and good Letters which thou haſt ſo long and faithfully loued,
requite thy endeaour, and auowing thee for their patron and affectionate
ſeruant, will take thee into their ſafe-guard. Then *Homer* and *Virgil* (who
haue ſo much obliged all men vnto them, as thou haſt made them obliged,
hauing giuen order to make them knowne to more men, then they themſelues
haue written verſes) ſhall long time make abode with thee. All the time
thou ſhalt commit and giue them to keepe, ſhall be aſſured. Employ thy ſelfe
then in couching, in writing the decdes of the Emperour thy Maſter, to the
end that in all ages the Romane people may celebrate his memorie; for he it
is that will furniſh thee with matter, and giue the example to digeſt and ſet
downe his actions.

The eleventh,
we muſt conſi-
der as well thoſe
goods that re-
maine with vs,
as thoſe which we
haue loſt.

Thetwelſeth,
ſtudie leniſeth
ſorrow.

C H A P. XXVII.

The thirteenth,
if we have the
meates to exer-
cise our minds in
high and worthy
thoughts, it will
be iust & expe-
dient to pacifie
our griefes.



Dare not induce and perswade thee so farre (according to thy accustomed elegancie) to set downe the fables of *Æsop*, a worke as yet vnattempted by our Romaine wits: for it is a hard matter for a mind so vehemently delected as thine is, so quickly to vnderstand these more pleasing and pleasant studies; yet shalt thou know that thy mind will be fortified, and recouer himselfe, if he may giue ouer these grauer studies, and employ himselfe in those that are more delightful and free: for in the grauer, the austeritie of things which hee shall intreat vpon, will draw the same, although it be sicke and at debate in it selfe; but in those that shall breed delight, thy spirit shall take no pleasure, but at such time as it shall be seled and quieted in it selfe. Thou oughtest therefore to exercise thy selfe in matters of importance, and then to temper thy minde with more pleasing studies. This likewise wil comfort thee verie much, if oftentimes thou debate in this sort with thy selfe. Whether am I sorrowfull in respect of my selfe, or in regard of him that is deceased? if for the loue of my selfe, it is in vaine that I perswade my selfe, that I am a good brother, and the griefe which beginneth is excusable, because it is honest; and estranged from pietie in this, because it hath regard to profit. But there is nothing that worke becometh a good man then to haue a will to consider, how much he hath eyther won or lost by the death of his brother. If I complaine me for the loue of him, I must needs approue it by one of these two succeeding considerations, that is to say, that eyther the dead haue a feeling, or no feeling. If they haue no sence, my brother hath escaped all the incommodities of life, and is restored vnto that place wherein he was before he was borne, and being voyde of all euill, hee neyther feareth nor desireth, nor suffereth any thing. What madnesse is this in me, that I neuer giue ouer grieving for him who shall neuer be aggrieved? If the dead haue any sence, the soule of my brother being as yet discharged out of a long prison, is now in freedome and full libertie; hee searcheth and beholdeth with content the workes of Nature, hee discouereth them from a high place wherein hee sees all humane things, and neerely approacheth the diuine: in search whereof thee was so long time vainly tormented. Why therefore afflict I my selfe with the losse of him who either is blessed, or is no body? To bewaile him that is blessed, it is enuy; to lament him that is no more, is madnesse.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The fifteenth,
They are deli-
vered from the
miseries and
misfortunes of
this life.



Art thou displeased hereat, because in thy iudgement thy brother is deprived of great goods which followed and attended him? When thou shalt bethinke thy selfe that there are many things which he hath left, consider that there are more things which he feareth not. Anger shall not vexe him, sickness shall not afflict him, suspiration shall not prouoke him, gnawing and hateful enuy (that is alwaies an enemy to other mens proceedings) shall not attend him, feare shall not presse him, inconstant fortune (that now taketh from one to giue it to another) shall torment him no more: If thou calculate well, thy brother hath gotten

gotten more then he hath lost. But he shall no more enioy his riches, neither his owne honour, or the countenance he hath had by thee; he neither shall receive or doe pleasures any more. Thinkest thou him miserable, because hee hath left these things, or happy because hee desireth them no more? Beleeue me, hee is more blessed that hath no need of Fortune, then hee that is much troubled in entertraying her. All these goods which delight vs by reason of their faire but fallacious appearance, (as Money, Estates, Credit, and other such like, which corrupt couetous and ambitious mens minds,) are possessed with paine, and beheld with enuy; they oppresse those that are adorned with them, and threaten more then they profit. They are slippery and vncertaine, they are neuer firmly possessed, for although a man were not in doubt of that which is to come, yet so it is that the maintenance of a great prosperitie is accompanied with many cares, if thou wilt giue credit to those who more inwardly examine the truth, all our life is but a punishment. Being cast into this so deepe and troubled a Sea, tormented with continuall ebbs and floats, that now rayseth vs vp with sodaine increascs, and straight forsaketh vs with greater losses, and continually toying vs, we neuer remayne in a settled place; wee liue in suspense and incertainty, who are beaten one against another, and sometimes wee are shipwracke, but alwayes fearefull. Sayling in this so stormy Sea, and exposed to all tempests, we find no hauein but in death. Enuy not thy Brother therefore, hee is at rest, now at length hee is free, now at length hee is secure, now at length he is eternall. He hath left the Emperour and all his race, thy selfe and all his Brothers behind him. Before that Fortune turned her fauourable face from him, he forsooke her even then when she stood vnto him, and heaped fauours vpon him with a plentiful hand. But now hee enioyeth an open and freer heauen: from an humble low Tabernacle, he hath attained so conspicuous a place; (whatsoever it be that receiued those blessed soules that are deliuered out of these earthly bonds into his blessed bosom) that now hee freely wandreth and beholdeth all the goods of Nature with exceeding pleasure. Thou art deceiued, thy Brother hath not lost the light, but hath attained a more fecurer. It is a way that we must all walke. Why complaine we of Destinie? he hath not left vs, but gone before vs.

C H A P. XXIX.



Beleeue it, there is a great happinesse in dying happy; nothing is assured, no not for the length of one day; onely humane affaires being so obscure and confused as they be, who will vnderstand to resolve whether thy Brothers death had wrought him enuy, or whether it hath procured him good? Besides this, there is another consideration, which is to comfort thee, for thou oughtest to thinke that in losing such a Brother, thou hast receiued no iniurie, but that thou hast bene greatly fauoured, because that so long time it hath bin in thy power, to enioy and make vse of his piety. Vnreasonable is that man that hath not giuen his benefactor that credit to dispose of that hee giueth according to his best liking; and that man is couerous, that in stead of calling that giue which a man giueth him, complayneth that he hath lost that which he hath restored. Vngratefull is he that saith, that iniurie is the end of pleasure. And foolish is hee that thinketh there is no fruit but in things present, that contenteth not himselfe with those

The vanity of
Riches.

Great Fortunes,
Great Care.

The sixteenth,
They that we call
dead are sleeping
and the living
are dead.

The seventeenth,
He that dieth in
prosperitie hath
no doubt alwayes
gaine.

The eighteenth,
We haue long
time enioyed
things whom
death redeemeth
at our hands.

those things that are past, esteeming those things for certaine goods which appear not any more, because he ought not to be afraid that they are lost. Too much scantleth he his ways, who thinketh that he enjoyeth nothing but those things that he hath and seeth; and esteemeth them as much as nothing which he hath had, and hath no more: for all pleasure abandoneth others very suddenly, it is a thing that slippereth away, that passeth, and is taken from vs almost before it cometh; we must therefore reflect our thoughts vpon the time that is past, and recall to memorie, and oftentimes ruminat on all that which hath euer giuen vs pleasure. The remembrance of delights and contentments is more assured and endureth longer time, then the presence of them: remember this therefore amongst thy greatest goods, that thou hast had a good Brother: thinke not how long time he might as yet haue liued with thee, but how long time he hath remained with thee. Nature gaue him both to thy selfe, and the rest of thy Brothers, not as a thing proper vnto you, but she hath lent him you, and when she thought good she hath redemanded him, not satisfying thy will herein, but her owne arrest. If a man should bee angry for paying a debt for which he allowed no interest, should hee not be thought a most wicked fellow? Nature hath giuen thy Brother life, and thy selfe likewise, and afterwards vnto her owne right, she hath redemanded her debt from him, shee thought fit to challenge. She is not in fault (whose condition was very well knowne), but we ought to accuse the couetousnesse of mortall men, who forget from time to time what nature is, and neuer remember themselves of their condition, except it be then, when they are brought in memory thereof. Reioyce therefore that thou hast had so good a Brother, and take in good part the vse thou hast had of him, although it were shorter then thou couldest haue wished it. Think that it was most pleasing to thee that thou hadst, and humane that which thou hast lost. It is an vnreasonable matter to bee sorrowfull, because thou hast so small a time enjoyed thy Brother, and not to bee glad that thou hast once enjoyed his presence. But he dyed, sayest thou, at such time as I least thought of it. Euery one suffereth himselfe to be deceived by his slight beliefe, and when wee loue a thing, wee will not forget that it is subiect vnto death. But Nature hath protested that she will exempt no man from this necessity, which is imposed vpon all men. We see daily both our acquaintance and Strangers carryed to their graues, yet thinke we vpon another matter, and call it a sodaine accident, which during our whole time hath bene told vs that it should come to passe. This is not therefore the iniquitie of the Fates, but the deprauednesse of mans mind, who is displeased because hee must depart from that abroad, which was onely lent him for a time.

CHAP. XXX.



Ow farre more iuster was he, who receiuing tidings of the death of his sonne, vttered a worthy speech correspondent and answerable to his worthy mind; *I knew when I begat him that hee should dye?* Wonder thou not that such a man begat such a sonne that could dye courageously. The death of his sonne was no noueltie to him: For what wonder is this for a man to dye, whose whole life is nought else but a iourney vnto death? *I knew when I begate him that he should dye:* and afterwards he annexed a thing of a greater Note, Prudence and Confidence;

The nineteenth.
We ought not to
be grieved to re-
pay that to God
which he hath
lent vs, and ap-
pearance to him:
it sufficeth he
craunch his own
without interest.

The twentieth.
It is a thing de-
cided that all
men must dye,
therefore our
friend cannot be
excepted no
more then
others.

An example
which we ought to
dye.

The twenty one.
We ought not to
fear that which
must necessarily
happen, although
it be in diuers
sorts.

I brought him up to this end. So are we all whofoeuer enter into this life, destinated to death. Let all of vs therefore content our selues with that which is giuen vs, and restore it againe when we are required. Let our minds bee alwayes addressed, and neuer feare that which must needs fall out; nor expect that alwayes which is vncertaine. Shall I call to remembrance in this place, the great Chieftaines in Warre, their children, and diuers persons honoured by diuers Consulats and Triumphs, who are dead by the hands of inexorable Destinie? Whole Kingdomes with their Kings, whole peoples and Nations haue ended their course. All men, nay more, all things tend vnto their end. Although that in regard of the particular they are different. One is taken away, and dyeth in the midst of his race, another in the entry, another in his extreme olde age, being now wearied and desirous to depart, is scarcely permitted to die. The times of death are different, yet all of vs tend to the same place. I know not whether it be more foolish to be ignorant of the Law of Mortality, or more impudency to refuse the same. But I pray thee take some time to ouer-looke these things, which with great trauel of thy mind thou hast worthily celebrated; namely the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, which thou hast so readily & cunningly contriued in prose, that although the quantitie and composition of the verse appeare no more, yet the grace of the same remaineth. For thou hast in such sort turned them from Greeke into Latine, and from Latine into Greeke, that thou hast attained all those perfections that are requisite in him that translateth from one Tongue into another. There is no one Book in all those Writings that furnishest thee not with a great number of examples of the vnconstancie of mans life, of vncertaine accidents and casualties, that succeed and flow from diuers courses. Consider with what Maiesty of speech thou hast presented these things and then wilt thou be ashamed to lose thy courage so seene, and to descend so low after thou hast spoken so high. Demeane not thy selfe like him that of late admired thy Writings, and asked how it was possible that so feeble a spirit as thine was could conceiue so great and so solid things; but rather cast thine eyes aside from these afflictions that torment thee, and turne them toward so many excellent consolations, in regarding thy Brothers so vertuous, thy Wife and thy sonne. Fortune hath parted stakes with thee, in taking away thy Brother, and leaving thee all the rest in securitie and safetie.

CHAP. XXXI.



Dishonour not thy selfe so much, as to giue the whole World occasion to beleue that one sorrow hath more power over thee, then these so many solaces. Behold thy Brothers, thy Wife, and thy sonne wounded with the same sorrow that thou art, without hauing any meanes to helpe thee; nay, contrary thou seest, that they expect thou shouldst succour them. And therefore the lesse spirit and knowledge they haue, the more needfull is it, that thou resist this euill that concerneth you all. And it is in some sort a kind of comfort to demand a mans sorrow amongst many, and because many partake with thee in thine, there should be very little remainder for thy selfe. I will not cease to represent vnto thee the Emperour *Claudius*, (as long as he shal gouerne the World,) and make it knowne that the Empire is farre better mayntayned by benefits then by Armes, thou needest not feare that thou shouldst feele any crosse: thou hast

The twenty two.
The good Bookes
that are written
either by our
selues or others,
may comfort vs
greatly, as also
graue in yeares
or reputations,
and occupations,
which wee ought
carefully to ob-
serue.

The twenty three
Men ought to
consider the
goods that re-
main with vs,
to oppose against
them those that
are redemanded
from vs.

sufficient securitie, and a consolation in him alone. Rayse and rowle thy selfe, and as often as teares begin to bedew thine eies, fixe them so often vpon *Cesar*, and by beholding so great and excellent a power, thine eyes shall be dried; his brightnesse will so rauish them that they cannot admire any other thing but himselfe, and will keepe them fixed vpon himselfe. He it is whom thou beholdst day and night, and from whom thy heart is neuer estranged, and whose admiration must deuoure thee. This is he that can assist thee against Fortune, and I doubt not (since he is a Prince so courteous, and so well affected towards all his Seruants,) but that he hath already applyed diuers remedies to thy wounds, and ministred diuers Medicines to thy paines, for feare they should encrease. And what? although he had done none of all these, doth not the onely presence and remembrance of him comfort and animate thee greatly? Vouchsafe all you gods and goddesses to giue him a long and happy life: let him exceed *Augustus* both in actions and yeeres, and so long as hee shall liue in this World, let him be exempted from beholding the death of any of his. Let his Dominion of long continuance bee adorned with all Iustice. Let the Empire designe his Sonne for their Lord, and receiue him as an associate to his father, before they accept him as a Successor. Let the time runne slowly, and only during the life of our childrens children, wherein his Subiects shall ranke him amongst the number of the gods.

CHAP. XXXII.

Senecaes vni-
and fortis infir-
mationis.

Touch him not O Fortune, neither employ thy forces against him, but in as much as thou art profitable, suffer him to heale Mankind, (too long trauelled with sicknes and misery,) permit him to restore and re-establish all that which the fury of his Predecessor hath shaken. Let this Starre euer shine that hath enlightened the world that was plunged in obscurity, and deuoured in darknesse. Let him pacifie *Almany*, giue entry vnto *England*, triumph both for his owne, and his Fathers victories. His clemency the chiefe of all his vertues, promiseth me that I shall be one of the beholders; for he hath not so humbled me, but he may exalt me; what say I, humbled? Hee hath not onely relieved, but hee hath sustained me at such time as Fortune had deiected me, and when as I was headlong cast downe to the ground, hee hath courteously and mercifully raised mee by his diuine hand. Hee interceded to the Senate in my behalfe, and hath not onely giuen me life, but required it likewise: let him determine in what sort he would haue my cause estimated, either his iustice shall finde it good, or his clemency shall make it whatsoever befall me: be it that he knoweth, or that he would that I should be innocent, it shall be alwayes a benefit of his towards me. Meane while the greatest comfort that I haue in my miseries, is to see his mercy spread ouer all the world, which when it hath digged out many after the ruine of so many yeares, and out of that very Angle wherein I am buried, and brought them to light, I feare not, nay more I trust, that hee will not leave mee alone desolate. But he best knoweth the time wherein hee ought to comfort and relieue euery man; for mine owne part, I will endeavour to the vttermost, that he may not be ashamed to succour me. How happy is thy Clemencie, O *Cesar*, which hath caused those that are banished to liue in greater assurance vnder thy gouernment, then Princes did vnder *Caligula*? The banished feare

feare not, they expect not hourly for a Hangman to come and dispatch them, neither are they abashed when they see the Ships approchas by thy fauor there is some measure in their aduerstie, so hope they for a more prosperous condition. & they content themselves in some sort in their exile, because it so please thee. Thou must know that the flakings of thy lightning are not to bee feared, but darted of set purpose, when those that are attained therewith reuerence it.

CHAP. XXXIII.



His Prince therefore, who is the publike solace of all men, hath (or else I am deceived) already recreated thy minde, and hath applyed greater remedies to this thy so great wound: Hee hath already confirmed thee euery wayes, and with an exquisite memorie hath related vnto thee all the examples which are proper to induce thee to moderate thy griefe, and by his ordinary Eloquence hath discovered vnto thee all the precepts of Philosophie. A man therefore cannot finde out any who is more fitting to speake vnto thee then he is. His words will be of greater weight then mine, and shall be so much reuerenced as so many Oracles, which by their diuine authority shall crush all the forces of thy sorrowes. Suppose therefore that he speake vnto thee after this manner. Fortune hath not onely made choice of thee to exemplifie her cruelty vpon. There neither is nor was any house in this whole World without some lament. I will overslip common Examples, which although they are lesse, yet are they wonderful. I will reduce thee to our Annals and publike Chronicles. Seest thou all these Images, which haue filled *Cesars* Imperiall Hall; there is not one of them that is not touched with some calamity of his parents or friends: euery one of these men who by their vertue shall astonish the ages to come, haue bene aggrieved at the death of those that touched them neere, or haue bin with great sorrow lamented by their friends after their death. What need I recount vnto thee *Scipio* of *Africa*, who during the time of his Banishment was resolved of his Brothers death? This Brother that had deliuered his Brother out of Prison, could not warrant him from death. All men saw how impatiently *Scipio* suffered the iniury that was done vnto his Brother whom he loued so much: for the same day that he deliuered his Brother from the hands of the Sergeant, he presented himselfe as a priuate man before the Tribune of the people, to obtayne fauour. Meane while he endured the death of his Brother, with no lesse courage then he had shewed in preserving his life. Shall I reckon vp vnto thee *Amilianus Scipio*; who almost at one time saw his Fathers Triumph, and the Obsequies of his two Brethren? yet notwithstanding although hee were very young, and but as yet an Infant, he endured this sodaine ruine of his Family, as constantly falling vnder the triumph of his father; as such a personage as hee should doe, who was borne to that end, that *Rome* should not bee without a *Scipio*, nor *Carthage* without ruine.

To comfort with
more effect hee
inducts *Cesar*
to persuade *Por-*
tybius.

The twenty four
The examples of
greater men that
haue bene affli-
cted should con-
firm our resolu-
tion.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Other examples.

Shall I tell thee of the amity of the two *Luculli* that was dissolved by death? Shall I reckon vnto thee the *Pompeii* whom cruell Fortune permitted not to perish vnder one ruine? *Sextus Pompey* ouer-lived his Sister, by whose decease the firme bonds of the *Romane* Empire, and the peace thereof were broken. He ouer-lived his Brother likewise, whom Fortune had rayed to this end, that his ouerthrow might not be lesse then the ruine of his Father; yet after this fall of his, hee proued both sufficient to digest this sorrow, and to maintaine a Warre. Infinite are the Examples on euery side of Brethren that haue died one after another, and I say on the contrary part, that hardly shalt thou finde two Brothers that haue liued so long as them both. But I will content my selfe with the Example of those of our house, supposing that no man will be so deuoid of reason and iudgement, who vnderstanding that Fortune hath taken pleasure to make Emperors weepe, will complaine that she hath driuen others to sorrow. *Augustus* lost his dearest Sister *Octauia*, neither did Nature take from him the necessitie of mourning, to whom she had destinated Heauen; contrariwise, this Prince afflicted with all sorts of death of those that touched him neere, lost besides her his Sisters sonne, who should haue bin his Heire. And lest I should enter into a particular account of his sorrowes, hee lost his sonnes in Law, his Children, his Nephewes: and no man amongst all mortall men, had more feeling that hee was a man then hee had, whilest hee liued amongst men; yet notwithstanding his heart, the most peaceable that a man might imagine, digested so many bitter griefes, and so made himselfe victorious, (not onely ouer forreign Nations,) but also ouer his passions. *Caius Caesar* the Nephew of mine Vncle by the Mothers side, euen vpon the entrance of his youthfull yeares, lost his Brother *Lucius* most deare vnto him, a Prince as yong as himselfe, during the preparation of the *Parthian* War, and receiued a greater wound in minde then that was which afterwards offended his bodie, yet endured hee both the one and the other, both piously and stoutly. The Emperour mine Vncle by the fathers side, saw his yonger Brother, and my father die in his armes, at such time as he was ready to enter the heart of *Almaine*, and he subdued the most sauege Nations of the World, and made them subiect to the *Romane* Empire; yet kept he a measure in his sorrow, and gaue order that others should contain themselves, reducing the Army not onely aggrieved but desolate, and astonished, and who generally demanded the bodie of their Generall *Drusus* to the *Roman* custome, and manner in mourning, iudging this, that hee was obliged not onely to observe the rules of Militarie profession, but a measure in bewailing the dead. Hee could not repress other mens teares, except first of all hee had restrained his owne.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Marke *Anthony* my Grandfather, inferior to none but him by whom he was overcome, establishing the *Romane* Estate, and being one of the *Triumvirate*, raised aboue all men, and (except his two companions) seeing all things vnder his feet, heard newes that his brother was slaine. O insolent Fortune, what pleasure takest thou in procuring mens miseries. At that time when *Marke Anthony* had the power of life and death amongst the *Romane* Citizens, his own brother was commanded to death; yet endured hee this so hatfull a wound with the same magnanimity of minde, wherewith hee had endured all other aduersities, and his mourning was of this nature, that hee solemnized his brothers funerals, with the bloody massacre of twenty Legions. But to lay apart all other examples, and to the end that I may suppress in my selfe other mens losses, Fortune hath assailed mee twice in the death of my brothers, and I haue twice found this in my selfe, that I might bee hurt but not confounded: I lost my brother *Germanicus*, whom how entirely I loved, hee may perfectly vnderstand, who thinketh how much pious brothers loue their brothers; yet so gouerned I my affection, that I neither omitted any thing that might be required at a good brothers hand, neither did ought that might bee reprehended in a Prince. Thinke therefore that the Parcent of the common-weale relateth these examples vnto thee, and sheweth thee how nothing is sacred or vnainted by Fortune, who out of these houses durst leade our funerals from whence thee was to receiue her goods. Let no man therefore wonder, if Fortune behaue her selfe cruelly or vnittly: for can shee acknowledge any equitie towards private houses, or any modestie, whose implacable crueltie hath vsurped vpon the gods? Let vs exclaime against her not onely in priuate but in publike, yet will shee not bee changed, her eares are deafened against all prayers and complaints. This was Fortune in humane affaires, and this will shee bee; there is nothing that shee dare not attempt, nothing that shee leaueth vntouched: shee will forcibly enter thorough all thing, and according to her accustomed manner, without making any difficulty to conuay death into those houses, whereto men enter by Temples, and hang those doores with blacke, which before times were adorned with lawrell.

CHAP. XXXVI.

This one thing let vs obtaine at her hands by vowes and publike prayers, (except as yet shee hath not resolved to confound all humane race.) That if with a fauourable aspect shee conuine as yet to behold the *Romane* name, that she will bee pleased to reserve vnto herselfe and to all men, this Prince who was raised to rectablish the decaying world: let her learne clemency of him, and by the mildest Prince of all others be instructed what mercy is. So then thou oughtest to consider all those whom before time I haue made mention, either already receiued into heauen, or very neerely approach the same; and patiently endure

Ppp

fortune.

See Plutarch in this mans life and behold a true picture of mans constant sorrow.

The twenty five, if death be such as the greater, why should shee are the small

The twenty five, if the great ones of the world desire their sufferings, the lesser should follow their example.

fortune, who stretcheth her hand to thee also, wherewith she attempteth thole likewise by name, by whom wee are accustomed to sweare. It behoueth thee to follow their constancy, and to sustaine and surmount misfortune, and as much as may be lawfull for a man, to follow the steps of the gods. Although that in other things there is a great difference betwixt men, by reason that some are more highly raised then others; yet is vertue planted in the midst of all men, and disdaineth not any man, provided that he thinke himselfe worthy of her. Be carefull to follow those who haue any occasion to be displeased, because they are cloased in, and visited so neerely, notwithstanding haue thought that fortune offered them no outrage in equalling them with other men, but that it was the law of mortality; and thus were they neither vexed nor grieved, neither haue they shewed any faint and effeminate hearts in such like accidents: for not to feeble mans euils is the part of a beast, and not to endure them, is not the part of a man, yet can I not (after I haue ouerunne all the *Cæsars* from whom fortune hath taken their brothers and sisters) ouerslippe this man whom we are to draw out of the number of therest, whom Nature hath produced and brought to light, to the generall disgrace and destruction of all mankind, by whom the common weale was vterly overthrowne, and reduced againe by the clemency of our mercifull Prince. This *Caligula* that neither knew to grieve or reioyce according as it becomed his dignity, when his sister *Drusilla* was dead, retired himselfe out of the sight and conuersation of all his Citizens, neither was he present at his sisters obsequies, neither honoured hee her according to her dignitie, but retired himselfe into his Albanum? yet relieved he the sorrow of these so haplesse funerals, by hearing pleas, and other such like occupations. What shame was this for the Romane Empire? The sport of a Romane Prince that bewailed his sister, was to solace himselfe at dice. The same *Caius* with furious inconstancy, sometimes suffering his beard and haire to grow long; sometimes courting along all the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, not following the ordinary waies, he neuer could be certainly assured whether hee would haue his sister bewailed or deified: for at the same time when he reared Temples and honours to her, hee punished them by cruell torments, who sufficiently bewayled not her death: for no lesse intemperate shewed he himselfe in sustaining the shooke of these afflictions, as hee was immeasurably proud in his prosperities, for hee swelled aboue humane measure. Farre bee this example from euery Romane Citizen, eyther to attenuate his sorrow by vntimely sports, or prouoke them in foyling himselfe with odious and base vncleanesse, or to delight in other mens euils, and not in humane solace. Yet see thou that thou change nothing of thy accustomed carriage, because thou hast resolved to loue those studies, which most fitly extoll a man to felicitie, and most easily lessen his calamity, and they are those that are the greatest ornaments and solaces of mankind.

CHAP.

Twenty fourth.
The inconstant
fury of Caligula
in the death of
his sister, ought
to teach wise
men how to
temper and go-
uerne their sor-
rowes, except
they would haue
their minds re-
ported unbrid-
led.

CHAP. XXXVII.

NOW therefore drowne thy selfe more deeply in thy studies: now enuiron them about thee as the fortresses and bulwarks of thy minde, neither let sorrow finde any entrance in any part of thee. Publish likewise thy brothers memory in some one monument of thy writings, for this is the onely worke amidst all humane offices, which no tempests may hurt, no age consume: the rest that consist in gathering and laying stones in marble monuments, or earthly tombes that are rayled to a great height, will not continue long, for they themselves will be consumed. The monuments of the minde are immortal; bestow these on thy brother, enlarne him in these. Thou shalt alwaies eternize him better by thy lasting wit, then by bewailing him with fruitlesse sorrow. As touching that which concerneth Fortune, although that for the present a man may not pleade her cause before thee, (for all that which she hath giuen vs is hateful vnto vs for this very cause, that she hath taken somewhat from vs) yet then will we speake of it when time hath made thee a more equall iudge in her behalfe, for then maist thou reenter into fauour with her: for she hath provided many things whereby she may amend this iniurie, for many things will she now giue, wherby shee may redeme the same: to conclude, thou receiuedst that at her hands which shee hath taken from thee. Vse not thy wit therefore against thy selfe, neither accompanie thou thy sorrow. Well I wot that thine eloquence can approve those things to be great, which are but small. Again, it can lessen great things, and bury them in obscuritie; but let her reserve her forces to some other purpose, and now let her employ them wholly in comforting thee. But beware that this thing likewise be not vnprofitable for thee; for nature exacteth somewhat at our hands, and vanitie striueth to shorten it: yet neuer will I entreate thee to giue ouer sorrow wholly. I know there are some men more obstinate and inflexible then prudent and couragious, who maintaine that a wise man should not be touched with sorrow. But these men seeme to haue neuer tasted of such like disasters, otherwise Fortune had driuen their proud wisdom from them, and had compelled them though against their wils to confesse the truth. Reason hath done enough, if she restrain the excesse of sorrow, but to haue it wholly rooted out, no man ought either to hope or desire it. A man ought rather to obserue this measure, that he neither falleth into impietie or folly, but containeth himselfe in that habit which becometh a quiet and no disturbed minde. Let our teares flow, yet let them bee temperate: let our sighes bee drawne from the bottome of our hearts; yet let them haue an end. Sogouerue thy mind that thou mayest approue thy selfe to Wife-men, and to thy brothers. Labour to deserue that thou mayest oft times remember thy brother, to the end thou mayest magnifie him in thy words, and that by a continual thought and remembrance thou maist represent him vnto thee. Wherunto thou mayest finally attaine, if thou make his memory pleasant vnto thee, and not lamentable. For it is naturall for the minde to flee alwayes from that whereto shee returneth with sorrow. Thinke vpon his modesty, thinke thou of his readinesse in his businesse, his diligence in executing them, his faithfulness in his promises. Let other men know, and doe thou thy selfe remember all his deeds and words. Consider what he hath bene, and what might be hoped he should haue bene: For what cannot a man promise

Ppp 2.

for

Twenty eighth.
A pleasant con-
solation to Poly-
bius, declaring
that vertuous
studies, amidst
the greatest sor-
rowes, are the
true antidote
to extinguish
them.

Against those
that condemne
sorrow, and that
measure wee
ought to obserue
therein.

toꝝ such a brother? This discourse haue I addressed vnto thee in the best fort
I may, hauing my spirite almost spent and dulled with sorrow; which
if it bee scarce answearable to thy expectation, or seeme to bee too
weake to medicinate thy sorrow, bethinke thy selfe how hard-
ly Latine words flow from him, whose cares are
tired with the rude and vnpolished lan-
guage of the Barbarians.

The end of the first Booke of Comfort.

THE



OF
CONSOLATION.
WRITTEN
BY
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,
TO
MARCIA.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

MARCIA a gracious and rich Matron, as it appeareth, the daughter of AV-
LVVS CREMVTIVS CORDVS, a man famous both for his studies and wri-
tings, had a sonne who died in his full yeeres, for he was an husband, a father, and
a Priest, and already three yeeres were past, as appeareth in the end of the first
Chapter, since he died. I therefore gather that this booke was published about the
beginning of CLAVDIANVS time, and not before. For it is scarce probable that
this METELLVS (for such was his name) was raised to honour in TIBERIVS time.
Vnder CAIVS therefore, who both disannulled some other acts of TIBERIVS, and
namely permitted AVLVVS CREMVTIVS writings to be read: which likewise is
touched in the first Chapter: and therefore this consolation could not be published
before, especially the griefe being inueterate, and after three yeeres space. Nay, to
him that well considereth the same, this Booke may bee supposed to be written vnder
CLAVDIVS, and after his exile. It matters not much. Touching the Booke,
it is one of his best, although it bee not void of feminine flattery. There are two
parts thereof. In the former he praiseth her, and both by his owne and other mens
examples comforteth her vntill the sixth Chapter; in the latter he descendeth to
reasons, and first he alledgeth the common reason, that sorrow profiteth nothing.
Then that it is vnnaturall, and rather is grounded on tendernes, and inconsidera-
tion, because we foresee not that those things which may be done, are surely to
succeede. And againe, he produceth the examples of men and women. Then passeth
he oner to the estate and condition of those that are borne, to whom death is annex-
ed, vntill the nineteenth Chapter. Then offereth he this Dilemma: That neither
the mother nor hee are injured. Of the mother, in short, shee is gracious, and
onely vexed by opinion. Of the sonne diuersly, hee is in quiet: and deliuered
both from casualties and vices. What if he had beene inclined to those in so cor-
rupt a Citie? that hee was therefore taken away in good time, and as last the Fa-
ther

ther CREMATIVS is in person produced, comforting and animating his daughter, and inciting her with a constant speech to regard and behold celestiall and diuine things.

CHAP. I.



Seneca in this place intending to comfort Marcia in the death of her iuncer, produceth two things in this Preface. The one the gaine of her father in the death of her father, the other the good she did vnto the Romans by producing his histories, which testifie that shee patiently endured such a losse.

Except I knew, Marcia, that thou wert so farre estranged from womannish infirmity of mind as from other vices, and that every man obserueth thy manners, as it were some ancient patterne of vertue; I durst not vndertake to encounter with thy sorrow, whereunto men are too willingly inclined and subiect: neither had I conceived any hope in a time so vnreasonable, before a fudge so partiall, in a crime so hatefull, that I could effect this, that thou shouldst not complain of thy fortune: but the approved constancy of thy mind and thy vertue confirmed by many trials, haue animated mee, and made me confident. It is not vnkowne in what sort thou diddest becaue thy selfe in the person of thy Father, whom thou louedst no lesse then thou diddest thy children, except in this that thou diddest not desire that hee should ouerlive thee, yet know I not whether thou didst wish it yea or no. For a great piety permitteth it selfe some things, which are not answerable to good and laudable manners of life. Thou hinderedst as much as lay in thy power the death of Aulus Crematius Cordus thy father. But when he had discovered vnto thee, that he had but one meane to escape from seruitude, wherein hee was detained by the vassals of Seianus, thou favouredst not his counsels, but sufferedst thy selfe to be overcome, and secretly powredst forth teares, thou deuouredst thy sorrow, yet couldst not conceale it with a merry countenance: and this in the age wherein it was great piety to doe nothing impiously. But as soone as the reuolution of time presented thee any occasion, thou broughtest to light (for the general good of all men) the testimonies of thy fathers wisdome, who was put to death, and exemptedst him from the graue by publishing and communicating those his bookes vnto the world, which that worthy man had written with his owne blood. Worthily hast thou deserued of the Romane studies, for the greater part of them was consumed by fire, worthily of posteritie, to whom the incorrupted truth of former occurrences shall be testified to the glorie of that great man thy father, who wrote them; worthily at his hands, whose memory shall flourish and liue as long as men are desirous to know the Romane affaires, as long as there shall be any who will reflect vpon and reade the acts of antiquitie, as long as there is any that would know what a braue Romane is, who seeing the yoke of Seianus vpon his necke, and his feete treading on the heads of every man, hath brauely discharged himselfe of that seruitude, and shewed that both in vnderstanding, soule, and hand hee was a free man. Truly the common weale had suffered a great losse, if thou haddest not brought this worthy person to light, who was buried in obliuion, to let vs see two worthy parts in him, to wit, his eloquence and liberty: hee is read, hee flourisheth, hee is entertained in mens hands and hearts, hee seareth no iniurie of time. But the hainous crimes of those bloudy butchers, who deserue

memory

memorie for nothing but their murthers, shall bee obscured. This greatnesse of thy minde, forbade me to looke backe vnto thy Sexe, for had mee to behold thy countenance, which the continuall sorrowes of so many yeeres as it once clouded it, so now couereth it: But consider that I intend not to surpris thee, neither thinke thou that I will steale away thy passions. I haue reuelled the memorie of thine ancient euils: and to the end thou shouldst know that this wound also is closed, I haue shewed thee that the cicatrice was both great and dangerous. Let other men therefore dally and flatter with thy sorrowes, I am resolu'd to combat with thy griefe, and if thou wilt heare a truth, I will drie vp the current of those teares that haue wearied and wasted thine eyes, which rather now flow by custome then any desire or cause; which may bee done if thou fauour those remedies which I present thee: if not, I will doe it against thy will, although thou retainest and entertainest thy griefe, which thou hast referred to continue in thy sonnes place. But what end shall there bee? All things are attempted in vaine. Thy friends are wearied with talking with thee, thy Allies and other great personages know no more what to speake vnto thee, thy deafe eares entertaine no solace, although a man relate vnto thee that which thou hast learned, and the goodly meanes and demaine that thy father left thee. These are words that stand thee in no vse, but for the time they are a speaking. The naturall remedie of time likewise, which appealeth the greatest sorrowes, hath lost his power in thee alone. Three yeere are already past, and yet the vehemencie of this thy passion is no wayes moderated, thy sorrow reneweth and fortifieth it selfe daily, by course of time it hath gotten possession; yea, and is growne to that height, that thou reputest it a shamefull thing to dismisse it and giue it ouer. Euen as all vices get possession and prebeminence in the heart, except they be opposed, euen then when they appeare: so likewise these perplexities and miseries, enraged against themselves, doe feed themselves at last by their owne acerbities, and sorrow becommeth a depraued pleasure of the vnhappie minde. I could haue wished therefore that I could haue ministred a medicine to this sorrow in the beginning, because a sleight remedie had bene sufficient to extinguish the turie of this passion vpon the first approach: where now since the griefes are inneterate, the remedies ought to be more vehement. For those wounds are easily cured which are but newly inflicted; then are they feared, searched, and endure the touching; yea, they are hardly healed when they are putrified, and that time hath made them an inneterate vicer. I cannot now to please thee, handle thy rebellious wound gently, I must presse out the payson, and cleanse it with sharpe medicines.

CHAP. II.



Know that all those men, who will admonish any man, beginne with precepts, and end in examples; yet must I alter this course. For some are to bee handled in one sort, some other in an other. Some there are that will bee perswaded by reason, to some wee must oppose the names and authoritie of great persons to stay their mindes, that are calsoned at the lustre of things. I will set before thine eyes two famous examples of thy Sexe and of our time; Of one woman that gaue her selfe ouer to griefe, of an other that hauing had no lesse losse but farre greater damage, yet suffered not her sorrow to reigne long time ouer her, but

sustin-

the counsell the vnhappie, she is resolu'd to vse considering the vigor of Marcias minde, the time past since her afflictions, and the contempt of those consolations that haue bene ministred vnto her.

Entering into the matter he beginneth to comfort her by examples, first of Octavia which made her selfe miserable, by vnderstanding consolation. But Marcia hath a more settled mind, she therefore will endure to be comforted.

suddenly settled and pacified her minde. *Octavia* and *Linia*, the one the sister, the other the wife of *Augustus*, lost each of them a Sonne, having both of them hope that one day they should have beene Emperours. *Octavia* Sonne was called *Marcellus*, on whom his Vnckle and his wifes father began to build them selues, in committing to his hands the affaires of the Empire, a young man of sharpe vnderstanding, of a great mind, modest and meruailously continent, and considering his yeeres and fortunes, very laborious, enemie of delights, and readie to vndergoe all that which his Vnckle would lay vpon him, or (if I may so speake it) build on his backe: Neither failed hee in his choice, for this young man was sufficiently enabled to vndertake all sorts of burthens. His mother seeing him dead, ceased not all her life time to mourne and weepe, neither would she admit any consolation, nor likewise suffer any by any meanes to disswade her from her pensieue thoughts. But intending this one thing, and wholly fixing her minde thereupon, such was shee all her life time as shee was at his funerall. I say not that shee durst not rise, but that shee refused to bee raised, iudging it no lesse then a second orbitie to surcease her weeping. Shee would haue no Image of her deereft Sonne, neither would shee listen to any that made mention of him; she hated all mothers, and was most mad against *Linia*, because that felicitie that was promised her Sonne, seemed to bee translated to hers. All her pleasure was to liue in darkenesse and solitude; shee no wayes thought on her brother, reiecting those Verses that were composed, and those honours which famous men had inuented, in memorie of *Marcellus*. In briefe, she shut vp her eares from all comfort, shee retired her selfe from all solempne Offices, and hating that too much resplendent fortune of her brothers greatness, shee hid her selfe, and if I may so speake it, buried her selfe aliue. Although her owne children, and their childrens children came flocking about her, yet would shee not giue ouer her mourning robe, offering out-rage in this respect to all those that were her Allies, because she thought herselfe alone although they remained in safetie.

CHAP. III.

LINIA had lost her Sonne *Drusus*, who should have beene Emperour, and was at that time a great Captaine. He had already entered very farre into Germanie, and fixed his Ensignes there, where it was scarcely knowne that there were any Romanes. In this expedition hee died a Conquerour, and during his sickness his very enemies gave him great honour, not daring to promise themselves that good which was expedient for them: To this death which hee indured for the common weale, there was ioyned a multitude of Romane Citizens, of peoples that were Allies, and of all Italy (who had conducted his body thorow the Cities, and Provinces which were peopled by the Romans, who had made great moane for him) as farre as Rome, as if *Drusus* had entred the same in triumph. His mother, that for a long way had followed his bodie, and being extremely grieved, by reason that as many Piles as shee saw flaming thorow out all Italy, so many times seemed shee to behold her dead Sonne, had not the meanes to enioy his last kisses, nor heare his sweete and latest words, yet incontinently when the obsequies were performed, and that shee had closed him in his Tombe; shee buried her sorrow with him, without aggrauing her selfe

more

2. *Linia* contrariwise diggesteth the death of her sonne with patience, whereby she was esteemed.



more then either her grauitie, or *Augustus* greatness, or the equitie of the cause required. Meane while shee caseith not to publish her sonnes praises in every place, to represent him vnto her selfe both priuately and publickly; to speake most willingly of him, and take pleasure in those that recounted his praises, when as no man could make mention of any other, but incontinently the remembrance of *Drusus* made her perceiue. Choose therefore which of these examples thou thinkest most probable; if thou wilt follow the first, thou cuttest thy selfe off from the number of the liuing, thou wilt detest both thine owne & other mens children, and wanting him, thou wilt make all mothers afraid that meete with thee. Thou shalt disclaime thine honest and lawfull pleasures, as ill bebecoming thy condition, and shalt require nought else but to bee sequestred from company: in briefe, thou shalt loath thine owne life, because it endeth not as quickly as thou desirest. Besides, (which is a thing estranged, and unworthy thy mind, which hath a farre contrary reputation) thou wilt make it knowne that thou wilt not liue, and that thou canst not die. But if thou fashion thy selfe according to the example of this great woman, which is more milde and moderate, thou shalt not veile bonnet vnder thy sorrow, neither macerate or afflict thy selfe so much: for what folly is this (poore woman as thou art) to drowne thy selfe in sorrow, and to increase thy miseries? Maintaine in this accident the vertue and moderation which thou hast approued in all the rest of thy former life; for if there be any conueniency in sorrow, when thou hast alwaies the name of this young man (most worthy of rest) in thy heart and in thy mouth, thou thy selfe shalt place him in a happy abode; if he appeare before thee merry and ioyfull as he did during his life.

CHAP. IV.

NEITHER will I perswade thee by more forcible precepts, or command thee to endure humane accidents with a mind more then humane, neither vpon the very day of the funerall will I force thee to drie vp the teares of a mother. I will doe thee iustice. The question is between vs, whether thy grieue ought to bee great or perpetuall: I assure my selfe, that the example of *Linia*, whom thou hast inwardly both knowne and honoured, will please thee more then the other. Shee calls thee to counsaile her. Shee in the first furie (when as miseries are most impatient and furious) gaue an eare to the counsailes and comforts of the Philosopher *Arcus* that attended her husband; and confessed that it yielded her much more comfort then the Romane people, whom shee could not disgust by her sorrow, more then *Augustus* who staggered having lost one of the staies of his Empire, (nor would bee moued by the sorrow of any of his): more then *Tiberius* his sonne, who effected this then, that in that bitter and displeasing funerals to all nations, hee found nothing missing but the number of one. This as I thinke, was the induction of that discourse which hee vsed in regarde of this woman, that was so settled in her opinions. Hitherto *Linia*, (and as neerely as I could conceiue, in as much as I was an inward Counsellor to *Augustus* thy husband, who not onely knew thy publique sayings and actions, but also the secret motions of thy minde,) thou hast carefully endeouored that no man should finde any thing that might giue him cause of exception. Neither hast thou obserued this

The third, Sorrow should not be excessive, or perpetuall.

A prooffe hereof by a discourse which Arcus vsed to Linia, Seneca produceth here to the end he might perswade Marcia more powerfully.

onely in affaires of importance, but in the smallest things also thou hast taken care, lest thou shouldst doe any thing that might bee afraid of report, which freely censureth the actions of the greatest in this world. Neither thinke I that there is any thing that is more worthy those that are in high place, then to pardon many things, and to require pardon of nothing. Thou art therefore to obserue in this thing thine accustomed manner, not to limit any thing whatsoever, that thou wouldst haue done lesse or otherwise.

CHAP. V.



After this, I desire and entreate thee, that thou shew not thy selfe forward and intractable to thy friends. For thou art not to bee ignorant, that all these know not how to behaue themselves, whether they shall speake any thing before thee of *Drusus*, or nothing, lest either the obliuion of so noble a young man should doe him iniurie, or his memory and mention wrong thee. When we are drawne apart, and are assembled together, wee magnifie his deedes and speeches as much as in vs lieth, and he deserueth it; but in thy presence we make no mention whatsoeuer: thou art therefore deuiued of a great pleasure, which is the prayes of thy sonne. When I assure my selfe thou wouldst eternize him, if thou hadst the means, although it cost thee thy life. Suffer therefore, nay more, command men to speake of him, and yeeld thine care to the name and memory of thy sonne, thinke it no irksome thing (as other men doe) who in such cases interpret all things to the worst that is spoken to them; if a man propoeth thee some consolations, thou inclinest now to the other side, and forgetting all the goods thou hast receiued, thou regardest the worse face of fortune, wherewith thee most affrighted thee. In stead of casting thine eyes on the conuersation of thy sonne, vpon his pleasant and gracious entertainment, vpon his childish and wanton flatteries, vpon the advancement of his studies, thou seemest to bee enchained to this last appearance of life, and as if it were not monstrous enough of it selfe, thou heapest vp together whatsoever may be possible. Long not I beseech thee after so disordinate a glory, which may make thee to bee esteemed miserable, amongst miserable.

CHAP. VI.



Hinke likewise that it is not an act of a generous mind to carry a great appearance in prosperitie, when as life exhauited runneth on his course with a full saile. For a peaceable sea and a fauorable wind approue not the sufficiency of a Pilot. There must some storme encounter vs that may approue the mind. And therefore discourage not thy selfe, but contrariwise stand firme in thy place, and endure every burthen that is laid vpon thee, being onely affrighted with the first assault: there is nothing that so much confoundeth fortune, as a resolute mind. After this he shewed her her other son in safety, he shewed her her Nephewes, to recompence the losse of her sonne. At that time *Marcia* thy affaires were in hand, *Arenus* late by thee, and comforted thee vnder another name. But thinke *Marcia*, that death hath taken from thee more then euer

The fourth,
we must ac-
cuse our
selves in time to
yeeld a willing
care, to those
that speake of
them, whose de-
ceasse we haue
bewailed in bitter
teares.

The fifth.
In aduersity we
are to
make proofe of
the constancy of
our mind.

was taken from any mother (I will not flatter thee, or lessen thy losse;) if teares may conquer the destinie, let vs wite our teares, let vs spend euery day in sorrow, let the sleepelesse night consume it selfe in sadnesse, let our hands violate our torne breasts, and let our nailes imprint our sorrow in our faces, let discontent exercise and extend it selfe in all sorts of cruelty. But if the dead are recalled by no teares, if Fate be immoueable and euerrastingly fixed, no miserie is changed, and death possesseth whatsoever he hath taken away; let sorrow cease because it is vnprofitable. For which cause let vs gouerne our selues, neither permit this passion to transport vs beyond measure. It is a shame for a Master of a ship to suffer his helme to be beaten out of his hands by the billow, to neglect his Sailes that are shattered in the winde, and leaue his ship to the mercy of a tempest; but he euery in shipwracke is to bee commended, who holdeth his helme in his hand, though the sea swallow and sinke him.

CHAP. VII.



Yet yet there is a naturall inclination in vs to bewaile those whom we loue; who denies it, as long as it is moderate if there is a necessity that presseth vs, and retireth, and astonisheth the most constant hearts, not only at such time as our friends die, but also when in this life by diuers occasions they are separated from vs. But that which opinion addeth, is more then Nature commandeth. Consider how vnbridled the desires of brute beasts are, and yet they are short. Cowes for a day or two lowe after the Bull, neither doth the wanton and wandering course of Mares last long. Wilde beasts after they haue sented the foote of their young ones, and haue searched them sometimes amidst the Forrest, when they returne backe againe to their empty dennes, in a few daies surcease their rage. Birds with great chattering flie about their empty nests, but in an instant they are appeased, and keepe their accustomed flight. There is no creature that so long time bewaileth the want of his young ones as man, who accompanieth his owne griefe, and is not only touched with the sense thereof, but also with the conclusion hee hath taken with himselfe, to torment himselfe thus and so long time. And to the end thou mayest know, that it is an vnnatural thing to bee broken with sorrow; first one and the same losse is more hurtfull to women then men, to barbarians then ciuill men, to the ignorant then the learned. But those that haue receiued their forces from nature keepe the same tenure in all things. That which is diuers, is not naturall: Fire at all times will burne the inhabitants of all Cities, as well men as women. Iron will shew it selfe in euery body that it hath power to cut vpon. Why? by reason that nature which doth nothing in vaine hath giuen them this property. One man feeleth pauerie, paine, losse of children in one kinde, and that man in another kind, as custome teacheth him, and as a feeble opinion of fearing of those things that are terrible, maketh him either impatient or constant.

CHAP.

The sixth,
Since that sor-
row is vnprofit-
able, because
death is not moun-
ted these obyes
ought to refrain
sorrow

The seventh,
we must keepe
a measure in
sorrow

Nature teacheth
it not.

The eighth,
It is the prop-
erty of cowards
and degenerate
persons to tor-
ment themselves
much.

C H A P. VIII.

The ninth,
we must suffer
time to exting-
uish sorrow.



Gain, that which is naturall decreaseth not by delay, but time consumeth sorrow. Bee thee neuer so rebellious, bee thee neuer so continually, be the neuer so obdurate against remedies, yet time which is the most effectfull meanes to mitigate fury, will weaken her. True it is *Marcia*, that as yet thou art very much afflicted, and it seemeth that thy sorrow (not so vehement as at first, but seiled and obdurate) hath contracted a callositie, and is wholly hardened. Yet will time draw this from thee by little and little, as oftentimes as thou shalt exercise thy selfe in other things, thy minde shall finde some reliefe. Now thou hast a guard-ouer thy selfe: but there is a great difference whether thou permittest or commandest thy selfe to mourne. How farre more becoming is it for thine honest and venerable manner of life to giue an end to thy sorrow, then to expect that it should end of it selfe? neither oughtest thou to attend the day wherein sorrow should abandon thee against thy will. But beginne thou first to giue him passport.

C H A P. IX.

The tenth,
The common
condition of all
mankind should
make vs regulate
either wise af-
fections would
very hardly be
digested.



Hence grow we therefore so obdurate in our complaints, if this that is done, be not by the commandement of Nature? It is because we thinke that euill shall neuer encounter vs, except then when we feele the same: but as if wee had a letter of exemption, and that wee were entered into a way more plaine then other men, the sinister accidents of our neighbours cannot reach vs that our danger is as great as theirs. We see so many dead bodies passe before our dores, and so many mourners that attend them with bitter teares: but in stead of thinking on death, we shape out in our thoughts a mans garment for our young children, we runne to the warres, and already husband the inheritance and succession of our fathers. We see so many rich men suddenly become poore; yet neuer sinketh it into our hearts, that our riches may as easily slip out of our hands, as theirs did from them. Our fall therefore must be the greater, because we feele not that we are subiect to slippe, but then when we are false and brought vnto the lowest. Those things that are long time foreseene, assault vs more leasurely. Wilt thou know thou art (although thou bee on foote) exposed to all strokes, and that those weapons that haue wounded thee, haue bene enforced against others? Mourn thou a breach as if thou wert halfe armed, vpon the one side guarded by a great number of enemies, and where no one scalet without hazard, and expect thence to receiue the strokes, and thinke that this raine of labelines is aimed at thy head, and that these arrowes and stones that flie ouer thy head are intended against thee: when thou shalt see that they fall on one side, or behinde thy backe, then maiest thou cry; O fortune thou shalt not deceiue me, neither shalt thou surpise me, eyther secure or negligent, I know thy designs: thou wouldest haue stricken mee, but hast wounded another. But what man is hee that euer considered his goods as if they should perish? who is he amongst vs that durst be so bold, as to thinke on his exile, his poverty or sorrow? Who is he, that if he be admonished to thinke vpon his parents

security,

The eleventh,
Afflictions that
are foretold are
light.

security, refuseth it not as a direfull and ominous presage, and that prayeth not that this mishap may sooner fall vpon the head of his enemy, or on that his vntimely Counsellor and Admonisher? I thought not that this should come to passe. Thinkest thou, that which thou knowest is incident vnto many, and that thou feest befall other men, cannot happen to thee: I heard an excellent Verse and worthy *Publius*;

That which befortunes one may fall to many.

This man hath lost his children, and thou maiest lose thine. That man is condemned, and thine innocency is vnder the stroke. This error deceiueh vs; this maketh vs effeminate, whilest we suffer those things which we neuer fore-see that we could succour. Hee taketh away the power of present euils, who foreseeth the future.

C H A P. X.



ALL these accessories *Marcia* that shine about vs, as children, honours, riches, large Palaces, and people that expect at our dore to salute and attend vs, a worthy, noble and faire Wife, (and other such goods as depend on the inconsistency of mutable Fortune,) are but forreine and hired Ornaments, which are not giuen but lent vs to decke the Theater wherein the Scene of our life is acted, and which ought to be returned to those to whom they appertaine. Some of these must be brought home the first day, others the next day; few shall perseuer, and continue to the end. Wee are not therefore to esteeme them, as if they were our owne, they are but lent vs. The vse of them is ours, according as it pleaseth time to whom they appertaine. Wee ought to haue those things which were giuen vs for a certaine time in a readinesse, that when they bee called for, they may be restored without grudging. Wicked is that Debtor that slandereth and iniureth his Creditor. So then wee ought to loue those in such sort, who are issued from vs, and whom according to the Law of Nature wee desire to leaue in this World after vs, and doe not amisse to wish that wee may dye before them, as if we had no promise that they should suruiue vs or continue with vs. Oftentimes the minde is to be admonished to loue them as transitory things, yea as such as are already parting from vs, and let vs possesse all that which Fortune hath giuen vs, as a thing that must vanish in an instant: take your pleasure of your children, and let them haue the fruition of your selues, and without delay enioy all that pleasure you affect. Let no man build vpon to morrowes content, I haue giuen you too long delay; nothing of that houre in which wee are. We are to make haste, death attendeth at our backes, and all this number that attendeth vs shall be scattered in a moment. In lesse then a watch-word, all these secreties shall be dispersed. All things are rauished from you miserable mortall men; you haue not the spirit to lue in following life; if thou complaine the death of thy sonne, the fault is in the time wherein hee was borne, for at that time was he delineated to die. He was giuen thee vpon that condition, and as soone as he came out of the wombe, he ranne after this arrest. Wee are vnder the rigorous and vnconquered power of Fortune, and endure our good or euill according to her pleasure: she afflicteth, outrageth and tormen-

The twelfth,
I that which may
befall any man
may also befor-
tune vs.
When it is come
let vs endure it.

The thirteenth,
all our goods
are giuen vs to
be restored a-
gaine at Gods
pleasure, let vs
not be aggrieved
that hee re-
mand the same.

The fourteenth,
It is Gods Ordi-
nance that hath
limited our life
which wee must
depart without
when it pleaseth
him.

Q 99

teth

teth our bodies; some burneth she with fire, either to ruine them, or to heale them: some shall she cast into the Sea, where after they haue struggled with the waues, in head of casting them on the shore or the sand, she shall cast them into the belly of some great fish. Other some there are that shee shall detain long time betwixt life and death, hauing tyred them by diuers sorts of sicknesses; and likewise tyed them to an vnconstant and lasciuious Mistris, that maketh no account of her Slaues, but sometimes tormenteth and striketh them, sometimes flattereth and rewardeth them. What need wee complaine of the parts of our life? The whole is lamentable; new incommodities shall vrge thee before thou hast satisfied the olde: you ought therefore to moderate your selues in those things, especially, which you impatiently suffer, applying one part of your thoughts to the apprehension of euils, another to the feare of them.

CHAP. XI.

BVt whence cometh it that thou thus forgettest thine owne estate, and the condition of the whole World? Thou art borne mortall, and hast brought forth mortall children: thou hast a bodie enclined to corruption & distraction; hauing bin beaten with so many accidents and sicknesses, dost thou hope in so fraile and weake a matter that thou hadst bred some thing solide and eternall? Thy sonne is departed, that is, he hath finished his course, to which end they that are more happy then thy sonne doe flocke and hasten. All these that wrangle at the Palace, that fill the Theaters, that pray in the Temples, march thither but in a different place. Euen those things which you reuerence, and those things which you despise, one death shall make equall. The same is commanded thee by the inscription of the Oracle of Apollo, *Know thy selfe*. What is man? A broken Vessell, a thing more fraile then may bee imagined; there need no great Tempest to breake thee, wherefoerer thou art cast, thou art shattered. What is man? A weake, fraile, and naked bodie, disarmed by Nature, that needeth anothers helpe, abandoned to all the outrages of Fortune; in the greatest vigor of his age, exposed for a prey to wild beastes, subiect to bee spoyle by the next that meeteth him, framed of those things that haue no firmite or continuance; faire in appearance, and in outward lineaments, but neither able to endure either colde, heate or travell. Tending through his age and idlenesse, to consume him selfe, fearing that which nourisheth him, because that sometimes the want thereof grieveth him, and sometimes the abundance bursteth him. Carefull and suspicious of his securitie, his soule dwelleth in his bodie as but a borrowed and lothing abode: a sodaine noyse and vnexpected, and dreadful touch of the eare will drive her from him, and alwayes his nourishment corrupteth and humbleth him. Doe wee remember that death which is necessary to all men, striketh at one man? Was not this building rayfed to the end to bee ruined? His Odours, Sauours, Lassitudes, Watchings, Humours, Meates and other things, without which he could not liue, are the occasion of his death. On what side soeuer he turneth himselfe, he incontinently espieth the markes of his infirmity. Euery Ayre is not good for him, the change of Waters, an vnaccustomed breath of winde, and other light and hurtfull causes make him feele that hee is sickly, rotten, broken

The fiftenth,
Since we are
mortall, let vs
not thinke it
strange or euill
if that which is
begotten by vs be
subiect to death.
The description
of the miserie
of life.

broken, and that hee beganne his life with reares. Meane while, what troubles doth this Catife creature cause? how many thoughts hammereth hee in his head being forgetfull of his owne condition? His thoughts wander vpon immortalities and eternities, he disposeth of the affaires of his third and fourth generation, and whilst he thus twelreth after these long apprehensions, death layes holde on him, and that which wee call age is but a small reuolution of yeares.

CHAP. XII.

Tell me O Marcia, if thy sorrow haue any ground or reason in it, whether it respecteth thine incommodities, or these of thy sonne? Whether art thou moued in the losse of thy sonne, because thou hast receiued no pleasures by him, or for that thou mightest haue enjoyed greater if he had liued longer? If thou say that thou hast receiued none, thou wilt make thy losse more tollerable. For men lesse complaine the misse of those things that haue giuen them neither ioy nor pleasure. And if thou confesse that thy sonne hath highly contented thee, thou art not to complaine, because he is taken from thee, but to giue thanks for that thou hast enjoyed. Thou hast likewise reaped great fruit of thy labours in his very education, except haply they who carefully nourish young whelpes and birds, and such like frivolous delights of the minde, conceiue some pleasure in the sight, touch and wanton fawning of mute beasts; and that education it selfe is not the fruit of education, to those that nourish their children. Although therefore his industrie hath profited thee nothing, neither his diligence hath preferred thee, that his prudence hath not employed it selfe to doe thee good, yet that which thou hast had, and loued, is the fruit of thy labour. But it might either haue bene longer or greater. Yet art thou dele better withall, then if it had not happened at all; for if choice may be giuen, whether it be better to be happy for a small time or neuer, it were better for vs to enjoy those goods which must quietly passe from vs, then to haue none at all. Hadst thou rather haue had an vnchrist, who had nothing good in him, but the title & name of a sonne, or this thy sonne who was of so good a nature? The young man was quickly prudent, quickly pious, quickly an Husband, suddenly a father, quickly a Magistrate or Officer, and suddenly a Priest; In briebe, all good things appeared suddenly in him. Scarcely doe long and great goods befall any man. There is no felicitie that endureth long, or that attaineth his period, but by little and little. The immortal gods intending to giue thee a sonne for a little time, did presently giue thee him, such as he might haue proued by continuance. Neither canst thou say this, that thou onely art chosen by the gods to enjoy thy sonne a little while. Cast thine eyes enery way amongst thy acquaintance and strangers, thou shalt euery where meete with greater. Great Captains and Princes haue tasted hercof. The Poets haue not exempted the gods themselves, and I thinke they haue thus made men beleue, that the gods were delected, that they might pacifie and lessen the sorrow wee conceiue in the losse of our neere friends. Pry, I say, into euery place and thou shalt name me no house so miserable that shall not find solace in regard of another that is farre more afflicted and miserable. Assuredly I haue not so ill an opinion of thy manners that I would thinke that thou wilt more easily endure thy crosse, if I

Sixteenth, when
there is he that
thinks that he
deserues, hee
receiues in his
life a long time,
with vs their
condition is such
that we haue no
occasion to be-
moue them.

The seventeenth,
The more excel-
lent the goods we
haue are, the
more willing
should we be to
releue them, be-
cause the diuine
Providence is
not accustomed
to allow vs a
long possession of
that which from
the beginning he
hath perfect.

The eighteenth,
Other mens af-
flictions should
teach vnto dis-
gest our owne.

should reckon vp vnto thee a great number of mourners. A troupe of miserable men, is an enuious kind of solace, yet some will I reckon vp vnto thee, not to the end thou shouldest know, that this is wont to happen vnto men, (for it is a ridiculous thing to collect the examples of mortalitie:) but to the end that thou maist know that there were many who haue lessened their aduerities by bearing them patiently, I will begin with a most happy man. *Lucius Scilla* lost his sonne, neither did this casualty weaken his malice or his extreme rigor both towards enemies and his Citizens. Neither was it the cause why he might not seeme to vsurpe that surname securely which he tooke vpon him after the losse of his sonne, neither afraid of the hatred of men, on whose miseries his ouer fruitfull felicities consilted; neither of the gods displeasure, whose crime it was that *Scilla* was so happy. But what *Scilla* was, let vs leaue amongst those things that are vncertaine, yet wil his enemies conesse that he tooke vpon him armes happily, and gaue them ouer discreetly. And in regard of that whereof we now speake, it appeareth that it is no great euill which attaineth and attaineth those that are most happy. And no lesse let *Greece* admire that father, who during the time of his Sacrifice receiuing tidings of his sonnes death, onely commanded the Musician to hold his peace, and tooke the Crowne from his head, and afterwards duly finished the rest of the Sacrifice.

CHAP. XIII.

Other Examples
of Zenophon
and Pulullius.

Pulullius the chiefe Bishop did this, who at that time as hee held the post, and dedicated the Capitoll, receiued tydings of his sons death, and yet without making shew of that was told vnto him, pronounced the solemne Hymne of the Pontificall Consecration, without interrupting the same with any sighes; and bearing the name of his sonne, he praied *Iupiter* to be propitious & fauourable to the Citie and Common-Weale. Couldst thou haue thought that this sorrow which vpon the first day, and the chiefe assault could not draw the Father from the publike altars and solemne dedication, should ever haue ceased? vndoubtedly *Pulullius* was worthy of a memorable dedication, worthy of a high Priesthood, who desilted not from worshipping the gods; no not when they were displeased: yet the same man as soone as he came home, and had satisfied his griefe with teares, and powred forth some lachrations and hauing fulfilled those Offices which were accustomed due vnto the dead, returned to the Capitol with a merrie countenance. *P. Emilius* about that time of his so renowned triumph, wherein he led before his Chariot the King *Perseus* as his Prisoner, & had given two of his sons to be adopted into another Family, saw the two other buried, whom he had reserved to himselfe: what were thesetwo thinkest thou, when as *Scipio* was one of these that was given to bee adopted? yet the *Romane* people beheld *Paulus* Chariot void, and he vnmooned, yet decayed he, and gaue thanks vnto the gods, because they had granted him his wish. For he had besought them oftentimes, that if for so great a victorie some greater incommodie might befall him, it might rather redowne to his priuate, then the publike damage. Seest thou with how great a mind he bare it? he gaue them thanks for the death of his children. Could such a change moue any man more? he had lost in one instant his solaces and his stayes, and yet *Perseus* had not that credit to see *Paulus Emilius* sad or distressed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.



Hy now should I leade thee thorow so innumerable Examples of great men, & seek out miserable men? as if it be not a harder matter to find out such as were happy? What house is it that hath continually stood at one stay in all respects? wherein there hath not hapned some distalter and perturbation? Consider the yeares one after another, and marke those that haue bin Consuls, and if thou wilt, *Lucius Bibulus*, and *Caius Caesar*. and thou shalt see betwixt these two companions that were mortall enemies, one and the same fortune. *Lucius Bibulus* a man more honest then stout, had two of his sonnes slaine at one time. They were both of them a scorne to an *Egyptian* Souldier; so that the father had more occasion to bewaile the indignity they had receiued at his hands, then the losse of his children; yet *Bibulus* (that during the whole time of his Consulate, had kept house by reason of the euill carriage of his fellow Consul,) receiuing tydings of this accident, came abroad and performed his woonted and publike Offices. What could hee doe lesse then bestow one day on his two sonnes? so quickly ended he his sorrow for his children, who had bewayled the Consulate a whole yeare. *Caius Caesar* when hee had ouer-runne the whole Countrey of *England*, and could not containe his felicity within the Ocean, had tydings that his Daughter was dead, which by her losse drew the publike peace into danger: he had represented before his eies his sonne in *Law*, *Cneius Pompey*, who could not endure that any other should be reputed or held more great in *Rome* then himselfe, and who would haue opposed himselfe against all those which pretended to be aduanced, although it were not to his disadvantage; yet notwithstanding all this, *Caesar* for three dayes executed that charge which was committed vnto him in being Generall, and ouercame his sorrow so soone as he was wont to overcome all other things.

The fourteenth,
examples of *Lucius Bibulus*.

CHAP. XV.



Hy should I relate vnto thee the Funerals of the other *Caesars*? I will only tell thee this, that in my iudgement Fortune hauing so rudely assailed them, hath giuen by this means a profitable instruction to the whole World; for shee maketh them see that the children of the gods, & such as should engender gods, haue not their owne Fortune in their hands as they haue other mens. *Diuus Augustus* hauing lost his children & nephewes; (in briefe the whole progeny of the *Caesars*;) supported his desolate house by adoption; yet endured he these losses as temperately as if he had beene already deified, and as if some one had done him iniury, if hee should haue come and complained of the Deities. *Tiberius Caesar* both had lost him whom he begat, and him whom he had adopted, yet notwithstanding he himselfe pronounced the Funerall Oration, in praye of his sonne in the publike place of declamations, and constantly stood in the sight of the dead body, and had but a veile betweene them to concele the body from the sight of the high Bishop. Although the *Romane* people wept, hee changed not his countenance, and made *Seianus* know (who stood last by him,) that he was armed with patience to endure the losse of his children. Seest thou

The sixth exam-
ple of *Augustus*.

Qqq 3

thou

thou not this great number of men of note, enriched with so many gifts of the mind, and so many honours both publike and particular, whom death (that deuoureth all things) spareth not? Nay further, this tempest extendeth it selfe ouer the whole World; and without election destroyeth all things, and maketh them at her owne Command every man to giue a reason, and thou shalt finde that no man hath entred into this World but to forsake it.

C H A P. XVI.

To satisfie Mar-
cias's question,
that these are
the examples of
men, he induceth
Lucretia,

L Know what thou wilt say; Thou hast forgotten that thou com-
fortest a woman, and onely tellest vs of the examples of men: but
who dare maintaine that Nature hath shewed herselfe partiall in
womens behalfe, and hath restrained their vertues? Beleue mee
they haue the same vigor and free facultie of minde as men haue,
to apprehend that which is honest, and if they accustome themselves, they en-
dure both labour and sorrow as equally as men doe. Good gods in what City
speake we this? In that where *Lucretia* and *Brutus* deliuered the Romanes
from the captiuitie of Kings: wee must acknowledge our libertie to proceed
from *Brutus*, and we are indebted to *Lucretia*, for *Brutus*. In that where wee
haue eternized *Celia* the Virgin in the number of the most valiant of her time,
by reason of her vndaunted boldnes, when in despight of the enemy she swam
ouer *Tyber*. Her Statue on horsebacke, planted in the midst of that famous and
sacred street, reprocheth our young men that are mounted in their Coaches,
and enter in that sort into that Citie, wherein we haue made Presents of Hor-
ses vnto women: but if thou wilt haue me set thee downe an example of wo-
men that haue endured the death of their friends constantly, I will not begge it
from dore to dore, I will produce out of one Family the two *Corneliaes*. The
first was *Scipios* Daughter, and Mother to the *Gracchi*. Shee had twelue chil-
dren that all of them dyed before her. As touching ten of them, whom *Rome*
neither apperceiued liuing or dead, if I may so speake it, the losse might in
some sort be borne. But in respect of those her two sons *Tiberius Gracchus* and
Caius, (whom they that admit not for peaceable men, yet must they acknow-
ledge them for honourable Personages) she saw them slaine and vnburied. And
when as some one in comforting her called her poore and desolate Mother:
Neuer (saith hee) *will I call my selfe unhappy who haue bred the Gracchi*. The
other *Cornelia* lost *Liuius Drusus* her sonne a young Gentleman, well borne, of
great hope, and one that followed the example of the *Gracchi*; who hauing
left some Suites of great importance vnperfect, which concerned the Com-
mon-Weale, was slaine in his owne house, and no man knew who did the
deed; yet *Cornelia* endured the bloudie and vnreuered death of her sonne,
with as great a minde as hee made Lawes. Now *Marcia* shalt thou become
friends with Fortune againe, if thou consider that she hath darted the like Ar-
rows against thee, as shee did against the *Scipios*, their Mothers three Chil-
dren, and *Cajars* themselves. Life is replenished and broken with diuers ac-
cidents, which haue no long repose, and almost no truce. Thou hast had foure
Children *Marcia*: but they say that there is no Arrow that falleth in vaine that
is shot against a troupe of the enemy. Is it so great a wonder that so great a
company could not bee ouer-passed without enuie or losse? But in this was
Fortune more vnjust, because she not onely tooke away thy Children, but
made

The nineteenth,
he answereth a
new complaint of
Marcia, and
sheweth her
what occasion she
hath to comfort
her selfe, con-
sidering that
complaints that
are left behind:
and it is in this
we ought to con-
sider our selfe
others, that God
offendeth less
with us, when hee
might take away
all.

made choyce of them; yet say thou not that he is wronged that hath his e-
quall part and portion with his Lord. Fortune hath left thee two daughters
and their children, and of all these she hath onely borne away thy sonne, whom
thou so much bewailest, hauing forgotten the other that was dead before
him. Thou hast by this sonne two daughters who resemble their father, if
thou bring them vp and nourish them against thy heart, they are two mightie
burthens; contrariwise, if thou take pleasure in them, they will be great com-
forts vnto thee. To this end brought he them thee, that seeing these daugh-
ters they should refresh the memorie of thy sonne, and not of thy sorrow. The
Husbandman when he sees his Trees ouerturned, which eyther the Winde
hath rent them vp by the roots, or the violent tempest hath broken them by
a violent wherrie, nourisheth the rest of their stens, and presently setteth the
seedes of those plants he hath lost, and in a moment (for time is as violent
and headlong in increases, as the is in losses) they spring more flourishing
then those that were lost. Substitute now these daughters of *Metellus* in his
stead, and fill vp the voyde place. Relieue thou one sorrow with a double
solace. Truly this is the nature of mortall men, that nothing is more plea-
sing then that which is lost; we are more partiall to those that are left, and
more desirous of those that are taken from vs. But if thou wilt estimate how
much Fortune spared thee, euen then when she was angry with thee, thou
shalt know that thou hast more then comforts, witnesse so many Nephewes
and two daughters.

C H A P. XVII.

Say this likewise, *Marcia*, I would moue me, if Fortune should
respect every one according to his behauiour: good men should
neuer be seconded by misfortunes; but now I see without any
difference, and after the same manner, that both good and bad
are indifferently distressed: Yet is it a grievous matter to lose a
young man whom thou hast brought vp, & that now would be both an helpe
and ornament to his father and mother. Who denies that it is a grievous mat-
ter? yet is it humane. To this wert thou borne, that thou shouldst lose, that
thou shouldst die, that thou shouldst hope, that thou shouldst feare, that
thou shouldst disquiet both thy selfe and others, that thou shouldst feare
and with death, and that which is worst of all, that thou shouldst neuer
know in what estate thou wert. If a man should say to him that would em-
barke and sayle to *Syracusa*: Before thou set sayle, consider all the com-
modities and incommunities of thy voyage, then enter thou the Shippe.
These are the things that thou mayest wonder at. First of all, thou shalt
see *Sicilie* diuided from *Italie* by a little arme of the Sea, whereas in
times past they were of one continent. The Sea in that place maketh so-
daine insults;

The twentieth.
The condition of
our life ought to
inuite vs to con-
science.

Diuiding Italie from Sicilie.

Then shalt thou see (for thou must ouerpasse swiftly that dangerous in-
gate of the Sea) that Gulfe of *Charybdis* so renowned amongst the Poets,
which as long as it is free from the Southerne winds is peaceable and calme;
but

Under an excel-
lent description
of a voyage to
Sicily, he shew-
eth to what
goods and evils
our liues are ex-
posed, so the
end in prosperitie
to prepare vs to
adversitie.

but if any winde breath from that place, the swalloweth ships in her deepe and deuouring billowes. Thou shalt likewise see the fountaine of *Arethusa*, (so celebrated amongst the Poets) wonderfully cleare and pure in the bottome, and bubbling vp Water that is very colde, whether thou drawest it from the spring, or whether the issueth from vnder the earth, where the loseth her selfe, and passeth vnder the sea without intermixing her selfe, losing her sweetnesse amiddest the salt Water. Afterwards, thou shalt arrive in the securest Haven that Nature euer made, or that humane industrie hath accommodated for the securitie of Shippes, so assured and calme that the furie of most greatest tempests cannot any waies afflict or encrease the same. Thou shalt see the place where the Athenian Nauie was discomfited, when so many thousand men were lost, and lockt vp in that renowned prison, so immeasurably high, and builded of hewen stone. After this, the great Citie of *Syracusa*, and her towred Walls of greater extent then are the Confinnes of diuers Cities, and no day without Sunne-shine. But after you haue seene all these commodities, on the other side, there presenteth it selfe a most hote and vnwholesome Summer time, which corrupteth the benefites that the Winter had cauled. There shalt thou finde the Tyrant *Dionysius* sworne enemy of Libertie, Iustice, and Lawes; desirous of gouernement, and domination, and of life also. After his banishment, some he will burne, other some he will beate, these vpon a sleight occasion he will commaund to be beheaded, to satisfie his lusts; hee shall make vse both of Male and Female: and amongst the loathsome troupes and attendants of Kingly intemperance, it shall bee a small matter at one time to commit pollution both waies. Thou hast heard what may inuite thee, and what may withdraw thee; therefore cyther faile onward, or stay behinde. If after this relation any man should say that hee would enter *Syracusa*: can hee iustly complaine against any man but himselfe, who should not haue falne vnto these miseries, except willingly and wittingly hee had sought them out? Thus speaketh Nature to vs all. I deceiue no man, thou if thou bearest children, maist haue them faire, maist haue them deformed, and if haply thou bring forth many, one of them may as well be a Protector of his Countrie, as another a Traytor. Thinke not that they shall mount to that high dignitie, that no man dare speake euill of thee for feare of them. But propose this to thy selfe, that they may be so dissolute and licentious that euery one will curse them. Nothing hindreth them to acquite themselves of that deuotion which they owe vnto thee: neither are they forbidden to praise thee, yet dispose thy selfe, as if thou wouldest lay them on the Bier, cyther children, young men or old men; for yeres concerneth this matter nothing at all: because there is no funerall, that is not accompanied with sorrow, and attended by the parents. If after these conditions, which now haue beene proposed, thou burist thy children, thou canst in no sort complaine against the gods, who haue promised thee nothing.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.



Et vs therefore now apply and compare all the course of our life according to this example; I haue told thee (since thou art determined to visit *Syracusa*) what thing may please thee, and what offend thee, & suppose that now when thou art to enter life, I come and giue thee this counsell. Thou art to enter a Citie, that is common both to gods and men, comprehending all things, obliged to certain eternall and irremocable Lawes; where the celestiall bodies performe their course without repose or lassitude. There shalt thou see innumerable stars, and wonder to see one Planet that enlighteneth all things; the Sun that by his daily course diuideth the spaces of day and night, equally distinguishing the yere into Winter and Summer. There shalt thou see the nocturnal succession of the Moone, borrowing her milder and remiser heate from her brothers beames; sometimes hidden, and straight againe ouer-looking the whole earth with a full face, admirable in her increases and decreases, being no one day the same, but altered continually. Thou shalt see the fierie Planets obseruing different courses, and shining oppositely the one against the other in their Sphaeres: on their so sodaine courses depend the destinies of nations, great and lesser effects doe follow, according to the benignitie or malignitie of their aspects. Thou wilt admire to behold the clouds that are gathered, the raines that fall, the oblique flashes of lightning, and the thunder in the ayre. When thou shalt cast thine eyes vpon the earth (that are already glutted with the sight of celestiall wonders;) thou shalt be entertained with another form of things and wonderful in another kind. On this side, the extent of so spacious plaines that the eye cannot apprehend them; on that side, the toppes of mountaines enuying the clouds, charged with snow, the downefall of riuers, the foudes issuing from one and the same source, running from East to West, the forrests incontinently bending their bowes vpon the tops of the highest mountaines, so many woods with the beasts that inhabite them, and such varietie of melodious birds. After these, the diuers situation of Cities, the nations separated the one from the other by the difficulty of passages, the one retiring themselves to the mountaines, the other spread themselves along the riuers sides, lakes, vallics, and marshes: the harvest forwarded by the husbandmans hand: the trees fruitfull without assistance of man, the gentle floating of breakes and of the lawndes, the pleasant gulles, the commodious hauens, so many Isles dispersed in the Ocean, which by their situation distinguish the seas. I speak not of pearles or precious stones, nor of gold that runneth amidst the sands of the most violent riuers, nor of those fires that are enkindled both in the earth and in the seas, nor of the Ocean, which is the bond of Nations which separateth them with a triple straight, hauing otherwaies her perpetuall flux and reflux. When her billowes are laid, and scale along without any agitation of the windes, thou shalt see terrible fishes, and of incredible greatnesse: others more heauie which swimme along vnder the conduct of others, some verie swift, and more sodaine in their turnings then a vessell with many Oares, others breathing out water to the great dangers of those that are Passengers. Thou shalt obserue on these Seas certain vessels that go to seeke out new found lands, thou shalt see that humane boldnesse would know and discouer all things; and thou thy selfe shalt be a lookeron, and the greatest Aduenturer in the voyage: thou shalt learne and reach

An application
of that he hath
spoken of the
voyage to Syra-
cusa.

his face, and what miserable remainders were these of that battaile, where the Senators ledde the armie, to the end that their Generall might be lauded? For anon after he saw the Egyptian murderer, and presented his so venerable bodie to a souldier that slew him. And had his life bene saved, he had repented himselfe. For what a shame had it bene that a King should have given Pompey his life! If *Marcus Cicero* had died then, when he deliuered himselfe from that massacre, which *Castiline* pretended to execute vpon him and Rome, that Commonweale that was defended by him, had called him her Protector and Safeguard. Afterwards had he followed his daughter, then might his death haue bene esteemed happie, he had not seene those threatening swords that were brandished ouer the heads of his Citizens, nor the goods of those that were murdered, giuen to the murderers, in such fort that their riches were the cause of their deaths who possessed them: he had not vnderstood that those goods that were taken from Consuls, were sold at out-cries; nor of the murders, nor of the spoiles which were recompensed out of the publike treasure, nor of the warres and rapines of three as bloudie as *Castiline*. Had the sea swallowed vp *Cato* when he returned from Cyprus, with those goods which the King had bequeathed by his Will to the Romane people, or had he perished with all that siluer which he brought with him, which was afterwards employed in the maintenance of ciuill warre, had he not died happily? Surely he had carried away this honour with him, that no man had or durst do any fault in *Catoes* presence. But now the adiection of a few yeares constrained this man, who was borne to maintaine both his owne and the publike libertie, to flie from *Cesar*, and to follow *Pompey*. No euill therefore hath vnicely death brought to *Metellius*. Nay more, he is thereby exempted from all euils; yet died he too soon, and too young. First, presuppose that he liueth yet, and consider how little time is allotted man in regard of the yeares of his life. And what is this? Wee are placed in this world for a moment of time, and shall in lesse then an instant dislodge from the same: and hauing entered thereunto vpon this condition, wee haue alwaies our eye fixed on that place whither we must tend: I speake of our yeares which fleet away with an incredible swiftnesse. Examine how many yeares Cities haue stood, and thou shalt see how little while they haue lasted, yea even those that most glorie in their antiquity. All humane things are fraile, and scarce occupie any place in this vast extent of infinite time. We say that all this earth, with the people thereof, these Cities, riuers, and that sea which incloseth them, is but a poynt in respect of the Vniuerse. Our life is lesse then a point, if it be compared with all that time which is past, and is to come, which hath farre greater extent then the world, considering that time so oftentimes turneth and mesureth himselfe in this so great inclosure of the same. What a uaielle it vs then, to extend that which being brought to his full extent, will be almost as much as nothing? In one kind we haue liued enough, & long enough, if it sufficeth vs. And if thou liuest as long as thou canst desire, and that therein old age be extended so farre as thou maiest make reckoning of ninetie or of an hundred yeares: yet if thou wilt fixe thy thought vpon all the time of eternitie, there will be little difference betwix the shortest and the longest life: if considering how many yerres euery one hath liued, thou compare them with those wherein he hath not liued. Again, he died not vntimely, for he liued as long as he should haue liued: for there was no ouerplus of time wherein he should haue liued longer. The age of olde men is not alike, no more is that of beafts. Some creatures are a wearie of life after foureteen yerres, and this is their longest

age,

The fuen and
twentieth, That
no man dieth too
soone.

The eight and
twentieth, No
man dieth be-
fore his time, be-
cause he hath li-
ued as much as
he ought.

age, which to a man is but the first. Each one hath a different faculty of liuing. There is no man dieth too soon, who was not to liue longer then he liued. Euerie mans time is prefixed, it shall alwaies continue where it was setled; neither shall either diligence, trauell, or valew, aduance the same further: and we know that he breaketh his braines, and loseth his labour that pretendeth the same. Thy sonne hath runne his race, and hath attained to the prefixed end of his life. Thou art not therefore to loadethy selfe in this sort. He might haue liued longer. His life was not interrupted, and Fortune neuer crossed the course of his yeares. Euerie one is payed that which is promised him: the Destinies are carried according to their proper vehemencie: they neither lengthen or shorten the time: in vaine are they besought or solicited. Euerie one shall haue as much as the first day of his life hath assigned him. From that time he began to see the light, he hath entered the way of death, and approached Destinie: those yeares that were added to his youth, were stolne away from life: we are all in this error, that we thinke that none but olde and aged men are neere vnto death, whereas infancie, youth, and euerie other age leadeth vs thereunto. The Fates ply their businesse, they steale from vs the apprehension of our death; and to the end the may more easily steale vpon vs, she masketh her selfe vnder the name of life. Childhood carrieth away infancie, youth rauisheth childhood, and olde age youth: but if thou calculate well the increase, they are as many decreases and losses.

The nine and
twentieth, Wee
are all in error,
there is no man
more estranged
from life then
another.

C H A P. XXI.

THou complaineest, *Marcia*, that thy sonne liued not so long as hee might; but how knowest thou whether it were expedient for him to liue longer, or more profitable for him that he dyed thus? What man canst thou finde at this day, whose affairs are so firme and well assured, that he hath no cause to feare that which is to come? Humane affaires steale and slip away. Neyther is there any part of our life more declining and uncertain, then that which pleaseth vs most. And therefore the most happy ought to with for death; because amidst this inconstancie and confuson of things, nothing is certaine but that which is past. Who could assure thee that this faire bodie of thy sonne, and the marvellous care that he had of his honour, maintained in the midst of so many eyes of a Citie founded and confounded with dissolutions and excesses, could in such sort warrant himselfe from sicknesse, that vntill old age his beautie and seemlineesse should haue remained vntouched?

The thirtieth, It
is onely God that
knoweth when it
is expedient for
vs to leave our
liues.

C H A P. XXII.

Repose vnto thy selfe a thousand infirmities of the soule: for many excellent spirits haue not maintained vnto their old age, that hope that we had conceived of them in their youth; but oftentimes they haue degenerated. In their latter dayes therefore condescend frequently and to their greater shame, they haue addicted themselves to palliardise, which hath made them soile the faire beginnings of their life. Or being plunged in drunkennesse and gourmandise, their principall care

31. No man
knoweth his de-
stinie, and the best
advised cannot
foresee that
which is to come
to passe; wee
ought not to er-
rore to bewaile
those that die
in youth.

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hath bene to know what they should care or drinke. Adde hereunto the burnings, the ruins, shipwracks, the operation of Surgeons, who cut off their members, pull out their braines, thrust their hands into their entrailes, and heale their priuie parts, not without excessive paine: after these, banishment, for thy sonne was no homelier man then was *Rutilius*: and prison, sure he hath not bin a wiser man then *Socrates*: and the stab of a Poinard that was voluntarily buried in his brest, sure he was not more vertuous then *Cato*. In considering these things, thou shalt finde that they are happy whom nature hath retired in good time into a place of securitie, considering that in the end they could not receive any other reward of their life, then that or some such like. There is nothing to deceitfull as mans life, nothing so trayterous. No man would haue accepted life, except it had bene giuen at vnawares: and therefore it is a great happinesse not to be born, and another happinesse that death is neere to liberton that life, and put vs in that estate wherein we were before we liued. Call to thy remembrance those wretched times, wherein *Seianus* made a present to *Saturnus Secundus* his Client, of the confiscation of thy fathers goods, which he tooke from him by reason of some confident speeches he had vttered: for thy father could not hold his peace, seeing that men intended not onely to make vs subject to *Seianus*, but that by degrees he mounted to the soueraigne authority. It was decreed that a statue should be raised for him in *Pompeii* Theater, which the Emperor caused to be recified because it had been burned. *Cordus* exclaimed, *That then the Theater was wholly ruined*. And what heart would not haue burst, seeing *Seianus* sit vpon *Pompeii* cinders, and a wicked fouldier enstalled in the place of a great Capitaine? Notwithstanding the statue was reared with a subscription. On the other side, those mallicies that this cursed *Seianus* nourished with humane blood, to the end that they should be priuate to himselfe, and enraged against all others, began to barke on euerie side against thy father, who thought not of them. What should he doe? To maintaine himselfe in life, it behoued him to humble himselfe before *Seianus*; to die, to haue licence from thee his daughter. But it was impossible for him to pacifie *Seianus*, and his daughter lesse, yet at the last *Cordus* resolved with himselfe to deceiue his daughter. Having therefore taken his bath (the more easily to deceiue her) he retired himselfe into his chamber, as if he intended to take some refection before his supper; and hauing dispatched his seruants and pages about some businesse, he cast some morsels of meat out of the window, to the end it might be thought that he had eaten. Afterwards, as if he had sufficiently nourished himselfe in his chamber, he abstained from his supper, continuing the same course the second and third day: vpon the fourth day, the infirmities of his body discovered what he meant. Embracing thee therefore, he said, *My dearest daughter, I haue concealed nothing from thee during my whole life, but this; I am entred the way of death, & haue almost attained the halfe: thou neither shouldst, nor canst recall me back againe*. After he had spoken this, he commanded the lights to be caried away, and retired himselfe into an obscure place. This act of his being discovered, euery one was glad that the prey was taken out of the throats of those greedy *Volues*. His accusers by *Seianus* incitation, presented themselves before the siege of the Consuls, complaining that *Cordus* was a dying, to the end to obtain permission to withdraw him from that whereunto they had compelled him; so much were they aggrieved that *Cordus* should escape their fingers. The question was vpon a matter of great importance, whether those that were adiudged to die should be hindered from procuring their death. Whilst this matter

Available manifestation of Crementis Cordus confidence and duty, yet in a manner their duty, men: there is a law above. Stouall, and that must returne to the resolution.

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was in debating, and the accusers goe & come, *Cordus* was deliuered from their claws. Seest thou not, *Marcia*, how vnexpectedly the revolutions of wretched times doe steale vpon vs? Dost thou weepe because one of thine must needs die? Thou seest how hard a thing it was for him to get this priuiledge.

CHAP. XXIII.

Besides this, that euery future thing is vncertaine, and the way to the worlde is more assured: it is easier for vs to ascend to heauen, when as our mindes are quickly dismissed from humane consolation. For they haue gathered lesse drosse and ordure, and being deliuered, which before were confused and ouerwhelmed with the meditation of earthly things, they are more light to flie back again to their original; and more easily ouerpasse all that which may hinder them. For neuer did great wits take pleasure to remaine in their earthly prisons, they are glad to forsake them, and breake thorow them: these so strict limits are displeasing to them, being accustomed to raise themselves about the heauens, & to contemne from above all humane and base things. Thence is it that *Plato* crieth, *That a wise mans minde is wholly intended vpon death, that this he willeth, this he meditateth, that he is alwaies possessed with this desire, when he beholdeth exterior things*. What, thoughtest thou, *Marcia*, when thou sawest a young man replenished with aged wisdom, a mind triumphing ouer all pleasures, reformed, deuoid of vice; rich without avarice, raised to honor without ambition, desirous to haue pleasures without dissolution, that thou shouldst keepe him long time? Whatsoeuer hath attained his perfection hasteth to his end. Perfect vertue retirith it selfe, and vanissheth from our eies: neither do the fruits expect their Autumne, that are ripe in Summer. The fire the more it shineth, the sooner is it extinguished, and that lasteth longest which being mixed with a moist matter and hard to kindle and smothered in smoke, shineth thorow the smother. For that which nourissheth it, as it were by constraint, is the cause it continueth more long time. So good spirits, the more famous they are, the shorter they liue. For whereas there is no place of encrease, their decrease is the neerer. *Fabianus* said, (and our predecessors also haue scene it) that there was an infant at *Rome*, as great as an absolute man; but he liued not long, and euery one that had iudgement was of opinion that he should die shortly. For he could not encrease so much in yeares as he had attained by his stature. So maturitie is a token of imminent ouerthrow, and the end approacheth where encreases are consummate.

The two and thirtieth, Eie that hath liued virtuously ought not to be bewailed in his departure out of this world, where the longer he had stayed, the more might he haue become corrupted.

CHAP. XXIV.

Estimat thou him by his vertues, and not by his yeares. He hath liued enough, he was left a pupill, and until the foureteenth yere of his age he was vnder the gouernment of Tutors, but alwayes vnder his mothers custodie: when he had a house of his owne, yet would he not leaue thine. Being a young man (both in stature, beautie, and other strength of the bodie, borne to be a fouldier) he refused warfare, because he would not leaue thee desolate. Consider *Marcia*, how many mothers there bee in diuers houses, that see their children ve-

The three and thirtieth, Eie that hath liued virtuously ought not to be bewailed in his departure out of this world, where the longer he had stayed, the more might he haue become corrupted.

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rie little. Thinke you that those Mothers, whose sonnes follow the Wailes, lose in respect of them whole yeares, and liue solitarily. Then shalt thou know that there is much time remaining thee, in which thou hast lost nothing. Thy sonne neuer departed out of thy sight, hee framed his studies in thy presence, shewing himselfe of a most excellent spirit, but it was accompanied with a modest feare, the which hath buried many perfections in diuers men. He was one of the goodliest Gentlemen that a man might behold, yet behaued he himselfe with so great temperance and modellie, that amidst so great a troope of men corrupting women, he gaue no occasion of suspition: and whereas some of their impudence had attempted so far as to tempt him, hee blushed and was angry with himselfe, because he had pleased. This holines in his manners was the cause, that so yong as he was, he was thought worthy to bee entertained amongst the number of those that intermeddled with those things that appertained to Religion, & that by the ayd and assistance of his Mother. In contemplation of these his vertues so behaued thy selfe, as if he were more conuerfant with thee now, then euer. Now hath he nothing to withdraw him; he shall neuer put thee in care, or cause thee to sorrow, and all the griefe thou hast conceived for so good a sonne is finished: the rest being exempted from casualties, are full of pleasures, if thou knowest how to make vse of thy sonne: and if thou knowest that which hath bene most precious in him, thou hast but lost the Image and resemblance of him, although it resembled him not rightly. For he is eternal, and for the present in better estate then euer, despoyled of forren incumbrances, and at his full libertie. These bones that thou seest wreathed about with nerues, this skin that couered vs, this countenance, and these ministring hands, and those other members that enclose vs, are the bonds and fetters of the soule which is delected, obscured, infected, and hindered from knowing the truth of those things that appertaine vnto her, and distracted with error. She hath a grievous combate with this flesh, to the end she may not be made captive and slaued vnto it. She extendeth and raiseth her selfe to the place from whence the was sent: there is her eternal repose, where in stead of troubles and confusions of this world, she shall see nothing but that is cleare and pure.

C H A P. XXV.



Thou hast no cause therefore to runne vnto thy sonnes sepulchre. There lye his bones and ashes, the worser part of him, and most trouble some vnto him, and are no more parts of him then his raiment and other courtures of his body. He is fled away wholly, and is departed wholly out of this world, without leauing any thing of himselfe vpon the earth: and afterwards hauing made a little pause about vs, to cleanse him from those spots that were remaining in him, and to shake off the rust of this corruptible life, he hath bene carried to farre higher places, where he conuerseth with the happier soules, and hath bene entertained by that holy company of *Scipioes, Catoes*, and others that haue contemned this life, and now enioy a full libertie by the benefit of death. There, *Marcia*, thy father embraceth his nephew (although that there all be parents) ioyfull to see him enlighten'd with a great brightnesse, and teacheth him the courses of the neighbouring Starres, not by coniecture, but as one that is truly expert and leadeth him willingly into the secrets of Nature. And as he that sheweth the

The foure and thirtieth. The boy in a way the man but the soule, which leaueth nothing of her selfe vpon the earth.

the singularities of an vnknowne City, is an agreeable guest to that stranger that hath not seene them: so is this domestical interpreter welcome to his nephew, that examineth the causes of celestiall things, and taketh delight to prye into the secrets of the earth. For he hath a singular contentment to behold from on high that which he hath left. Behaue thy selfe therefore in such sort, *O Marcia*, as if thou wert in the presence of thy father and thy sonne, not such as thou knewest them, but without comparison more excellent and highly raised. Be ashamed to eliminate them so, as if they were in some abiect and contemptible estate; bewaile not them who are happie, and who haue attained through free and spacious fields to the place of eternitie. They are not hindered by entourage of seas, neither by high mountaines, nor by deepe valleyes, nor by the dangerous straits & quicksands of the sea. Their wayes are easie euery where, they may change, and end them easily, the one sheweth the other, and are intermixed with the Starres.

C H A P. XXVI.



Thinke then, *O Marcia*, that thy father (who before time had credit with thee, as thou haddest with thy sonne) addressing himselfe vnto thee, from the celestiall tower speaketh thus: But not with that thought which made him to deplore the ciuil wars, and proscribed them for euer, who made vp the rowles of those who were proscribed; but with a sence as farre more cleare, as he is more highly raised. Daughter, why so long time remainest thou in discomfort? Why art thou so long time blinded in the ignorance of the truth? to thinke that thy sonne hath bene hardly dealt withall, in that being wearie of this life, he hath retired himselfe amongst his ancestors. Knowest thou not with what stormes Fortune distribureth all things? how little fauour she sheweth, except to those who haue not in any sort frequented with her. Shall I recount vnto thee by name those Kings that should haue bene most happie, if death had more maturely taken them from their instant euils? or those Romane Captaines, who wanted nothing of their greatnesse, if somewhat had been diminished of their yeares? or those noble and famous persons who haue yielded their necks, and expected the stroke of their souldiers swords? Behold thy father and thy grandfather. The one fell into a murderers hand, that tooke away his life. I my selfe offered my selfe to no other mens hands, and forbearing my meate, made it knowne, with how great a minde I had written. Why is he so long time lamented in our house, who died most happily? We are altogether vnted into one, and see that you that are alieue are inuironed with profound darknesse. There is nothing amongst you that is to be wished for, nothing excellent or worthie: but all things are humble, heauie, and incertaine: neither see you but a little parcell of our light. Shall I tell thee that there are no warres, nor battels fought by land or sea, that parricides are neither imagined nor thought vpon here, that our Courts are not confused with pleas, but that our dayes are perpetuall, that nothing is done in obscuritie, that our mindes are simple, our hearts open, our liues laid open to euery one, and that all ages and euents are manifest? In life I tooke delight to collect together all the adventures of a whole age, in a corner and remote place of the World, and such actions as were attempted by a few. Now may I see so many age, the course and carriage

The five and thirtieth. The boy in a way the man but the soule, which leaueth nothing of her selfe vpon the earth.

For conclusion and confirmation of all that which is past, before hee induceth Marcias father to discover the eyes of those that are dead, and too Statically speakeeth hee of the end of the world. Laugh at the absurdities, iustie his ignorance, embrace the best.

of so many yeares, and whatsoever time is past. Here may I behold those kingdoms that are rising, and those that fall to ruine, the ouerturne of mighty Cities, and new courses of the seas. For if it may yeeld thee any comfort to vnderstand the secrets of common Destinie, I tell thee, that nothing that standeth shall continue stedfast: age shall destroy and carrie away all things with it, and shall play her part, not only amongst men (for how slight a portion are they of Fortunes power?) but also in places, countries, and parts of the world. So many mountaines shall she suppress, and enforce others in another place: she shall sup vp the seas, and turne riuers; and breaking off the commerce of Nations, shall dissolve the societie of mankind. In other places she shall deuoure Cities with horrible yawning of the Earth, and shake them with Earth-quakes: she shall cause pestilent exhalations to arise from the earth, and shall cover the inhabited Countries with deluges of water, killing every creature, drowning the whole world, and with vast fires shall terrifie and burne all mortall men. And when the time shall come, that the world shall cease, to the end it may be renewed againe: these things shall beat and break one another, and all things set on fire, all that which now shineth by an artificiall brightnesse, shall be consumed by one and the same fire. We also that are blessed foules and partakers of eternitie, when it shall seeme good vnto God to warpe these things once againe, when all things shall be confounded; then we who are but a small part of this great ruine, shall returne into our ancient elements. O *Marcia*, how happie is thy sonne, who alreadie knoweth all these things!

*Stoicall counsels,
faint, praise God
that hath given
thee a better
light.*

The end of the second Booke of Comfort.



OF

CONSOLATION.

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,

TO

HIS MOTHER HELVIA.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

THIS Booke was written during the time of his Exile, which was about the first yeare of CLAVDIVS Reigne (in the yeare since the Citie was builded DCCCXCIII.) by the suggestion of impure MESSALLINE. This publike Harlot objected against him, that he had committed adultery with IVLIA GERMANICVS Daughter, and charged SENECA therewith. Of this haue we spoken in his Life. Now therefore being banished into Corsica, hee comforteth his Mother, and sheweth her how he brooketh his misfortune constantly, and that she should doe no lesse. He wrote it not presently upon the beginning of his Exile, (which the Preface testifieth,) but at the end of the first yeare, or the beginning of the second. But thus wrote he now, when he was in the vigour and maturitie of his iudgement, being somewhat more then fortie yeares old. And therefore his Writing is answerable, full of Confidence and Eloquence. Perfect in stile and structure, and more orderly disposed then all the rest. I dare say it carryeth away the Palme from all other Bookes. He maketh two heads of this his Consolation: Thou must neither bee sorrie for my sake, nor for thine owne. Not for my sake, for none of those which the common sort repute for evils, as change of Place, Paueritie, Ignominie, Contempt, are evils; and this orderly proueth he till the fourteenth Chapter. Neither must thou be sorrie for thine owne sake, for there are two things that may afflict thee, either because thou hast lost some helpe and comfort by mee, or because thou canst not endure my want. The first belongeth not to thee, because thou art not ambitious, neither euer didst boast of the grace and power of thy Children. Neither ought the other, because thou wert alwayes constant aboute thy sex. Thou hast suffered many miseries, endure this. Employ thy selfe in the studie of Wisdome which will further thee. Turne thy selfe to my Brothers, and thy Nephews by them and mee,

thou

thou art not alone, nor leadest a solitary life. This will both serue and delight thee. Turne thy selfe likewise to my Sister, which will proue both a comfort and example vnto thee. And he concludeth his Booke with her prayes.

CHAP. I.



He prayeth di-
uers reasons why
he deferred to
comfort his Mo-
ther.

Haue already oftentimes vnderaken this resolution (most dearest Mother) to comfort thee, and oftentimes haue I contained my selfe. Many considerations moued methereunto. First, I supposed that I should despoyle thee of all sorrow, if being vnable as yet to suppress thy teares, I should in the meane space wipe them away. Secondly, I assured my selfe that I should haue more authoritie to excite thee, if first of all I had conformed and confirmed my selfe. Furthermore, I was afraid that if I had not mastered Fortune, she would haue troden vnder foot some of those whom I most loued. I therefore endeavour howsoever, in laying my hand on mine owne wound, to creepe forward and bind vp yours: notwithstanding there were some things on the contrarie side that crossed this my resolution. I knew well that it behoued me not at the first to encounter with thy sorrow, when it was most vehement, for feare lest my Consolations should incense & afflict thee the more. For in infirmities and sickness likewise, there is nothing more pernicious, then vntimely remedies. I expected therefore, whilst thy sorrow had weakened and disheartned it selfe, to the end, that being mitigated and confirmed, by delay to sustaine remedies, it might suffer it selfe to bee comforted and cured. Moreouer, after I had turned ouer all the Monuments of those happie wits, which they had composed to pacifie and moderate sorrow, I found not any example of such a man who had comforted his friends, when as he himselfe was bewailed by them. So then I remained perplexed in this new accident, and was afraid lest my endeavour, in stead of prouing a Consolation, should become a renewing and cause of a further griefe. Besides this, had not that man need of new words, not borrowed from vulgar and ordinary discourse, that lifting his head from the Biere, should vnderake to comfort his friends? But it cannot otherwise be, but that the greatnesse of a griefe that exceedeth all measure, should vtterly deface the ornament and choice of words, when as oftentimes it stoppeth and closeth the mouth. Yet howsoever I will endeavour, not in respect of the confidencie I conceiue in mine owne wit, but because I may serue for a most assured Consolation, because I propose it my selfe. My hope is, that since thou wouldest vouchsafe me any thing that I should require, that thou wouldest doe me this fauour (although that all sorrow is rebellious) to suffer me to prefixe some limits to thy discontent.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

BEhold how much I vsurpe vpon thine indulgence. I doubt not but I shall be as powerful with thee as thy griefe, which notwithstanding is a passion that wonderfully murthereth the afflicted. Neither will I suddenly attempt to charge him, I will first defend his cause, I will discouer all things whereby he is prouoked, and cut vp those things that are already cured. Some man will say, What kinde of Consolation is this, to reuiue long buried euils, and to discouer vnto the vnderstanding all his aduersities, that can scarcely endure the presence of one onely? But let this man think that those afflictions that are so crosse and pernicious, as they surmount their remedies, are oftentimes cured by their contraries. And therefore will I present sorrow with all her owne attendants, and will not make a palliative cure, but I will seare and scarifie. What shall I get by it? That thy inuincible spirit that hath ouer-mastered so many miseries, may be ashamed to shrink at one wound in a body that hath so oftentimes bin cicatrized. Let them therefore weepe and mourne longer, whose delicate minds haue beene weakened by long felicitie, and are quickly deiected vpon the motion of the slightest miseries: but let them who haue spent their whole yeares in calamitie, endure the most grievous assaults, with a confident and vnmoueable constancie. This one good hath continuall infelicity in it, that finally the hardneth those whom she tormenteth ordinarily. Fortune hath not given thee any intermission, but hath exercised thee in most grievous sorrows, nay, she hath not spared thee on the very day of thy birth. Thou diddest lose thy Mother as soone as thou wert borne, nay, even in thy very entrance into the World, and as soone as thou wert, as it were, abandoned to this life, Thou wert brought vp vnder thy stepdame, whom thou by all obsequiousnesse and pietie (as much as could be expected from a naturall Daughter) compelledst to bee thy Mother; yet none there is that hath not paid dearly to finde out a good stepdame. When thou expectedst the arrival of thine Vncle by thy Mother side, a man both vertuous and valiant, thou diddest lose him. And lest that Fortune should make thy misfortune more slight by delay, a moneth after thou buriedst thy dearest Spouse, by whom thou haddest three sonnes. In the height of thy sorrow these mournfull tidings were brought thee, even then when thy children were absent, as if all thy miseries had beene reserved till that time, to the end that thy sorrow might haue no means of reliefe or refuge. I passe ouer so many dangers, so many affrights that incessantly assaulted thee, and which thou hast endured. Into the same lap wherein before time thou hast dandled thy three little Nephewes, thou hast afterward entertained their dead bones. Twentie dayes after thou haddest solemnized the Obsequies of my sone, who dyed enfolded in thine armes, and attended by thy louing kisses, thou heardest the newes that I was banished. Thou wert as yet vnexercised to bewaile the liuing.

CHAP. III.

IConfesse that this later wound is one of the most grievous that thou hast euer felt, and that it hath not only scratcht off the skin, but hath pierced into the depth of thy breast and entrails. But even as young Souldiers bemoane themselves ouer-much for a slight wound, and are as fearefull of the Physicians hand as the

The summe of
his discourse,
that since his
Mother hath a-
grieved her selfe
courageously and a
conqueror in
other afflictions,
she should not
grieue place to this.

That although
this accident be
griuous, yet
Helvia's con-
stancie so much
approved before,
both can and
may resist that.

SWT.

Surgeons razor; where contrariwise they that are old Souldiers, although they are thrust thorow, doe patiently and without groning suffer their armes & legs to be cut off, as if their bodies were not their owne: so must thou now present thy selfe with a great courage to entertayne thy cure. Remove from thy selfe these lamentations, these shrill shrieks & other immoderate howlings of disconsolate women. For in vaine hast thou suffered so many miseries, if thou hast not yet learned to be miserable. What, thinkest thou that I deale too fearefully with thee? I haue taken none of thine euils from thee, but haue heaped them vp and laid them before thee. I haue done this resolutely, for I am resolu'd to ouercome thy griefe, not to circumscribe it.

CHAP. IV.

I Shall first of all get the vpper hand as I thinke, if I shall approue vnto thee that I suffer nothing, in respect whereof I might be called wretched, and much lesse make other men wretched whom I touch. Secondly, if I shall passe ouer vnto thee, and approue that thine accident which dependeth on mine is not grievous. This first will I vnder take, which thy pietie will be content to giue eare to, that I haue no euill: & if this seeme vncredible vnto thee, I will make it manifest, that these things wherewith thou thinkest me to be oppressed, are not intolerable. But if this may not be beleued, yet will I please my selfe the more, because I shall be happy amongst those things which are wont to make others miserable. Thou art not to credit others in that which concerneth me, I my selfe tell thee (to the end thou mayest not be deluded by ill grounded reports,) that I am not miserable; nay, I say further (to secure thee more,) that I cannot be miserable.

CHAP. V.

WE are first borne vnder a good condition, except wee forsake the same. Nature hath so disposed things, that to liue well, wee haue no need of great necessities: every man may make himselfe blessed. These externall things are but slight matters, and haue no great effect either in prosperitie or in aduersitie, neither doe the one of these raise a Wiseman, neither dorth the other depresse him. For hee hath alwaies endeuoured that his greatest goods should consist in himselfe, and the complement of his contents should be resident in his heart. What then? say I that I am a Wiseman? no: for if I could freely speake it, I would not only deny that I was miserable, but contrariwise I would maintaine it boldly, that I was the most fortunate of all men, and would repute my selfe to be most neerly lodged by the gods. For the present, (which is sufficient to mitigate all my miseries) I haue wholly dedicated my selfe to Wifemen, and being scarce able enough to assure and console my selfe, I haue rettyred my selfe into another mans Campe, that is to say, amongst those who easily both defence themselves and their owne fortunes. They haue commanded me alwaies to stand addressed, as if I were enioyned to stand Sentinel, and to foresee all the assaults and attempts of Fortune long before they assaile me. To them is Fortune tedious whom she assaileth suddenly; and easily repulse they her, who continually expect her. The enemies charge, most instantly defeateth those whom they suddenly

Senecaes first in this Treatise, which be delightful, and passeth into two principal points.

He entreath into the counsellor on of the former point, which concerneth his selfe, a little with this. For I, Nature hath taught me to be contented with a little.

denly set vpon: but they that before the battell haue prepared themselves for a future War, being well arranged and in a readines, doe easily sustaine the first assault, which commonly is the most dangerous. I neuer gaue credit to Fortune, although she seemed to claime a truce at my hands: and as touching all those things which with a liberrall hand she hath bestowed vpon me, such as are Silver, Honors, and great Credit, I haue put them in that place where she may fetch them, without either my discontent or preiudice. There was a great distance betwixt her and me, and therefore hath she carried them away from me, and not pulled them out of my hands. Aduersitie hath neuer ouerthrowne any man, but him whom prosperity hath deceiued. They that haue loued her presents as if they had bin perpetuall and properly theirs, who would haue themselves respected by reason of those trifles; discomfort themselves incontinently, when these false and fraile delights abandon their feeble and childish vnderstandings, who know not what true pleasure is. But he that is not puffed vp with prosperitie, neither restrained by aduersitie, hath an inuincible heart at all times, and an approved constancie in either Fortune; for he knoweth well in his felicitie, that he can make head against mishap. I haue therefore alwaies had this opinion of those things which all men wish for, that there is no true goodnesse in them; nay more, I haue alwaies found that they were vaine and outwardly smoothed with a deceiueable glosse, but inwardly hauing nothing that is answerable to their exteriour resemblance. For in those things which we call euils I find nothing so terrible and hard as the common opinion threatneth. The word it selfe by a certaine perswasion and consent, is now a dayes more distastfull vnto the eares, and afflicteth those that heare the same, as if it were some heauy and execrable thing, for so will the people haue it: but men of wisdom doe for the most part disdain the Ordinances of the people.

CHAP. VI.

Easing apart therefore the iudgement of diuers men, which is extinguished by the first appearances of things: howsoever they be beleued, let vs consider what banishment is. It is the change of place. It may be thought that we seeme to lessen the same, and that we take from it all that is worst in it. This change of place is accompanied with the incommodities of poeury, of ignominy, & contempt: against these hereafter I will combat. In the meane while I will first of all haue this looked into, which incommoditie this change of place breedeth. It is an intolerable thing to be deprived of a mans Countrey. Behold this multitude which may hardly be contained within so many thousand houses of this City, the greatest part of this troupe wandereth their Countrey; they are rettyred hither from their Hamlets, Colonies, & all the quarters of the World. Some are drawn hither by Ambition, other some by the necessity of publike Offices, some by Embassages enioyned them; other some are invited for ryot sake, that hunteth after the opportunity of riches, and a fit place wherein to exercise their dissolutions; other some are drawne with a desire of liberrall studies; others with a delight to haue the Theaters, some to visit their friends, others to make prooue of their industrie; hauing gotten an ample meanes to make shew of their vertues, some haue brought their beauty to set it out to sale, other some their eloquence. All sorts of men resort hither, where both vertues and vices are highly prized.

Secondly, Nature hath taught him that he hath not faculties, because he neuer gaue credit to worldly prosperities.

Thirdly, the goods of this world are not truly goods, and the euils are but apparently euils.

He dissuadeth plentifully of banishment, and proueth that there is no euill therein, and that those euils which accompany the same should not be called euils.

Com-

Islands in the
Ægean Seas.

Influence it com-
meth that men
are so mutable.

Command and cite every one of these in person, and aske of every of these whence he is; thou shalt see that for the most part of them they have forsaken their Country, to come and dwell in this spacious City, which notwithstanding is but a Citie, and not their owne. Again, depart from this *Rome* (which may be called a common Country of all men,) and oversee other Cities, and there is none of these wherein thou shalt not finde a greater part of forreine multitude. But leave thou these Countries, and all those who for the pleasant situation of the place, are drawne to inhabit there, and goe into the Deserts and desolate Isles, as those of *Sciathus*, *Serephium*, *Giare*, and *Corfica*: thou shalt not finde any place of banishment, but that some one remayneth there for his pleasure. What place may a man finde more naked and craggie on every side, then this mountainous Isle which I inhabit? Is there any loyle more barren? Are any people more savage? Is any situation of place more vnholme, or Aire more displeasing and intemperate? Yet are there more strangers dwell here then those that are naturall borne in that Countrey. So little therefore is the change of place grievous vnto men, that this Isle hath withdrawne some from their owne Countrey. I find some that will say, that there is a certaine naturall desire in mens mindes to change their seats, and to transerre their houses. For man hath a moueable and vnsettled mind giuen him, he is neuer Master of himselfe, he is confuted, he intrudeth his thoughts into all knowne & vnknowne things, still stirring and neuer quiet, and best contented with the noueltie of things; which thou wilt not wonder at, if thou consider his first originall. The mind is not composed of a terrestriall and weightie matter, it is a parcell of the celestiall spirit. But the nature of celestiall things is alwaies to be in motion; the flyeth and is carryed away with a most swift course. Behold the Planets that enlighten the World; there is none of them that standeth still, but they incessantly turne, and daily change their places. Although they whirle about with the Heauens, yet haue they their contrary motion. The Sunne runneth thorow all the Signes of the Zodiaque, his motion is perpetuall, neither remayneth he at any time in one point. All things turne and passe without stay; and as the Law & settled ordinance of Nature hath determined, they are carried from one place to another: when as the celestiall bodies shall within certaine spaces of moneths and yeares finish their course in their Spheares, they shall renew the same. Goe therefore now and make thy selfe beleue that humane vnderstanding (composed of the same seeds that diuine things are,) euer patiently endures a passage and change from place to place, since that God himselfe taketh pleasure in a continuall and sudden motion, and maintaineth himselfe thereby. But withdraw thine eyes from these celestiall things, and behold these terrestriall and base things: thou shalt see Nations and people change their seate. What meane these Cities, peopled with *Grecians*, euen in the very midst of barbarous Nations? What meane this *Macedonian* Language amongst the *Indians* and *Persians*? *Scythia* and all that tract of fierce & vnconquered Nations, shew vs the Cities of *Achaia*, built vpon the shores of the *Pontique* Sea. The continuall cold and the strange and inflexible natures of those Nations more strange & vnpleasant then their Aire, could not hinder the *Grecians* from planting their Colonies there. There is a company of the *Athenians* in *Asia*, the City of *Miletus* hath people seventy five Cities in diuers places: All that side of *Italy* that bordereth vpon the lower Sea, was the greater *Greece*. The *Tuscanes* issued from *Asia*, the *Tyrians* planted themselves in *Africa*, the *Africans* in *Spaine*, the *Greekes* in *France*, and the *French* in *Greece*. The *Perinean* Mountaines forbid not the

Ger-

Germanes to passe onward, humane leuitie led them by vnanted and vnknown wayes. They drew with them their children, their wives, and their parents laden with age. Some of these being wearied with long trauell, chose not their habitation by iudgement, but by reason of their wearinesse made choice of that they next met withall. Some maintained their possession by force of armes; some in seeking out vnknown Countries perished by sea; some planted their pavilions there where necessity commanded them; neither had they all of them the same cause of seeking out, and leauing their Country. Some of these after the ruine of their Cities, escaping from the furie of their enemies, haue by force made themselves Lords of other Cities, and haue driven out the right owners; other some haue bene disperfed by ciuill warres: other some when their Cities were ouer peopled, were mustred and sent away to other places, as superfluous. Some Nations haue bene driven out of their habitations by the plague, or by often earthquakes, or by some insupportable incommodities of the territory: and other some haue bene allured by the brute that ranne, that such or such a Country was farre more pleasant and fruitfull then their owne. Some others haue forsaken their houses for diuers occasions. This then is euidēt, that no one hath remained in the place where he was borne, and that humane kinde ceaseth not to runne hither and thither. There is dayly some change in this so great a world. Here some men lay the foundation of new Cities, there ariseth a new Nation, and the name of the olde is lost, and is made and becometh more great then any other. But what are all these transigrations of peoples but publike banishment?

CHAP. VII.



Hy leade I thee in so great a Windelesse? What neede I specifie vnto thee *Athenor* that builded *Padua*? or *Euander* that planted the Kingdome of the *Arcadians* vpon the banks of *Tiber*? What should I tell thee of *Diomedes*, and so many others, who both victorious and vanquished, haue bene scattered by the

Troian warre into so diuers countries: Behold the founder of the Roman Empire, who (being an Exile, a fugitiue, gathering together some few scattered souldiers with him after the sacke of *Troy*, constrained by necessity, and to warrant himselfe from the hands of his victorious enemies,) searched out forraigne countries & arrived in *Italy*. After all this, how many hath this people sent in Colonies thorow out the countries of the whole world? Wherefoere the Roman is conquerour there dwelleth he. To this change of places euery one willingly subscribed his name, and the oldest forsaking their altars and fires, willingly accompanied those that sought out other Countries beyond the Seas.

CHAP. VIII.



He matter required not much example, I will onely adde that which I know to be ordinary; the Isle where I am hath changed the inhabitants diuers times. But wee ought not to insist vpon those histories which antiquitie hath buried. The *Greekes* themselves, who at this time inhabit *Marsiler*, had before time made their abode in this Isle. No man knoweth who draue them thence, whether it were the ayre which is vnpleasant, or the feare they had of *Italy*, which is the

Sff

Mistresse

He proueth the
change of place
by those that first
founded and
peopled that em-
pire of Rome.

A second proofe
by the inhabi-
tants of the Isle
whereinto he
was banished.

Martine of the world, which is neere neighbour to the Ile, or because there is dangerous landing at it. That the naturall fiercenesse of Islanders was not the cause, it appeareth, because these Greekes went and intermixed themselves with the French, a cruell nation, and who at that time knew no civility: Anone after these of the Coast of *Genes* came hither, the Spaniards likewise, which appeareth by their resemblance in manners, and the behaviour both of the one and the other; for their head attire is the same, and their shooes, such as the bordering Spaniard vs; they retaine likewise some words of their language, hauing forgot their mother tongue by reason of the conuersation they haue had with the Greekes and Genowayes. After these *Marcus* caused a Colony of Roman Citizens to be sent thither, and *Sylla* another. See here how oftentimes one barren, cragged and mountainous Countrey hath changed inhabitants. In briefe, thou shalt not finde one Angle of the earth that a man may say that it was manured by the homebred Countriemen of that place. All are mixed, transported and translated from one quarter to another. One people hath succeeded another. One Nation hath desired to dwell in that place which another hath dispeopled. That other haue beene driven from that place whence they expulld others. So hath it pleased the Destinies, that nothing should alwayes remaine firme and continue in one place. *Varro* the most learned man amongst the Romanes, thinketh this a sufficient remedy, that wherefoeuer wee become, we account it the same world. *Marcus Brutus* thinketh this sufficient for those that are banished to carry their vertues with them. If any one thinketh that these two expedients considered apart, haue little power to comfort a banished man, hee will confesse that these two together may doe very much. For that which wee haue lost, deserueth it to be called any thing? Two the most excellent priuiledges, that is to say, common nature, and our proper vertue will follow vs in euery place wherefoeuer wee fixe our foote. Beleeue mee, whofoeuer hath created this Vniuers, whether it be that almighty God, whether it be incorporall reason that Workmaster of great things, whether it be a demy spirit equally extended and sprid amidst all great and small Creatures; whether it be Destinie, and this immutable succession of things enchaineth the one within the other: such a one hath caused that no things (except they bee things most abiect and of little worth) are not out of our power. All that which is good in man, is not subiect to humane power and violence, which neither can giue it, or take it away. Nature hath created this world which is the greatest and fairest thing that a man may see. But as touching the soule that contemplateth and admireth the world, whereof she is the most excellentest part, she is proper vnto vs, she is perpetuall and shall continue so long with vs, as we continue: let vs goe forward therefore willingly and confidently, whither soeuer our fortune leadeth vs; let vs march forward with a confident pace.

C H A P. IX.



Et vs travell ouer what countries soeuer wee will, and wee shall finde no country in this world that is not accessible by a man. On what soeuer side wee adresse oureyes towards heauen; these things that are diuine, are separated from those that are humane by equall distance: so then, provided that mine eyes be not hindered from beholding the heauens, as long as it shall bee lawfull for mee to behold the Sunne and Moone, and to consider neerely the other celestia

bodies,

dies, their risings, settings and distances; to search out the causes why the one haue more swifter motions then the other; & to behold so many shining Stars by night, the one fixed, the other shaping a short course, and retrying into their Sphaeres; some appearing sodainly, others blemishing the eye with their spacious clearnesse, as if they would fall, others flying with a long tract, and great light. As long as I shall behold these things, and exercise my selfe amidst these celestiaall troupes, (as much as is lawfull for a mortall man) & may haue alwaies my mind lifted vp on high in contemplation of those things that concerne the same, what care I vpon what ground I tread? But this Land wherein thou liuest is not fertile, neither beareth it shadowy Trees, it is not watered by the currents of great and nauigable Rivers, it bringeth forth nothing that other Countreies might seeke after; scarcely is it able to sustaine the Inhabitants: no precious stone is cut here, no veins of Gold or Silver are digged out of it. Bafe is that minde that taketh pleasure in terrestriall things; to those things must be addressed which euery way appeare equally, and euery where shine equally: and this is hee to thinke, that the goods of this World through the false opinion that men haue conceived of their firmity, doe but obscure & hinder the true goods. The more they enlarge the walkes and porches of their houses, the more high they raise their Turrets, the more larger they extend their streets, the more deeper they digge their Caves and summer Retreates, the more higher they rayle the roofes and feelings of their dining Chambers, the more they hide the Heauens from themselves. An accident hath drisen thee into a certaine Countrey, where in stead of a Pallace thou hast but a little Cabbin; truly thou hast but a weak minde, and such as is comforted with bafe delights, if therefore thou endure not this patiently, because thou knowest *Romulus* his Cottage. Rather say thou; whatsoeuer the house be, it is bigge enough to entertayne Vertues. Then will it be more faire then all the Temples when Iustice shall bee seene there, when Continencie, when Prudence, Pietie, the meanes how to discharge himselfe of his dutie, and the knowledge of diuine and humane things. No place is too streight that entertaineth this troupe of so great vertues, no banishment is grievous, wherein a man may march in such company. *Brutus* in that Booke which he wrote of vertue, saith; That he saw *MARCELLVS* that was banished into *Mitilene*, and as farre as humane Nature permitted, liuing most blessedly, neuer more desirous of the knowledge of good Letters then at that time: hee therefoe added, that he in departing from him, rather thought that he went into banishment, who was to return back againe without him; then that he left him an exile. O far more happy *Marcellus* at that time when he approved his banishment to *Brutus*, then when he iustified his Consulato to the people of Rome? How great a man was he, who brought that to passe, that man should seem a banished man in his own iudgement, in departing from him that was an exile? The same *Brutus* saith, that *Cæsar* passing along by *Mitilene*, would not enter into the same, because as he said, he could not endure to behold a deformed man. The Senate by mutuall supplication obtained *Marcellus* renouation, so peniue and sad were they, that a man would haue said at that time, that euery one of them had *Brutus* soule, and besought not for *Marcellus* but for themselves, for feare least being without him, it should proue a true banishment; yet more attained he that day when *Brutus* was sorry to leaue him an exile, and *Cæsar* to see him: for by this meanes he had a testimony from them both. *Brutus* was sorry to return without *Marcellus*, *Cæsar* was alhamed: doest thou doubt that this so worthy a man did not encourage himselfe to endure his banishment with a quiet mind

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The third, in all the estates of the world, providedges which este cannot take from vs.

A doubtful opinion of the estates of the world, and in our very nature, being the first cause which is of the second cause, reads here much advice.

Another mettall consideration in exile is, that the whole world is a mans Countrey.

Notable confidence: as to pacify the fury of exile, whereby he dwells under the prison of Marcellus.

in these or such like words? It is no miserie for thee that thou wastest thy Country: so hast thou informed thy selfe with good Letters, that thou knowest that every place is a Wisemans Country. And what shall we say of him that hath banished thee? Hath he not bene out of his Country for the space of tenne whole yeares? Vndoubtedly it was to the end to encrease the Romane Empire, yet was hee absent so long. And now behold Africa draweth him vnto her, being replenished with the alarms of a threatening Warre. Spaine recallesh him that repayeth the broken and dispersed troups of POMPEY, perfidious Egypt calls him forth, and in conclusion the whole World which is intent vpon this occasion of the shaken Empire. Whither shall hee march first, against what partie shall he first oppose himselfe? His victory shall drive him: borow all the Countries in the World. Let all Nations reverence and serue him; as for thy selfe, finish thy dayes with this content, that thou art much esteemed by BAIVS. Constantly therefore did Marcellus endure his exile, neither did the change of place any waies change his minde, although he were pressed with poverty, wherein there is no euill, as that man knoweth very well, when Avarice and Dissolution (which ouerturne all things,) haue not as yet ouerturned his vnderstanding. For how little is it, that is necessary for a mans entertainment? Hath a vertuous man need of this or that? For mine owne part I find that I am dispossessed of many incumbrances, and not of my goods. The desires of those things whereof the body standeth in need are short, hee demandeth no more but a couering to defence him against the cold; and meate, and drinke to extinguishe his hunger and thirst. All that a man desireth besides these, serueth but to entertaine excesses, and hath no true vfe. It is not necessary to sound all deptes, nor to murder so many beasts to fill the belly, nor to goe and fish for Oyters in forreine and vnkowne Seas. The Gods and Goddesse destroy those men, whose dissolution hath exceeded the bounds of the Romane Empire so much enuyed. They will haue the Fowle of their ambitious Kitchens taken and brought from beyond the flood Phasis, which is in the further part of Asia, and are not ashamed to send for their dainties from the Parthians: from whom as yet we haue not demanded recompence for the wrongs they haue done vs. They bring from all places that which they know is proper to enkindle these gluttonous appetites: that which these decayed stomachs will hardly digest, being glutted with too many dainties, is brought from the farthest Ocean: they vomit to the end they may eate, they eate to the end they may vomit: they take not time to digest those dainty morsels which they karch through the whole World. If a man despise these delicacies, what wrong doth he to povercie? If a man desire them, povercie likewise profiteth him. Some there are that are not healed but against their wils; and if a pouere man being deprived of these Dainties, ceaseth not to wish for them, yet vndoubtedly when hee cannot, hee is like to him that will not. Gains Caesar whom Nature as I thinke brought into this World to shew what great vices might do in a great and worldly prosperity, spent at one only supper the sum of two hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes, and being hereinafter afflicted by the wits of his best belly-gods, yet scarcely found he how he might consume in that one repast all the reuenuē of thre Provinces. O miserable men whose pallats are not pleased but with precious Dainties, which are made precious, not by reason of their excellent fauour, or any sweetnesse they yeeld the taste, but by reason of their rarity and cunning in dressing. Otherwise if they would awaken themselves neuer so little, what need they so many Arts to entertaine their bellies? what need they such traffiques, such desolation of woods, such

such fishing of Seas and Rivers? Nature hath furnished in all places sufficient meat for our bodies. But these Countries and places like blinde men they passe ouer, and tranell through all Nations, and saile all Seas; and when as they may satisfie their hunger with a little, they prouoke the same with much.

CHAP. X.

IT pleaseth me to aske: Why rig you and lanch you your Ships? Why arme you your hands both against wilde beasts and men? Why run you hither and thither so cumultuously? Why heape you riches vpon riches? Will you not think how little your bodies are? Is it not a desperate fury and extreame folly when as thou canst hold so little, to desire so much? Although therefore you increase your Rents and enlarge the bounds of your Lands, yet shall you neuer make your bodies greater. When your traffique hath bin prosperous, your Warfare hath brought home rich spoyles, when all the dainties you haue sought for from all places are gathered together: where will you bestow all this provision? Why heape you vp so many things? Vndoubtedly your Ancestors whose vertues at this time are a stay to our vices, were vnhappie, who prepared their meat with their owne hands, whose bed was the Earth, whose houles as yet shined not with gold, whose Temples as yet shined not with precious stones. In these daies they were religiously by gods made of Earth, and those that had sworne by such Images returned to the Enemy with resolution to dye, to the end they would not violate their plighted Faith. By this account lesse blessedly liued our Dictator who gaue audience to the Embassadors of the Samnites, at such time as he dressed his homely victuals by the fire with his own hands; yea, with such hands as had already oftentimes defeated the Enemy, & put the Crowne of Laurell in the lap of Imperator Capitoline. Then Apicius liued in our memorie, who in the same Citie out of which sometimes Philosophers were commanded to depart, as if corrupters of youth, made profession of the science of gormandise, and infected the whole age with his discipline; whose death it shall not be amisse to consider and know. After he had gathered together into his Kitchen the summe of two Millions and a halfe in Gold, after he had in his particular Banquets consumed all the Presents that were given him by Princes and the great reuenuē of the Capitoll, finding himselfe very much in debt, hee beganne at that time to consider in what estate his affaires stood, and finding that there remayned as yet the summe of two hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes, supposing that it was too little, & that he should be in danger to dye for hunger, he killed himselfe by Poyson. How great was his dissolution that thought himselfe pouere, hauing two hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes? Goe now and thinke that the measure in money and not in minde, is pertinent to the matter.

A continuation of his inuoluntarie against Intemperance.

The frugality and prosperitie of the ancient Romanes.

CHAP. XI.

APICIUS made small reckoning of two hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes, and that which other men desire with wilhes, hee droue away by Poyson. But to a man of so depraved a minde, that last portion was the most whollsomme. Then eate hee and drunke hee Poyson, when as hee was not only delighted with im-

Hauing sufficiently detested Intemperance, hee proueth against that our Country hath enough in it selfe to nourish him that inuoluntarie the same.

The desire of
worldly goods
is insatiable.

measurable banquets, but gloried therein: when he bragged of his vices, when as he had drawne the whole Citie into admiration of his ryot, when as he had incited the youth (who of themselves are apt enough to follow euill examples) to follow and imitate him. This is the end of those men who keepe no measure in the vse of worldly goods (which notwithstanding haue their bounds,) but abuse and follow euill custom, that hath no limit or rule but her vnbridled will. Couetousnesse thinketh no thing enough, nature is sufficed with a verie little. Is pouertie then no incommodie to those that are banished? None; for there is no exile so miserable that is not fertile enough to nourish one man. Should not a banished man couer a gowne or a lodging? if he desireth them only for vse, he shall neither want house or clothing: for the body is covered with as little as it is nourished. Nature hath made euery thing easie which the knew necessarie for a man. If he wish for a furre gowne of purple, embroidered with gold, composed of diuers colours, and after a rich fashion, he is poore by his owne default, and not by the rigour of aduersitie. Restore vnto such a man all that he hath lost, yet shalt thou doe nothing for him, because he shall want more of that which he desireth, then a banished man wanteth of all that which he hath had. If he cometh a Cubbord garnished with vessell of gold, silver cups of great price, because that long agoe they were laboured by cunning workmens hands, medals made precious by a few mens madnesse, and a troupe of Seruants so great that the house (which otherwaies is spacious) is vnable to containe them; a goodly stable furnished with many fat and gallant Horses; marbles, and other stones of price, brought from all the corners of the World. Let a man gather vp together as many of these things as he can, yet will they neuer satisfie an vnstable minde: no more then all the water in the World is sufficient to quench his thirst that desireth to drinke, not to satisfie his necessitie, but to extinguish the heate proceeding from the inflammation of his entrailes. For this is no thirst but a sicknesse: neither hapneth this only in monie but in meate also. This is the nature of euery desire that proceedeth from error, not from want: all whatsoever thou shalt heape vp will but serue to inflame him, not to satisfie him. He then that containeth himselfe within a naturall measure will haue no fence of pouertie, but he that exceedeth this mediocritie in midst of his greatest riches shall alwayes finde that pouerty attendeth him. The most solitary and barren places suffice those that content themselves with necessary things, but they that desire superfluity haue neuer enough although they had whole Kingdomes. It is the minde that maketh men rich, he it is that accompanieth them in exile and in the desert, where finding sufficient to maintaine his bodie he hath goods in abundance, and enioyeth them contentedly. Money appertaineth nothing to the mind, no more then all those things (which vntrayned minds, & too much addicted to their bodies so much affect,) concerneth the immortall Gods. Precious stones, gold, silver, great Tables well garnished, are but earthly burthens, which a sincere minde and such as is not forgetfull of his nature cannot loue, because it is alwayes light, and will mount as high as Heauen as soone as hee findeth the gate open; in the meane while (and in as much as these bonds of the body, and masse of the flesh which inuironeth the same, will permit,) vpon the wings of a sodaine & swift thought he visiteth & vieweth celestial things. And therefore a free-man that is allyed to the gods, and is as great as this World, or time, can neuer be banished: for his thought circleteth the Heauens, and examineth both time past and that which is to come. This fraile body, the fetters & gyues of the soule, is tossed hither and

intemperate on
the contrary,
side is alwayes,
and euery where
content.

Why wast
men cannot loue
the goods of this
world.

thither; punishments, thefts, and sickenneses are exercised vpon it. As for the minde, it is sacred and eternall, and hands cannot be laid vpon it.

C H A P. XII.

Neyther thinke thou, that to lessen the incommodies of pouerty (which no man feeleth to be grievous, except he that supposeth it) that I vse only the precepts of Philosophy: first, consider how great the number of poore men is, whom notwithstanding thou shalt not see more peniurie or carefull then the rich, contrariwise I dare almost auow it, that they are more ioyfull, because their mindes are lesse distracted by affairs. Let vs ouer-passe the poore, and come vnto the rich: In the greatest part of their life resemble they not poore men? If men would trauaile they scaule their burthens, and trusse vp their packes, and as often as necessitie requireth them to make more halt, they ouergoe the troupe of their companions. They that follow the warres, for the most part carry none of their necessities with them, because that militarie discipline permitteth them not to carrie much luggage. Besides this condition of time, and incommodie of places, which equalleth them with the poore; sometimes they are so glutted with their riches, that some dayes they will content themselves to suppe vpon the grasse, and will command their vessels of Gold and Silver away, and content themselves to be serued in platters & vessels of earth: mad and vnadvised, they alwayes feare that which they couet sometimes. What cloude of error, and what ignorance of truth shaddoweth these men, which auyode that which they imitate to yeelde them pleasure? For mine owne part, as often as I consider the life of our ancestors, I blush and dare not vse the solace that pouerty giueth me, because that dissoluition hath gotten so great a head in this time, that at this day banished men haue a greater *viaticum*, and more commodities then great Princes patrimonie and reuenues came to in times past. It is well knowne that *Homer* had but one seruant, *Plato* three, and that *Zeno* (the author of that senere and manly wisdom of the Stoicks) had none at all. If any one will therefore say, that they liued miserably, wil not he think himselfe a captiue & miserable, by reason of this his false opiniō? *Menenius Agrippa* (who made a peace betwixt the Senate and the Roman people, that were ready to assaile one another) was buried at the common charge. *Atilius Regulus* after he had overthrowne the Carthaginians in Africa, wrote vnto the Senate that his husbandman was dead, by reason whereof his lands were vnmanured; whereupon the Senate tooke order as long as *Regulus* was absent. See here what he gained by hauing no seruant, for by this meanes the Commonweale of Rome became his husbandman. *Scipio's* daughters were married at the cities charge, because their father had left them nothing. Truly there was great reason why the people of Rome should pay tribute vnto *Scipio* once, when as they exacted a tribute from Carthage alwayes. How happy were the husbands of these daughters, who had the Roman people for their fathers in law? Thinkest not thou them more happy, whose daughters after they had played in the Theaters, had twentie thousand crowns to their marriage, then *Scipio* was, who from the Senate their Tutor, haue receiued some small summe of money for their dowry? What man is he that dares disdain pouertie, that hath so worthy examples? Would a banished man complaine that he wanted this or that, when as *Scipio* had no mony to marry his daughters? *Regulus* was without a husbandman, *Menenius* had

The fourth fruit
of exile and po
uerie, is that it
hath no care
or torment of
mind; and con
trariwise, the
rich are poore
for the most part
of their times.

Diuers exam
ples of the tem
perance of our
ancestors.
See Titus Livi
us in his second
booke, and eigh
teenth chapter:
Valerius Max
imus in his
fourth Booke,
and fourth
chapter.

had need of friends to pay for his funerals; and considering that all that which was wanting to those worthy men, hath beene more plentifully ministred vnto them, what wanted they? So then such Patrons not onely make pouertie secure, but also gracious.

CHAP. XII.

IN this it may be answered, Why so artificially discourseth thou on these things, which considered apart may bee maintained, but if they be compared, cannot? Change of place is tolerable if thou onely change thy place: pouertie is tolerable, if ignominy be taken from it, the which alway is woont to oppress mens mindes. To him who would terrifie me with a troupe of euils, thus would I answer; If thou haue force enough against every part of Fortune, the like mayest thou haue against all. When vertue hath once hardened the mind the maker him inuincible. If avarice dismiss thee, (which is the most violent plague of Mankind,) ambition will neuer leaue thee as rest. If thou beholdest thy last houre, not as a punishment, but as a Law of Nature, into that brest whence thou hast driuen the feare of death, there is no feare of any thing that dare enter. If thou remembrest that the honest desires of Marriage, was not allotted man to feed his lust, but to encrease his Family; thou shalt know that the heart where this mortall passion hidden and fixed in the bottome of the entrailles hath not corrupted, shall be exempted and warranted from all other conuetsoues. Reason not onely ouerturneth vices one after another, but all of them together: shee fighteth at once, & ouercometh the enemy at one stroke. Thinkest thou that a Wiseman that is grounded in vertue, and estranged from vulgar opinion, is shaken by ignominy? Death is more ignominious then one simple ignominy; yet *Socrates* with the same countenance and resolution entered the Prison, wherewith he in times past alone brought the thirty Tyrants into order, and tooke the ignominie from the place by his entry: for that could not seeme to be a Prison wherein *Socrates* was lodged. What man is hee so brutish, that will say or thinke that *Marcus Cato* was disgraced, at such time as he demanded the Pretorship, and afterwards the Consulate? It was a disgrace both to the Pretor and Consulate who were honoured by *Cato*. No man can be despised by another man, except hee first be contemned by himselfe. An humble and abiect minde becometh subiect to this contumely; but whosoever encourageth himselfe against these terrible accidents, and ouercometh those euils wherewith other hearts are ouerturned, reputeth his afflictions to be his ornaments: when we are thus affected, that nothing moueth more admiration in vs then to see a man courageous in his miseries. *Arifides* wasled by the *Athenians*, and commanded to be put to death, who made all those to hang downe their heads and mourne that saw him in that estate, not as if they had executed a iust man, but Iustice her selfe; yet was there one amongst them that spit in his face: this might he haue taken heauily, because he knew that no man that had modestie would haue done it, yet wiped he his face, & smilingly beheld the Magistrates, & said thus, *Admonish this man, that hereafter he open not his mouth so vnclawly.* This were enough to humble outrage it selfe. I know that some will reply, that nothing is so hardly digested as contempt, and that death seemeth more pleasing then the same. To these I answer, that oftentimes exile is exempted from these incommodities. If a man of note fall vpon the ground, yet is he alwayes the

An obiection, that ignominy annexed with pouertie is a thing very odious

His opinion as touching death, proceeding from the ignorance of the fall of the first man.

Examples to confirm his answer

Plutarch in Phocians life, saith thus much of him.

the same, and as great; neither is contemned any more, then when as the ruins of sacred Temples are trod vpon, which as well both the religious as the standers by doe adore. Thou canst not therefore finde any want of thy sonne that is taken from thee, whom during his aboad with thee, thou neuer thoughtest to appertaine vnto thee.

CHAP. XIV.

SINCE, most deere mother, thou hast not any occasion in respect of me to afflict thy selfe thus continually, there must be therefore some particular considerations that presse thee thus. But these are two; for either thou tormentest thy selfe because thou thinkest that thou hast lost some stay, or because thou canst not endure the sorrow thou sustaineest. I will slightly touch the first consideration; for I know that thy heart toucheth nothing in thy children but themselves. Let those mothers, who by their indiscretion breed much discontent to their children that are growne in credit, consider what they doe. Being vnable to execute publique charges, they shew themselves ambitious by their children; they embazzell and spend their revenues, and by their babies breake their heads, who are constrained to giue eare vnto them. But for thine owne part thou hast greatly reioyced at the goods that haue befallne thy children, which thou hast neuer had a part of. Thou hast alwayes restrained our liberalitie, when thou hast had no power of thine owne: thou being but the daughter of a family, hast not forborne to bestow thy fauours plentifully vpon thy children that were rich: thou hast administrated the goods that our father left vs, as if they had bene thine owne, and hast bene as sparing of them as if thou hadst had them to restore them to some strangers: thou hast spared our credite, as if thou hadst bene to employ such an one that were no wayes allied vnto thee: our estates and honours were but a charge and pleasure to thee, and thou neuer diddest respect vs to enrich thy selfe: thou canst not therefore desire that in the absence of thy sonne, which thou hast neuer esteemed to appertaine vnto thee at such time as he was whole, and safe, and neere vnto thee.

CHAP. XV.

AL my consolation must be aimed to withstand that, whence the true force of thy motherly sorrow doth arise. I want the embraces of my deare child, I cannot see him, I cannot deuiſe with him. Where is he, by whose sight I redeemed my sorrow, to whom I communicated all my discontents? Where are his discourses, wherewith I could not fastidie my selfe? Where are his studies, which I enterayned more willingly then a woman, more familiarly then a mother? Where is this meeting, wherein the sonne shewed himselfe ioyfull to behold his mother? Thou wilt adde hereunto the very places where I was wont to reuerence thee, to drinke and eate with thee: the place likewise, whereas we met the last time, which cannot but haue great efficacie to afflict the mind. For this likewise did Fortune most cruelly complot against thee, because that when thou wert secure, and fearedst no such matter, she dared to assault thee three daies before I was stricken. We had before times bene fitly separated by distance of places, and our absence during some yeares, had, as it were, disposed thee to this affliction:

He now cometh to the second point of his discourse, the scope whereof is, that Helvia in regard of her selfe hath not any occasion to torment her selfe for the absence of her sonne, and that for two principall causes.

To remedie his Mothers sorrow the better, he specifies the parties, and applieth diuers remedies.

tion : thou camest backe againe vnto me, not to enioy any pleasure or contentment by thy sonne, but to the end thou mightest not lose the good to conuerse and communicate with him. Hadst thou bene separated from him long time before, this assault had not so much vexed thee, because the distance of time might haue allwayed thy sorrows : if thou hadst not beene seuered from him, thou hadst endured thy losse more contentedly, because thou hadst enioyed this last fruit to be yet two daies in thy sonnes companie. But cruell Destinie hath carried the matter in such sort, that thou foundest me not at Rome at such time as I was banished, and arrivdest there incontinently afterwards, to receive the more griefe, because I was then vpon departure. But the more furious these assaults are, the more oughtest thou to call thy better resolved vertue to assist thee, and to fight more confidently with thine enemy, which is sufficiently knowne vnto thee, and that heretofore hath bin diuers times defeated by thee. This blood of thy present affliction, is not the first that thou hast lost, thy precedent wounds, as yet vnhealed, haue bene renewed againe.

CHAP. XVI.

Thou oughtest not to alledge in thine excuse, that thou art a woman (which is almost permitted to weepe her fill) and yet ought there to be some measure. And therefore our Ancestors allowed them ten months space to bewaile their husbands, and in limiting in this sort by their publike ordinance this obstinate fadnes of women, they pretended not to hinder their teares, but to bring them to some end. For it is a foolish and vnbridled affection in any one to torment himselfe incessantly, for the death of another whom he loueth. As contrariwise, not to be moued, is to be reputed to haue a heart both obdurate and inhumane. The best meane that we can obserue betwixt pietie and reason, is to feele some remorse, and afterwards to extinguish the same. There is no reason thou shouldst build vpon certaine women, that hauing once begun to entertaine sorrow, neuer giue it ouer till death hath made an end of them. Thou hast knowne diuers, that hauing lost their sonnes, haue neuer afterwards put off their mourning garments. The constancie that thou hast alwaies shewed heretofore, requireth somewhat more at thy hand. Such a one as in times past hath approued it to all men, that she was deliuered from all feminine imperfections, cannot alledge for her excuse, that she is a woman. Impudicitie (one of the most greatest euils that reigne in our time) hath not entangled thee amongst diuers others: pearles and precious stones haue not tempted thee; riches, which are esteemed the greatest good in this world, haue not bewitched thine eyes, the dangerous examples wherewith the wicked sort seduce the best, haue not distracted thee; thou that hast bene well brought vp in a Noble and well ordered Family, art not allomated to haue bene fertile, and the mother of diuers children: as if thou wert vpbraid thereby that thou art old. Neuer hast thou (according to the custome of diuers other women, which desire nothing more then to be reputed beautifull) hidden thy grossenesse, as if it had been an vnfitting burthen, neyther hast thou made away the fruit of thy wombe, which thou thoughtest thou hadst receyued. Thou hast neuer painted thy selfe, nor taken any pleasure to weare such garments as might discouer thy naked skin. Modestie is the onely ornament which thou hast esteemed to be most fitting,

He confirmeth
her by the con-
sideration of other
womenes infir-
mities.

most seemely, and such as cannot be indemnified by age. So then thou canst not (to the end thou mayest obtaine licence to weepe;) pretend the name of a woman, because thy vertues haue separated thee from that ranke. So farre oughtest thou to be estranged from the teares of this sex, as thou art from their imperfections. Women likewise themselves will not permit thee to censure and submit thy selfe to thy sorrow: but hauing suffered thee to weepe a little, and as much as neede requireth, they will make thee rise vp, especially if thou wilt behold those women, who for their excellent vertues, haue bene numbred amongst the most famous men. Fortune reduced *Cornelia*, the mother of twelue children, to that passe, that shee had onely two remaining (if thou wouldst count those shee had buried, they were ten; if thou wilt estimate them shee had lost, they were the *Gracchi*;) yet expressly forbade the those that wept about her, and cursed that vnhappy accident, to accuse Fortune in any sort, which had giuen her the *Gracchi* to her sonnes. By this woman should he be bred, who said vnto a certaine person that declaimed before the people; *Speakest thou e- uill of my mother that bare me?* But the mothers speech, in my iudgement, is more courageous. The sonne made high reckoning of the birth of the *Gracchi*, The mother of their deaths. *Rutilia* followed her sonne *Cotta* into exile, and her loue towards him was so entire, that shee had rather endure exile then his want; neither returned shee backe againe into her Countrey, before shee returned with her sonne. After his returne, and at such time as her sonne was raised to the greatest honours, shee bare his death as constantly as shee had followed him courageously; and no man could euer marke that the let one teare fall from her eyes after he was entered. Shee made proofe of her vertue at such time as he was banished; and of her wisdom, when death drew him out of this world. Nothing hindered her from shewing her selfe charitable, and nothing detained her in a foolish and superfluous sorrow. My desire is that thou shouldst be numbered amongst such women, and because thou hast alwaies imitated their life, bethou continually most studious and carefull to follow their example, and to repress and suppress thy sorrow. I know that the matter is not in our power, and that there is no passion that will be moderated, and especially not that which proceedeth from griefe, for it is fierce and rebellious against all remedy: yet will we in the meantime, that it master and swallow vp sorrows, and yet notwithstanding permit wee teares to streame along a counterfeite and concealed countenance: wee will indeauour to exercise the mind in sports, or in seeing the Sword-players skirmish; but amidst all these spectacles that shall detain thee, wee are content that a light touch of griefe shall shake them. It is far better then to overcome the passion, then to abuse it; for sorrow withdrawn by the pleasures of this world, or beguiled by occupations, relieth with himselfe, and by the means of repose gathereth more greater forces, and skirmisheth afterwards more confidently. But the mind that giueth place to reason, attaineth a perpetuall repose. But I will not teach thee the remedies which I know diuers others haue vsed, namely that thou shouldst passe the time in some long voyage, or that thou shouldst sport thy selfe in places of pleasure, or that thou shouldst employ many daies in carefully overlooking how thy affaires are carried, and to order thy reueneue, or in short that thou shouldst entangle thy selfe alwaies in some new affaires. All these things profite for a short moment, and are not remedies, but delaies of sorrow. For mine owne part I had rather thou shouldst cease then decieve thy griefe. I will therefore leade thee thither, whither all they ought to haue recourse who flee from Fortune, that is, to Philosophy,

He animateth
her by worthy
examples.

Afterwards he
counsaileth her
to conquer, and
not to disguise
her passions.

A principall remedy in this and unviolated passions, to have recourse to Philosophy, whereunto hee exhorteth his mother.

Particular remedies, Here quieteth her to consider her mother's children that continue with her, and delivereth the benefits and pleasures, she enjoys by their presence.

phy, which will heale thy wound, and plucke out all sorrow from thy minde. Although hitherto thou hast neuer addicted thy selfe thereunto, yet now must thou doe it. But thou hast not studied all the liberall sciences, thou hast onely talked so much as the ancient severity of my father permitted thee. I could have wished that my father (one of the best men in the world) had bin lesse addicted to the fashions of our ancestors, and that he would have permitted thee seriously to be instructed in Philosophy, and not slightly: now then shouldest thou not have neede to prepare a remedy against Fortune, but thou shouldest be exercised therein. As for those that vse good letters, nor for wisdom sake, but rather for ostentation and pride, for their cause he suffered thee the lesse to follow thy studies, but by reason of thy pregnant wit thou hast apprehended more in a little time then could be expected. The foundations of all sciences are laid in thee. Returne now vnto these, and they will make thee secure; these will comfort thee, these will delight thee, these if they enter thy mind in good earnest, neuer shall sorrow or solitude, nor the vaine sorrow of superfluous affliction enter into thy heart any more; thy breast shall lie open to none of these, for already is it shut vp against all other vices. These are the most assured remedies, and such as can onely deliuer thee from Fortune. But whilst thou hast attained that part which studies promise, thou hast neede of some supports and staies, and therefore in the meane while will I shew thee thy comforts. Befold my brothers, who being in securitie, it is vnlawful for thee to accuse fortune, thou hast in both to delight thy selfe for their seuerall vertues; the one by his industrie hath attained honours, the other hath contemned them wisely: content thy selfe in the one of thy sonnes dignitie, and the others quiet, note the pietie of them both. I know the inward affections of my brethren, the one in this respect affecteth dignitie, that hee may bee an ornament vnto thee; the other hath retired himselfe to a peaceable and quiet life, onely to attend thee. Fortune hath disposed thy children well, both for thy succour, and for thy delight; thou mayest bee defended by the dignitie of the one, and enjoy the others retirement. They will contend in offices towards thee, and the desire of the one shall be suplyed by the pietie of them both. I dare boldly promise thee, thou shalt want nothing but the number. From these behold thy Nephewes likewise, *Marcus* that pretty wanton lad, at whose sight all sorrow must bee banished; there is nothing so great, nothing so newly impressed in any mans breast, which hee by his wanton dalliance will not lenifie: whose teares will not his pleasures suppress: whose minde except it bee wholly contracted by care, will not his mery and wittie iests make ioyfull? Who will not bee drawne to delight by beholding his wantonnesse? who though wholly fixed and drownded in thoughts, would not bee delighted by his pretty prattle, and so pleasing that neuer wearie any man? I beseech the gods to grant him long life amongst vs. Let all the wearied cruelty of the Fates bee spit and spent vpon mee; let all my mother should grieue for, bee transferred to mee, or what afflicts my grand-mother, afflict me. So the rest may flourish in their accustomed estate, I shall not complaine of mine owne solitude and condition. Let mee onely bee the expiation of the family, that hereafter shall liue in repose. Keepe in thy lappe my *Nouatilla* that shall shortly make thee a great Grand-mother with that affection I appropriated and made her mine owne, that hauing lost me, she might seme to bee an Orphan, although I am now liuing. Loue her I pray thee for my sake: Fortune of late hath taken her mother from her, thy pietie may effect this that she shall onely haue cause to bewaile

bewail the death of her Mother, and yet notwithstanding shall haue no sence of this losse. Now fashion her mind, and then her manners. Precepts take best hold when they are imprinted in tender yeeres. Let her accustom her selfe to thy speeches, let her conforme her selfe according to thy manners, thou shalt giue her much, although thou giue her nothing but thy example. This so solemne an endenour will serue for a remedie, nothing can diuert a mind that is piously sorrowfull, but either reason or honest occupation. I should number thy Father likewise amongst thy great comforts, but that hee is absent: but now bethinke thy selfe by thine owne affection what his affection might be, & thou shalt vnderstand how far iuster a thing it is that thou art referred for him, then to consume thy selfe for me. As often as immoderate force of sorrow shall inuade thee, and shall command thee to follow it, thinke vpon thy father; in giuing him so many Nephewes and Nephewes Children, thou hast brought to passe that thou art not alone. Meanwhile thou enioiest this honor, that thou hast happily finished the course of thy life, and as long as he liueth, it is vnlawful for thee to complaine that thou hast liued.

Secondly, her Father.

CHAP. XVII.

Et had I almost concealed thy greatest soiaice, thy Sister that hath alwayes bene so faithfull vnto thee, in whose bosome thou hast familiarly discharged all thy sorrowes, and who hath shewed towards vs all an affection of a Mother; thou hast mingled thy teares with hers, and on her bosome thou beganst to gather thy spirits. She is the ordinary companion of thine affections, yet complaineth she in my person but not for thee. By her hands was I brought into this City, by her pious and motherly nursing I recovered after a long and dangerous sicknesse, she employed her credit to make me Questor. And whereas shee blushed if any one should haue spoken to her, or saluted her with a lowder voice, shee was not ashamed to go and speake with diuers seuerall men in my behalfe, neither could her retyred course of life, neither her modesty (in so great petulancy of Country women) neither her quiet, neither her secret and inclined manners, (ayming at nothing more then repose,) detain her from shewing her selfe ambitious in my behalfe. This, deare Mother, is a solace whereby thou maist be comforted; as much as in thee lyeth ioyneth selfe to her, and tye thy selfe to her strict embraces. They that are in sorrow are wont to flye those things which most they loue, and to seeke a libertie for their sorrow: but see that thou both retyre thy selfe and whatsoeuer thou thinkest, vnto her; whether thou wilt keepe this habit, or lay it aside, with her thou shalt finde, either a companion, or an end of thy sorrow. But if I be not deceiued in the wisdom of this most perfect woman, she will not suffer thee to consume thy selfe in fruitlesse lament, and will propose thee her owne example, whereof I my selfe was a witnesse. Hauing bin married young, she lost her Husband, and our Vncle vpon the Sea, yet in the meane while, and at the same time shee endured her sorrow and feare, and afterwards escaping from the storme she solemnized his Funerals. O how many worthy actions of women are buried in obscuritie, if this woman had liued in the time of our Ancestours, who with a pure affection honoured their vertues; how many braue spirits should haue enforced themselves to extoll a woman, who without any apprehension of her weaknesse, neither feared windes, nei-

Thirdly, her Sister, whose vertues and confidence shee commends.

The Honorable vertues of Heluid's Sister.

neither letted by waues, exposed her selfe to all hazards to bury her Husband, and thinking of his Obsequies, had not any thought at all of her owne? The Poets haue ennobled *Alectris*, that hazarded her life to ransom her Husband from death. But this is more, to search with the expence of her owne life a Tombe for her Husband: more greater is the loue that redeemeth by eminent danger that which seemeth to be little. Furthermore, is not this a thing worthy of admiration that during the space of sixteene yeeres, in which her Husband was Governor of *Egypt*, she was neuer seene in the street, neither suffered shee any of that Prouince to enter her house? she demanded nothing at her Husbonds hands, neither suffered any other to entreat ought else at her hands: by reason whereof this Prouince (so talkatiue and ingenious to defame their Governours, wherein diuers hauing carryed themselves honestly, haue notwithstanding bene accused of euill conuersation) reuereneth thy Sister as the onely example of sanctity, and enforcing their owne natures which is to take pleasure in ielting whatsoeuer become of it, carefully contained their tongues, and although they hoped not euer to haue had such a Gouvernesse, yet wilhed they the like daily. It was much for her to make her selfe knowne in *Egypt* in sixteene yeares space, but it was farre more to conceal her selfe so long. I recount not these things to the end to rip vp the prayes of this woman, for to represent them so briefly, is to diminish them; but to the end that thou mayest vnderstand that she is a woman of a great mind: whom neither Ambition, nor Auarice (the companions & plagues of all human greatnesse) could ouercome, neither the apprehension of death, affrighted so much (although shee saw the Ship disarmed & readie to sink) but that holding her dead Husband embraced in her armes, she sought out, not the meanes to escape, but how she might bury his body. The like resolution oughtest thou to shew, & to retire thy minde from sorrow, and bechaue thy selfe so that men may not thinke that thou repentest this that thou hast brought mee into this World, but because it is needfull when as thou hast done all things, thou shouldest now and then reflect vpon me, and that for the present no one of thy Children is more frequent in thy memory then I, (not because they are lesse deare vnto thee, but because it is a naturall thing to lay thy hands more often on that which is aggrieued.) Behold what thou oughtest to thinke that I am: I am ioyfull and merry, as if all my affaires were in the best estate of the World; and so they bee, because my minde being discharged of all cares, employeth it selfe in those actions that are proper vnto it, and sometimes delighteth himselfe in more pleasing Studies; and sometimes being greedy to discouer the trueth, disposeth and causeth himselfe to consider both mine owne nature, and the disposition of the whole World. First, hee taketh a reuiue of all Countries, and searcheth out their situations Afterwards hee considereth the Sea that circlet them round about, and the ebs and floates of the same; then regardeth hee all that which is marvellous, and dread full in the Heauens and Earth, that is to say, this great space, wherein the noyse refoundeth of so many Thunders, of so many Lightnings, of contrary windes, of ouer-flow of Waters, of Snowes and Haile. And hauing travelled through these low places, hee ascendeth more high to enjoy the sight of more diuine things, and remembering himselfe of Eternitie, hee examineth all that which either hath bene, or shall be in all Ages.

The end of the last Booke of Consolation.

For conclusion,
and for his last
Consolation, hee
saith that Hel-
uia hath no oc-
casion to bee sad,
because her sonne
enjoyeth a singu-
lar contentment
in minde in his
Exile.

OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS,

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,

Dedicated to LVCILLIVS.

The first Booke.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE handleth that part of naturall Philosophie in these Bookes, which is called *Meteorologia*, that is, The discourse of Meteors, because for the most part it inuiceth of subline matters, and those things that are betwixt Heauen and Earth; yet increaseth he of the motion of the Earth, as also of floods and waters; but in this respect, because they haue their beginning or cause from Spirit or Ayre, and in the regard thereof haue some relation to subline Nature likewise. These Bookes are both excellent and learned; I will not say more better, yet more plentiful then ARISTOTLES are vpon this Argument, and such as he wrote when hee was very old, about that time when he wrote his Epistles. They are therefore fitly annexed in this place. This appeareth by diuers places, where he maketh mention of his old age, where he speaketh of CAIVS CALPURNIVS, who was Prefect of *Egypt* vnder NERO; but most manifestly in the beginning of his sixth Booke, where hee speaketh of that Earth-quake which shooke Campania, when as VIRGINIVS and MEMMIVS were Consuls. And these were some two yeares before SENECAS death.

THE PREFACE.



So much difference as there is (Lucillius the best of men) betwixt Philosophie and other Arts, so much suppose I that there is betweene that part of Philosophie that concerneth men, as the other that concerneth the gods. This is more high and courageous; it giueth it selfe a larger scope, and not content with that which these discouereth by the eyes, suspecteth that there is somewhat more greater and more fairer, which Nature hath locked from our sight. In briefe, there is as much difference betwixt the one and the other,

The difference
betwixt Philo-
sophie and other
Science, and
betwixt that
which is natural
and the other
that is morall.

ther, as betwene God and Man. The one teacheth what is to bee done vpon Earth, the other what is done in Heauen. The one discussth our errors, and minnistrh vs light, whereby wee may discern the doubtful things in this life: the other raiseth vs aboue that gulfe of obicuritie wherein wee were confounded, and hauing redeemed vs from thence, bringeth vs thither where this brightnesse shineth. Verily I then praye and giue thanks vnto Nature when I behold her, not by this meane which is publike, but when as I haue entred her secrets. When I learne what the matter of the World is, whols the Author and Conseruer thereof, what God is, whether hee bee wholly intended in the contemplation of himselfe, or whether sometimes hee haue a care of vs; whether hee doe any thing daily, or whether hee hath done it at once; whether he be a part of the World, or the World; whether it be in his power to ordaine somethings to day, and to derogate somewhat from fatall destiny; whether it should be a diminution of his Maiesty, and confession of his error, to haue made things that should be subiect to change: for it is necessary since that nothing can please him that is not perfectly good, that those things which please him should be alwayes the same, and yet for all this is he no lesse free and powerfull, for he is necessitie himselfe. If I were not admitted to the knowledge of these things, there was no necessitie why I should be borne: for what cause had I why I should be glad that I am numbred and placed amongst the liuing? What to swallow downe and digest meate and drinke? What to glut this fraille and decaying bodie that must perill, except it bee interchangeably nourished? Or to liue a slaue to inhirmitie, or to feare death, whereunto we are all of vs borne? If thou take away from life this inestimable good, it is not so much worth as to be sweat or laboured for. O how contemptible a thing is man except hee rayse himselfe aboue humane things! As long as wee struggle with affections, what doe we that deserueth praye? Although we get the vpper hand, yet ouercome we but Monsters. What cause haue we to boast of our felices because wee are vnlike the worst men of the World? I see not why hee should take pleasure in himselfe that is stronger then a sicke man. There is great difference betwixt strength and good health. Thou hast escaped from the vices of the minde; thou art no hypocrite, nor flatterer, nor double, nor soyled with avarice, which denieth her selfe that, which she hath taken from all men; nor grounded in dissolution, which spenderh his goods and money basely, and getteth them likewise most villainously; neither trauelled with ambition, which will not leade thee to dignity but by indignities. Thou hast yet gotten nothing, thou hast escaped many mens hands, but not thine owne. For that vertue which we affect is magnificent, not because it is a blessed thing of it selfe to haue wanted euill, but because it freeth the minde, and prepareth it to the knowledge of heauenly things, and maketh it worthy to come and accompany God. Then enioyeth the minde the consummate and complete good of humane condition, when as (treading all euill vnder foot) he flyeth to Heauen and nestleth in the secret bosome of Nature. Then taketh he delight in wandering amidst the Stars, to laugh at the pauements of the rich, and to deride the Earth: with all her Gold, not onely that I meane which shee hath deliuered out and giuen to make money of, but that also which shee keepeth close hidden, to content the avarice of prosperitie. He cannot contemne the porches, nor the house beames that are furnished with luery, nor the Groves planted vpon the tops of houles, nor the Riuer drawne and conuayed thorow chambers, before he hath circled the whole World, & beholding the Globe thereof from aboue,

finall

Happy is contemplation if it be rightly gouerned.
This is wealth and other no less of the minde.

small and for the most part couered with the Sea, and in that place where it discovereth it selfe, hugely desert, and either burnt or frozen, without saying to himselfe: Is this that point that is diuided amongst so many Nations by Fire and Sword? O how ridiculous are the bounds of mortall men? Let not the Dane passe beyond the Riuer of Ister, let Strimo include the Thracians, let Euphrates bound the Parthians, Danubius separate the Sarmatians and the Romanes, let Rhene border Germany, the Pyrenean Mountaines raise their heads betwixt France and Spaine; let the desolate vastnesse of lands diuide Egypt from the Ethiopians. If wee should giue humane vnderstanding vnto Antes, would not they likewise diuide a little Mole-hill of earth into Provinces? When as thou hast raised thy selfe to those things that are truly great, as often as thou shalt see whole Armies marching with displayed Engines, and as if there were some greater matter in hand, the Horsemen now scowling and discovering before, now flanking the battell, thou mayest freely say,

The blacker Squadron troseth though the Plaines.

All this is but a businesse of Antes that labour in a Mole-hill. What difference is betwixt them and vs, except it be in the measure of their little bodies? It is but a point wherein you faile, wherein you go on warfare, wherein you dispose Kingdomes, yea, and a very little one if a man consider the Ocean, that beginneth it on euery side. Aboue these there are spacious extents, into the possession whereof the minde is admitted. If hee bring with him a very little of the bodie, if hee bee cleaned from all ordure, and being expedite and light, and contented with a little, hee hath shined in these lower parts. When hee attayneth these, he is nourished, he increaseth, and being as it were deliuered from bondage, returneth to his originall. And this Argument hath he of his Diuinitie, that hee is delighted in diuine things, not as strange vnto him but as his owne. He securely beholdeth the rising and setting of the Planets, and the different courses of so accordant Creatures. He diligently obserueth where every Starre beginneth to rise & lend her first light to the World, where her Zenith is, what way she shapeth her course, and how farre shee descendeth. Like a curious obseruer he examineth and debateth on euery point; why should he not enquire, he knoweth that they appertaine vnto him? Then contemne he the streightnesse of his former house; for how farre is it betwixt the vttermost shores of Spaine and the Indies? It is sailed in a few daies if the wind be in the Poop, and prosperous. But that celestiall Region furnissheth a way for thirty yeares space to the swift Planet, that neuer stayeth but runneth on his course with equall swiftnesse. There at length learneth he that which hee hath long time sought. There beginneth he to know God: what is God? The minde of the Vniuers. What is God? All that thou seest, & all that thou seest not: so at length he comprehendeth his greatnes, then which no greater thing may be imagined; if he alone be all, and holdeth his work both without and within himselfe. What difference then is there betwixt the nature of God & Ours? Our better part is the minde: in him no part is without the minde: hee is all reason, and mean-while men are so dull as to esteeme that the Heauen, which hath nothing like vnto it in beauty, in disposition, or in continuance, is a casuall thing that turneth by chance; so that it findeth it selfe much troubled, amidst lightnings, clouds, tempests, and other such noises as shake the Aire, the Water, and the Earth. Neither is this folly onely pregnant amongst the common sort, but some professors of

What a certaintie man is ought to, that consisteth in the fruits of vertue.

The affaires of the world are trifles.

A worthy description of vanitie.

The argument of Diuinitie is to contemplate diuine things.

Tit 3

Phi

The Spectacles
of the Stars.

The use of the
Lunary.

Of the Meteors
of fire.

Lib. Meteor.
cap. 4.

They were called
Ghosts, because
they had some
resemblance of
little beards
hanging on them

Whither extra-
natural Mete-
ors are a re-
sult of things
occasional.

Philosophie likewise have beene tainted with this error. Some there are that thinke that they have a minde, yea, such an one as is provident, and dispenseth every thing, both his owne and others: but that this univserle wherein likewise we are, is void of counsaile, and either is transported with a certaine temeritie, or by Nature, that knoweth not what the doth. How profitable is it, I thinkest thou, to know these things, and to prefixe limits vnto Science? To know how much God can, whether he formeth his owne matter, or vseth that which is giuen him; whether the *Idea* was before the matter, or the matter the *Idea*. If God maketh all that which hee willeth, or if diuers things there faileth him somewhat to worke vpon, or if diuers things are kindly formed by their great Workmaster, not because his Art ceaseth, but because the matter wherein he is exercised, is not oftentimes conformable to his Workmanship. To examine these things, to learne these things, to search the secrets of these things: is not this to exceed Mortality, and to be translated into a better estate? What, saiest thou, will these things profit thee? If they further me in nothing else, of this I rest assured, that all things are too little. But of this hereafter.

CHAP. I.



Now let vs come to our intended purpose. Heare that which Philosophie teacheth, as touching those Fires that the Ayre driueth outwardly. It is a signe that they are driven by great force, because they are carryed side-long, and by a violent swiftnesse. It appeareth that they goe not, but that they are forced. And of these fires there are diuers formes. *Aristotle* calleth a certaine kind of these Goates. If thou askest mee why, thou must first of all giue mee a reason, why they are called young Kids. But if

we be agreed vpon the name, as it is expedient, let none of vs examine one another, what this or that man saith. It shall be better to examine what the thing is, then to wonder at it, why *Aristotle* called a Globe of fire that is in the Aire a Goat. Such was that which appeared as great as the body of the Moone, when *Paulus Aemilius* made war against *Perseus*. And we our selues haue oftentimes seene a flame in forme as great as a Pillar, which notwithstanding in the very course thereof was scattered. About the time that *Cæsar Augustus* dyed, we sawe the like Meteor, and prodigie: we sawe the like, when *Seianus* was adjudged to death; neither was *Germanicus* death vnaccompanied with the like prelage. Thou wilt say vnto me, Art thou then so badly taught, as to thinke that the gods send some predictions of death, and that there is any thing so great on the Earth, that the Heauens should foresee the end? Wee shall find another time for this matter: meane while we will see if all things be deduced by a certaine order, and the one so infolded in the other, that that which goeth before, is either the cause of those things that follow, or the signe. We will see whether the gods haue care of humane affaires, or whether the order of things discouereth by certaine markes, that which ought to be done. Meane while, I thinke that these fires are assembled by a vehement agitation of the Ayre, when as the inclination thereof hath extended it selfe towards one part, and hath not gi-

uen

uen place, but fought within himselfe. From this encounterie and enterhocke of the aire arise these pillars, these globes, these flashings. But when the ayre assembleth more mildly and remaineth thus, there issue diuers impressions of fire farre lesser, and these crinite and bearded comets their originall: then the fires that are lesse thicke marke out their way which appeareth not verie much, which they extend in the heauen, in such sort as there passed not a night, wherein a man may not see such impressions in the aire, because there needeth no great agitation to create them. To speake in a word, these impressions haue the same considerations, as lightnings, yet are they caused with lesse force. Euen as clouds being but indifferently broken one vpon another, cause flashes, and being impelled with greater force, breed lightnings. *Aristotle* yeeldeth this reason. The globe of the earth exaleth diuers vapours, some moist, and some drie, some cold, and some other hot, and fit to be enflamed: neither is it to be wondered at, that so many different vapours issue from the earth, since in the heauens there appeare diuers colors, but some more fierce, as the fierie rednesse of the Dog-star, some more remisse, as that of *Mars*; some none at all, as that of *Iupiter*, but a pure and cleare shining. It must therefore needs be, that in this so great abundance of exhalations, that mount from the earth into the ayre, there must some aliments of fire be raised to the clouds, that might fall on fire, not onely by reason of their enterhock, but also by the assistance of the beams of the Sunne. For with vs likewise we see that straws that are besprinkled with brimstone, draw vnto them fire that is distant from them. It is likely therefore to be true, that this matter gathered together within the clouds, is as easily kindled, and that the fires are great or little, according as the vapors haue bin feeble or strong. For this were a foolish thing to imagine that the starrs fall, or that they rise and mount againe, or that any thing is taken away or separated from them: because if this were so, by little and little there should be no more starrs, they should faile. For there is no night whatsoeuer, during which a man seeth not diuers starrs, that seeme to shoote forward or backward. But contrariwise, every one of them is found in his accustomed place, and every one continue in their proportion. It followeth therefore, that these fires are engendered vnderneath these starrs, & continue not long time, because they neither haue foundation nor certaine place. Why therefore likewise are they not transferred by day? What if I say that the starrs are not by day, because they appeare not? Euen as these remaine hidden, and obscured by the light of the Sun, so the Meteors of fire runne in the aire, as well by day as by night, but the brightnesse of the day hindereth our eyes from beholding them. Notwithstanding, sometimes the matter whereof they are composed is so abundant and bright, that they are manifestly discovered euen in the day time. In our age we haue oftentimes seene diuers fires in the day time, the one gliding from the East to the West, the other from the West to the East. The Mariners thinke it to be a signe of a tempest, when as many Stars shoot; but if there bee a signe of windes, it is there where the windes are, that is, in the Aire which is in the middelt betweene the Moone and the Earth. In a vehement tempest there appeare certaine fires or starrs that sit vpon the sailes, and at that time those that are in danger doe suppose that they are assisted by the god-heads of *Cæsar* and *Pollux*. And their cuse of better hope is, because already the tempest seemeth to be allayed and the windes calmed. Sometimes these fires are carried, sometimes they are dethled. When as *Gilippus* travelled towards *Syracusa*, he saw a Star that fetted it selfe vpon his lance. In the Roman campe, in some mens iudgement, there appeared cer

Aristotle res-
son as touching
the impressions
of the aire.

Shooting of ma-
ny flames, the
signe of a tem-
pest.
The fires called
Callos and
Pollux.
These were lu-
peters saunces by
Lada, who for
their great va-
lour and care-
ning by sea were
reuered gods.
Gilippus had a
flame that lig-
ted on his lance.

cer

Of falling fires.

why is thun-
dred, and what
it under it.

Of thunders.

certain darts, as if set on fire by reason of fire in the aire that fell on them, which oftentimes after the manner of lightnings, are wont to blast both men and trees. But if they descend with a lesser force, yet slip they downe and settle themselves without doing any hurt, or inflicting any wound. Some of these breake thorow the clouds, some other in faire weather, if the ayre be fit to enkindle. For sometimes it shundereth in faire weather, vpon the same cause as it doth in close and troubled aire, which is by reason of the collision of the aire within it selfe, which although it be clearer and drier, yet can meete together, and make some bodies that are like vnto clouds, which by incontinencie sound and make a noise: sometimes therefore there are diuers pillars made, and sometimes shields, and images of vaine fire, when as the like, but greater cause falleth vpon such matter.

CHAP. II.



Et vs now see whence that light is made that enuironeth the Planets. It is reported that vpon the same day that *Augustus* returned from Apollonia and entered Rome, there was seene a certaine circle of diuers colours about the Sunne, after the manner of a Rain-bow. The Grecians call this *Halo*, and we may properly call it a Crowne. I will endeavour to expresse whence the cause hereof is. When as a stone is cast into a Fish-pool, we see that the water maketh diuers circles, whereof the first is small, the second more great, the others consequently greater, vntill the force of the stroake be vanished, and that the water be settled as it was before. Let vs suppose that some such matter is done in the ayre, which becoming more thicke may receive an impression, by the meanes of the brightnesse of the Sunne, or of the Moone, or of some Star, the which enforcing it selfe against the Sunne, constraineth it to retire, and to fall in circles. For humiditie and ayre, and all that which taketh forme by reuerberation, is impelled into the habitude of that thing that impelleth the same. But all light is round, by meanes whereof it must needs be, that the aire beaten back by this brightnesse, must shew it selfe in the same forme. And therefore is it that these shining circles are by the Grecians called *Aree*, because that the places that are ordained to thersell come in, are round for the most part. But we thinke not that these, either *Aree*, or crownes, are caused neere vnto the Moone, or the Sunne, or other celestiall bodies, for they are few of them, although they seeme to beginn and crowne them. This impression is made not farre off from the earth, but our eyes being deceived by their ordinarie imbecillitie, thinke that it is placed iust about the star. But no such thing may be done neere vnto the Sun or the starres, because the ethereal region is thin and transparent. It is in grosse and thicke bodies, that such impressions are accustomed to be made, neither can they take footing in subtile and thin bodies. We see I know not what such like as these impressions about our lamps in the stowe, by reason of the obscuritie. They are made for the most part at such time as the Southern wind bloweth, when as the skies are couered and obscured. Sometime by little and little they are dispersed and vanish, sometimes they breake in some part, and from thence the Sailers expect the winde where the flame first appeareth. For if it fall to the Northward, a Northerly winde will follow; if to the Westward, a Westerly, which is an Argument that in that part of the Heavens these

crownes

Of the circles
and crowns that
appeare about
the Sunne and
Moone.
Albeit lib. Me-
teorol. lib. 2. c. 4. cap. 8.
A visible mani-
festacion what
Halo is.In what region
of the aire.

In what time.

Crownes are made, where ordinarily the winds are engendred: But the higher Region of the Aire hath none of these Circles, because the Winds are lodged vnder it. To these Arguments adde this likewise, that a Crowne is neuer gathered there, but where the Aire is settled and still. Otherwise it is neuer seene. For the aire that is settled may be pushed, extended, and moulded into some forme, but that which is agitated cannot receive impression of the light, for it is not formed, neither resisteth, because euery first part and portion thereof is scatted: red and hath no stay. And therefore neuer shall we see any Planet whatsoever crowned, except when the Aire is thicke, and calme; by meanes whereof it is capable to conserue the Line which in appearance begetteth his round brightnesse; and not without cause. For call againe to thy remembrance the example I proposed thee a little before. The stone that is cast into a Fish-pool, or a Lake or any settled water, maketh innumerable Circles, & this it doth not in a River. Why? Because the water that flyeth thus quickly, giueth not any leisure or meane to the stone to forme any figure. The same therefore falleth out in the Aire: for that which is settled may receive any impression, but that which flieth & runneth away swiftly, is incapable of forme, & disperseth euery figure that would approach it if it stayed. These Circles being scattered by little & little, and as it were confounded in themselves, expresse the thinnesse, repose, and tranquillity of the Aire, and if they scatter but on one side, the wind commeth from thence: if they be opened in diuers places, some storme will follow. How this commeth to passe, it may be vnderstood by those things which I haue declared already. For if the whole face of the Circle vanish, it appeareth that the Aire is moderate, & consequently still and peaceable: if it be cut off but on one side, we see that the Aire is shaken on that side that is opened, & that from the same the wind will blow. But when it is disperised in euery part, it is a signe that it is assailed diuers waies, and that the Aire stirreth it selfe from one side to another. By meanes whereof it appeareth that a storme is at hand, and that there will be some combat of the winds by reason of this inconstancie of the Aire, that whirleth and turneth it selfe thus from all parts. These Crownes for the most part appeare about the Moone in the night time, and are noted about the other Stars, but seldome by day: so that some of the *Grecians* haue denied that they are at all, whereas *Histories* reprove and confute them. But the cause of this raritie is this, in that the light of the Sunne is more strong, and the Ayre it selfe being agitated by the same, and being hot is lesse thicke. But the power of the Moone is more feeble, and therefore is it more easily sustained by the Aire that enuironeth the same, and because that the other celestiall fires being feeble cannot by their beames breake or scatter the Aire, thence cometh it that these impressions are made at that time without any let, for they pierce and plant themselves very easily in a solid matter, and that scattereth not as it doth by day. The Aire likewise ought not to be so thicke, that it exclude and driue away from him the brightnesse that is lent him, neither so thin and attenuate that it giueth not any meane to the beames that beat vpon it to stay with him. This temperature properly falleth out by night, when as the Stars reflect vpon the same by their brightnesse, not violent or forcible, the Aire gathereth together and formeth these Circles, because it is more thicker then in the day time.

CHAP.

Swiftly fleeing
things incapable
of formes.

C H A P. III.

Of the Raine-bow, the cause and forme thereof, and why it appeareth not by night.



ONtrariwise, the Raine-bow is neuer made by night, except very seldom, because the Moone hath not so much force to trauesse and colour the Clouds as the Sunne hath. For thus make they the forme of the discoloured Raine-bow: Because some parts in the Clouds are more swelling, other some more submisle; some thicker then that the Sunne beames may be able to pierce them; other some so thin that they passe quite thorow them. This inequality mixeth together this shadow and this brightnesse, and maketh this wonderfull varietie in the Raine-bow. There is another reason giuen of this Raine-bow; Wee see that when a Pipe is broken in any place, that the water bubbleth forth by a little cracke: and if the Sunne beate obliquely vpon this water, it representeth the diuers colours of the Raine-bow. The same shalt thou see fall out, if at any time thou wilt obserue a fuller, when as he hath lightly filled his mouth with water, and besprinklerh his cloth that is stretched on the Tents: in this Aire besprinkled with water there appeareth diuers colours, such as wee see in the Arch. Doubt thou not but the cause hereof is in the humours for the Raine-bow is neuer seene except it be in rainy weather. But let vs examine how it is made: Some say that there are certaine drops of water, beaten backe by the Sunne and the Clouds, so thicke as the brightnesse cannot pierce them, in such sort that from these drops there proceedeth a shining, and from the thick Clouds a shadow; by meanes whereof, and by this encounter the Raine-bow is made; one part whereof, which receiuethe the Sun, is shining, the other that repulseth the same, & hath made a shadow of it selfe to the neighbouring Clouds, is more obscure. Others there are that are not of this opinion. For this might seeme true, if the Raine-bow had but onely two colours, and it consisted of light and shadow.

Examples to expresse this.

How the Raine-bow is caused.

This opinion is examined.

*But we although that colours infinite
Shine in this Arch, yet neth'lesse their light
Is so conuoy'd, as it deceiues the sight,
Because their meetings are not knowne aright:
For that which toucheth is the same white,
And yet the brinks are partie coloured quite.*

Of the colours of the Arch.

Wee see in it I know not what yellowesse, rednesse, Greene, blue, and other colours drawne after the manner of subtil lines, as the Poet saith, that whether they bee different colours thou canst not know, except thou conferre those of the one side with those of the other, for their coniunction and assemblance blemisheth and dazleth the eyes: and therein is shewed the admirable worke of Nature, because that that which began with things that were alike, endeth in different. To what purpose therefore serue these two colours of light and shadow, whereas a reason is to be yeelded of innumerable sorts? Some thinke that the Raine-bow is made thus: they say that in that part where it raineth, euery drop of the falling raine is a feuerall mirror that representeth the Sun; then that this great and infinite number of Images long, large, and hollow, come and ioine and mixe themselves together; so that the Raine-bow is an assembly of diuers mirrors or representations of the same. To prouue this, behold what they

they alledge: If in a faire and cleere day you set a thousand Basons in the Sun, all of them feuerally represent his countenance. Put me a drop of water vpon euery leafe of a tree, each one of these droppes will haue in it selfe the resemblance of the Sunne; but contrariwise, a great standing poole representeth but one Image. Why? Because all this limited plainesse that hath his brinks, cannot be but one mirror: but if thou makest partitions, and dilinguisth by diuers walls a huge and mightie Fish-poole, so many images shalt thou haue of the Sunne as there are feuerall lakes. Leaueth that Fish-poole intire and one as it was, thou shalt obserue but one Sunne. It is no great matter whether the drop of water be small, or the Fish-poole narrow; if it hath brimmes, it is a mirror of the Sunne. So then, these infinite drops of water, carried by the raine that falleth, are as many mirrors, and haue as many faces of the Sunne. These appeare confused to him that looketh against them, and seeth not their distances, because the space suffereth him not to dilinguisth the same. Furthermore, in stead of so many faces there appeareth but one confused and composed of all. Aristotle is of the same opinion: From all that (saith he) that is light and thin, the light reuoketh vnto it selfe his beames; but there is nothing lighter then ayre or water; and therefore the radiations of our eyes returne from the thick ayre backe againe vnto vs. But if the light be feeble and infirme, it faileth vpon the least thicke that the ayre yeeldeth it. Some are troubled with this infirmity, that they themselves seeme to meet themselves, and euery where they behold their owne image. Why? Because the weakenesse of their sight cannot penetrate the ayre that is neerest them, but stayeth short; so that whatsoeuer the fogges effect in others, euery ayre worketh in these. Euery ayre how thin soeuer it be, hath power enough to repulle a weake light; yet more easily may a thick aire reflecte backe againe vnto vs our sight, because it cannot be pierced, but stayeth the beames of our eyes, and repellerh them backe againe from whence they came. So then, since there are diuers drops of water, they are as many mirrors; but by reason of their smallnesse, they represent onely the colour, and not the forme of the Sunne. Moreouer, when as one and the same colour is impressed in the infinite of drops that fall without intermission, it beginneth to be a face, not of many different images, but of one that is long and continued. How cometh it to passe (saith some one) that thou tellest me that there is so many thousand of images here, where I see not one? And since the Sunne is all of one colour, why are these images thus diuers coloured? To answer thee hereunto, and to other such obiections, I must tell thee that there is nothing more incertaine then our sight, not onely in those things which he is hindered from seeing exactly, by reason of this diuersitie of colors, but also in those things which he discouereth hard at hand. A Water-mans Oare being plunged into a little cleere water, seemeth either broken or crooked, although it be straight. Apples seeme greater to those that looke vpon them thorow a glasse. The pillars in long Galleries seeme to be ioined together, although there be a distance betwixt euery one of them. Returne againe to the Sunne it selfe; he whom reason approppeth to be greater then the whole world, our eye hath so contracted, that some wise men contend that it hath but a foote of Diameter. Wee know that he runneth with a swiftnesse surpassing all swiftnesse, yet none of vs perceiueh any motion; neyther would wee beleue that he had kept on his course, except it were apparant that he moue. There is none of vs that can discouer the course of the heauens, turning with a headlong and incredible swiftnesse, in such sort, that in the twinkling of an eye he causeth in diuers climats of the world,

The opinion of Aristotle as touching the colours in the Arch.

Of the diuers colours in the Arch.

Why the Raine-bow appears opposite against the Sunne.

Why there are diuers colours in it.

A comparison of the Raine-bow.

Two causes of the Raine-bow.

A confirmation of that which hath been said, the Arch is formed by opposition against the Sun, by the comparison of Arctemidorus.

World both day and night; why then wondrest thou that our eyes cannot discern the drops of water, or that the difference of these small Images vanish from thy sight that is so farre distant? No man can doubt but that the Raine-bow is an Image of the Sunne, conceived in a moyst and hollow Cloud. The reason is, because the Raine-bow is alwayes opposite against the Sunne, either higher or lower, according as the Sun setteth or riseth, but by a contrary motion. For when the Sunne setteth, the Raine-bow is more high; and if he riseth about the Horizon, the Raine-bow is more low. Oftentimes such a Cloud appeareth on the side of the Sunne, which maketh not a Raine-bow, because it draweth not an Image by a right reflexio. But this varietie proceedeth from no other cause, but for that a part of the colour is in the Sun, and another part in the cloud it selfe: but this humidity formeth & draweth now blue lines, sometimes Greene, otherwhiles purple, and sometimes dimme and fiery; in briefe, two sorts of colours, (the one lively, the other pale,) are these that cause all this diuersitie; for so purple issueth not in the same sort from the shell, but importeth much how long time it hath remayned steeped, what sucke it hath drawne either subtil, or thicke, or if it hath received tincture one time only. It is not therefore to be wondered at, considering that the Sunne and the Cloud are two things, (that is to say, the body & the mirror,) if a man see so many different colours which may arise or fall in diuers sorts: for of one kind is the heat that proceedeth from a fierce light, another that proceedeth from a brightnest not so shining and sparkling. To search out other causes, it were extravagant, considering that wee have not any ground that may sustaine our discourse, except wee should build vpon coniectures, which haue no end. Here then it appeareth that there are two causes of the Raine-bow, the Sunne and the Cloud: for the Raine-bow is neuer made in faire weather, neither then when it is so close weather, that the Sunne appeareth not; so then it is made of both, without either of which it cannot be.

C H A P. IV.

Et vs adde to that which is aboue said, another prooffe no lesse euident. The Image and representation which is made by reason of the mirror, neuer appeareth except the mirror bee opposed in such sort, that a man may see the same in one place, and the thing that is represented in another that is opposite. There are certaine reasons alleged by the Geometricians which perfwade not, but in force neither hath any man cause to doubt, but that the Arch is an Image of the Sunne, which is badly exprest by reason of the defect and figure of the mirror. But let vs assay in the meane time to produce other prooffes. Amongst other arguments why the Arch is caused thus, I put this, that it is sodainly made, and vanishest also as sodainly. But there is nothing more readily represented than an Image in a Glasse, for the mirror doth nothing but onely represent the object. *Parianus Arctemidorus* addeth, what kind of Cloud it should be which representeth such an Image of the Sunne, if thou makest (saith he) a hollow mirror, that is as it were the halfe of a Bowle, if thou standest vp right behind this halfe, all these that are neere vnto thee shall appeare vnto thine eyes more neere vnto thee then the mirror. The same (saith he) falleth out when we behold a round and hollow Cloud on one side of vs, that the Image of the Sunne which is

C H A P. V.



Gainst these things, these succeeding Arguments are aymed. There are two opinions of mirrors; for some are of opinion that the resemblances are seene in these, that is, the figure of our bodies, sent forth and separated from our bodies: some say that the images are not in the mirror, but that the bodies themselves are beheld; the sight of the eye being retorted and reflected, and returned againe into it selfe. Now it appertaineth nothing to the matter, how wee see, whatsoever wee behold, but how the like image should bee represented by the looking glasse. What is so vnlike as the Sunne and the Raine-bow, wherein neither the Center, nor the figure, neither the greatnesse appeareth? for the Raine-bow is longer and more ample, and in the brighter part thereof more red then the Sunne, but in the other colours diuers. Again, when thou wilt compare a mirror with the aire, thou must giue me the same leuitie of body, and the same equalitie, and the same brightnesse. But there are no clouds that haue the similitude of a looking glasse, wee oftentimes passe through them, and yet see not our selues in them. They that clime vp to the tops of Hills, behold the clouds, and yet see not their image in the same. Every droppe is a seuerall mirror. I grant it, but this I deny, that a cloud consisteth of drops. For these hath some things whereof they may create such drops, not her selfe; neither hath a cloud any water in it, but the matter of future water. I will likewise grant thee that there are innumerable drops in clouds, that yeeld some resemblance, yet all of them yeeld not one and the same, but every one hath his apart. Again, write thou mirrors together, they will represent more then one face; for every one will retain in himselfe the similitude of that hee representeth. There are many mirrors that are composed of diuers small peeces to which if thou presentest but one man, yet there appeareth a multitude, every part expresse and representing his owne face. These though conioyned and placed together, doe notwithstanding referre vnto themselves their images apart, and of one, they make a multitude; yet confound they not their multitude, but distinguish it into seuerall faces. But the Raine-bow is made all at once, and hath but one only face. What then? Is not the water that issueth from a broken pype, or is squirted or spit out of the mouth, wont to haue some such like colours as we see in the Raine-bow. This true: but not for the same cause, as thou thinkest, because that every drop of water receiueth the image of the Sunne: for these drops fall too soone to bee able to receiue any forme. They must needly stay to represent the same which they imitate. What is then done? They contract the colour, and not the image of the Sunne. Otherwise as *Nero Caesar* said most learnedly,

*Faire Venus Dowe, bending her necke aside,
In party coloured plumes, doth shew her pride.*

And as often as the Peacock turneth his head neuer so little, her party coloured

An objection against the comparison proposed.

red plumes shine and sparkle : shall wee therefore say, that these feathers are Mirrors, which vpon euery inclination of the head, present new colours ? As much correspondencie haue the clouds with mirrors as those birds I told you of, and the Camellions and other kind of Creatures, who of themselves change their colours, as often as either wrath or desire of generation maketh them spread a humour which giueth a new tincture to the skin, or that they receive this colour by reuerberation of the light according as it beateth vpon them directly or obliquely. What resemblance is there betwixt mirrors and clouds ? mirrors are not transparent, but thicke and of one peece and matter : contrariwise brightnesse trauerseth the clouds, which are thin, composed of confused matter, by meanes whereof they cannot remaine long times tied together, but the one of them destroyeth the other. Besides, wee see a part of the heauen that is red, when the Sunne riseth, and sometimes wee see clouds that are coloured like fire. What letteth then but as they receive this colour by the arriuall and encounter with the Sunne, so also they should draw diuers colours, although they haue not the same efficacie as a mirror hath ? Thou saidst not long since, (will some man say) that the rainbow is alwaies made by the opposition of the Sunne, because a mirror could not represent a face, if it were not set opposite against the Sunne. Herein, faith hee, wee are agreed. For euen as wee ought to set before the mirror the thing whose Image wee would haue the glasse to represent : so is it needfull that the Sunne beames should be directed vpon the clouds, and that they should be neere him to contract colour. This is their allegation, who would pretend that a cloud is coloured. *Poſidonius* and they that thinke that a cloud is a mirror, answer thus. If there were any colour in the Rainbow it would continue, and it should be seene the more manifestly, the more neerer wee were vnto it : But now the image of the Arch appeareth best when it is furthest off, the more it neereth vs, the sooner it dieth. I cannot giue way to this contradiction, although I approve the opinion. Why ? I will tell you, because the cloud is coloured, but so that the colour thereof appeareth not euery wayes, for the cloud it selfe appeareth not euery where ; for no man seeth the cloud wherein he is. What wonder then is it, that the colour thereof is not seene vnto him, by whom the her selfe is not seene ? yet although she be not seene, she is ; and consequently she hath colour. So it is not an argument of a false colour, because that in drawing neere vnto the same, she ceaseth to appeare the same as shee was before, for the like falleth out in the clouds themselves, which are not therefore false, because they are not seene. Furthermore, when it is tolde thee, that the cloud is straked with the Sunne, it is not intended that this colour was mixed as in a bard, firme, and permanent bodie, but as in a fluid and flitting masse, which receiueith neither forme nor colour but for a very little while. The better and deeper tincture the Tyrian scarlet is, the higher must you holde the same, to the end that the lustre thereof may shew the better, yet loseth it not in being neere vnto vs his perfect colour, but that tincture it hath, how looser it be discouered, sheweth it selfe. Of that opinion am I that *Poſidonius* was, that the Arch is made when as the cloud is formed after the manner of a mirror, hollow and round, like the halfe of a bowle. This cannot be approved by the assistance of the Geometricians, who by inuincible reasons proue that the cloud is an image of the Sunne, and yet resembleth him not as like wise mirrors are not answerable wholly vnto the truth of things. There are some thou wouldst be afraid to looke vpon, so deformed maketh it their face to appeare that behold the same, by repre-

Senecaes opinion touching the lustre of the Arch.

enting

senting their similitude quite contrarie. Others of them are such, that in beholding them, will make thee thinke thy selfe some worthe man, because that both thine arm's, and the other members of thy body will seeme to be more greater and mighty then they are. Some of them represent a true similitude of the face ; others halfe the face ; some there are that lessen and turne it vppwards. What is it therefore to wonder at, if the Sunne be imperfectly represented in a cloud, as well as in these artificiall mirrors ?

CHAP. VI.



monght other reasons this shall be one, that the Arch neuer sheweth more greater then the halfe of a Circle, and that the lesse it is, the higher the Sunne is.

The Prognostiques touching the Rainebow.

The mightie Arch doth drinke,

As our *Virgil* saith, at such time as the raine is ready to fall : but the Prognostiques of the Arch are diuers, according to his situations ; if it appeareth in the south, it bringeth with it much raine, because that by their abundance they could not be surmounted by the sunne. Contrariwise, if it appeareth in the west, there will follow but a dew and some little raine ; and if it be in the east, it is a signe of faire weather. But if the Arch be the image of the Sunne, whence commeth it that the Arch appeareth to be more great then the sunne ? Because the nature of some mirror is such, that it sheweth things to be more greater then they were presented vnto it, and will make the body appeare of more prodigious biggenesse : contrariwise, there are some that make things seeme farre lesse then they be. Tell me why the face sheweth round in a square mirror ? Haply thou mayest tell mee whence these diuers colours proceede ; but thou canst not tell mee whence this forme commeth, except in thy hand thou hast some patterne whereupon it is formed : But there is no other then that of the Sunne, from whence thou must needly confesse that the Arch borroweth his colours, and consequently his forme. Finally, we are agreed, that these colours which wee see in the Heauens proceede from the Sunne : but our difference is, that thou mainrainest that it is a colour, and I say that it seemeth to be a colour ; but whether it be the one or the other, yet thou canst not tell mee why this colour vanissheth sodainly, whereas all other lights are extinguished by little and little. This apparition and disparition of the Raine-bow maketh for mee : for it is the nature and property of a mirror not to shew things in parts, but wholly and at once. Euery Image is made and vnmade equally. To represent the same or not represent the same, there needeth no more but to shew it, or to take it away. There is no proper substance or body in the cloud ; it is but a fiction and resemblance without the thing. Wilt thou know that it is thus ? the Raine-bow will vanish if thou hide the Sunne. I tell thee if thou oppose another cloud vnto the Sunne, the varietie of the Raine-bow will vanish ; yet is the Sunne somewhat greater then the Arch. I haue already answered, that there are some mirrors which multiplie the whole body which is presented vnto them : whereunto I adde that all things seeme more great, if they be beheld thorow the water. Letters, although they be but small and obscure, appeare more greater and clearer,

Vuu 2

when

it appears greater than the Sunne.

Of the colour.

A protest that the comparison betweene the rainebow and the mirror is proper.

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Examples shewing how the
Rainbow seemeth more greater then the
Sunne.

when they are read thorow a Violl filled with water. Apples seeme more fairer then they bee, if they swimme in a glasse. Behold the Starres thorow a cloud, and thou wilt iudge them more great, because our eye slippeth in the humiditie, and cannot faithfully apprehend that which it would. This appeareth cleerly, if thou fillest a glasse with water, and castest into it some ring; for although the ring remaineth in the bottome, yet the resemblance thereof appeareth in the top of the water. All that which a man seeth thorow the water, is farre greater then the thing it selfe. What wonder is it then, if in a moist cloud the image of the sunne appeareth more greater then naturall? When as this hapneth vpon two causes: because in the cloud there is somewhat that is like vnto glasse, which can shine: there is somewhat likewise of water, which although not formed, yet the nature thereof appeareth; and finally, of a cloud we see that there commeth raine.

CHAP. VII.

Of the triangle
of glasse that
present the
colours in the
Rainbow, and
the difference
betwixt them
and it.

BEcause (sayest thou) thou hast made mention of a glasse, euen from the same will I produce an argument againt thy selfe. Men are accustomed to make certaine rods of glasse very narrow, wherein there are diuers angles, and knots or points. If these bee shewed atwart the Sunne, they present the same colours of the Raine-bow, so that thou seest that in it there is not the image of the Sunne, but an imitation of his colour by reuerberation. In this thine argument there are many things that make for mee. First, this glasse ought to bee thinne, and as it were a mirror to reflect the Sunne. Afterwards it appeareth, that in stead of a right colour, it maketh a representation of a false colour, such as the necke of Pigeons in turning themselues is wont to doe, and changeth diuers colours. The same is in a mirror wherein no man perceiueh any colour, but an appearance of strange colours. This onely remaineth to bee resolued, why a man seeth not the Image and representation of the Sunne in these rods? They are not capable to expresse the same well, the matter is polished and disposed thereunto, by means whereof they inforce themselves to represent the Sunne; but it is impossible, because both their forme and fashion repugneth the same. If they were made and fashioned with convenient proportion, they would present as many Sunnes, as many infections as they had: but because their diuisions are confused, they have not so great brightnesse as a mirror, they onely begin to make representations of the Sunne, and finish them not; and for that they are neere, they confound all these representations and images together, whence the appearance of one colour proceedeth.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

BUt why doth not the Raine-bow, in stead of this great and halfe circle it maketh, become wholly round? Some thinke thus, that the Sunne being farre more higher then the clouds, beateth not, but vpon the vpper part, whence it followeth that the inferiour is not attainted with light. Entertaining the Sunne therefore but in one part, they likewise represent but a part of the Sunne, and this part is neuer more great then the halfe. This reason hath no great weight. Why? Because that although the Sunne inclineth towards the higher part, yet beateth he vpon the whole cloud. He hath coloured it then: why not? Since it is his custome to dart his beames, and to penetrate thorow euery thicknesse. Moreover, they contradict their owne intent; for if the Sunne be aboue, and for this cause reflecteth onely on the higher part of the clouds, neuer will the Arch descend vnto the earth; but we see that it extendeth it selfe euen vnto the ground. Furthermore, the Arch is alwayes opposit to the Sunne, neither appertaineth it any thing to the matter, whether it bee aboue or beneath the same, because that euery place that is opposit against the Sunne, cannot but bee beaten with the beames thereof. Again, sometimes a westerly Sunne causeth a Raine-bow, when as he reflecteth vpon the clouds beneath; & it is neere to the earth, which at that time hath but his halfe circle, although the clouds receiue the Sunne, when he tendeth to his declination. The Stoicks that would haue the light appeare in the cloud, as a fire doth in the mirror, say, that the cloud is hollow, and as it were a halfe bowle, which cannot make an entire globe, because it is onely a part thereof. I approve their intention, but not their argument. For if in the cauitie of a mirror, all the face of the opposit orbe is expresse, then in an halfe orbe there is no cause why the whole globe may not be beheld; and if we haue said heretofore that a man seeth entire circles of the same colours as the Raine-bow, inuironing the Sunne and the Moone: whence commeth it in the meane space, that these circles are intirely whole, and the Raine-bow is neuer but halfe a circle? Again, why doe hollow clouds, and such as are not flat and round, receiue and entertaine the Sunne? Aristotle saith, That after the Æquinoctiall in autumn the Raine-bow is made euery houre of the day, but that in Summer it is neuer seene, but vpon sun-rise, or sun-set. The cause is euident. First, because about noonstead the sun is so strong that he disperseth the clouds, by means whereof he cannot impress his image in them. But in the morning and euening he hath least force, and therefore the clouds may sustain and repulse him. Moreover, whereas he is not accustomed to forme the Arch, except at such time as he is opposit to those clouds where he causeth the same; when the dayes are shorter, then is he alwayes oblique. Therefore in euery part of the day, yea, euen at mid-day there are certaine clouds, that hee may oppositly beate vpon. But in Summer time hee is carried aboue our heads, by means whereof, at noonday hee beholdeth the earth so directly, that there is not any cloud that can bee opposed against him; for at that time they are all vnder him.

Why the Arch
is but halfe a
circle.

Vou 3

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of rods, that are
imperfectly dis-
coloured.

Now must I speake of rods or wind-gales, which are no lesse coloured and diuers then the Raine-bow, which notwithstanding ceasse not to foretell raine. Wee neede not stand long vpon this matter, for such rods or wind-gales are no other thing, but vnperfect Raine-bowes. For these haue a discoloured face, yet haue they nothing crooked in them. For they appeare for the most part neere vnto the Sunn in a moist cloud that beginneth but to spread, so that they haue the same colour that the Raine-bow hath, but not the forme, because the forme of the clouds, when they extend them selues, is different alio.

CHAP. X.

Such like varietie is in Crownes, but in this they differ, because Crownes are made euery where wherefoeuer the Sunne is; the Raine-bow is not made, but in opposition against the Sunne, the rods but neere vnto the Sunne. I can likewise this way deliuer a difference of all; if thou diuidest a Crowne, it is a Raine-bow, if thou straighten it, it is a rod. In all of them there is a multiplicitie of colours, of blew, red and yellow. Only the rods are neere to the Sun, the Raine-bowes all of them are either solare, or lunare, Crownes are made about all the planets.

CHAP. XI.

Of Parelies.

Here appeareth likewise another sort of rods, when as small, scattered, and long beames addresse themselves together, and streame from out some straits of the clouds. These are foretokens of vehement raines. But what shall I say here? What name shall I giue vnto these rods? Are they the Images of the Sunne? The Historians call them Sunnes, and write that two of them appeared, and sometimes three: the Grecians call them Parelia, because they are ordinarily seene neere vnto the Sunne, or because they resemble the Sunne somewhat, for they imitate not the whole, but his image and figure. Otherwise they haue no heate or vigor whatfoeuer, they are dull and imperfect. What name then shall we giue them? Shall I doe as *Virgil* did, who in the beginning doubted of the name, and afterwards gaue that whereof he doubted:

*What shall I call thee Rhetica diuine,
Content not therefore with Falernian wine?*

There is nothing that can hinder vs from calling them by the name of Parelia. These are images of the Sunne in a thicke and neighboring cloud, in the forme of a mirror. Some say that they are round clouds, shining, and like vnto the Sunne. For they follow him, remaining alwaies with him, as long as they dure in equall distance from him: no man is afraid to behold the image of the Sunne in any fountaine or still water, but the face hereof may appeare as well aboue as beneath, provided that he find proper matter to represent the face.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the eclipses of
the Sunne, and
how they are dis-
covered.

IF at any time we would discover whether there were an eclipse of the Sunne or no: wee fill certaine basons with oyle or pitch, because a thicke humour is not troubled so easily, and therefore retaineth the images that are offered vnto it. But the images and representations cannot appeare, except it bee in that which is liquid and still. At that time are we wont to marke, how the Moone opposed herself against the Sunne, how she hideth him, being greater then her selfe, by the opposition of her bodie, now in part, if it happen that their encounter be but oblique; sometimes she obscureth him, being right vnder him. This is called an intire defection and eclipse, during which we see the Starres, and the brightness of the day is lost, that is to say, at such time as the Sunne hath the Moone right vnder him. Euen as therefore vpon the earth wee may behold the image of them both; so may a man see them in the aire, when as it is so still and faire, as the face of the Sunne is imprinted therein, which other clouds receiue likewise but let slip, if either they are too moueable, or too rare, or too fullen. For the moueable scatter him, the rare and cleere let him slip, the thicke and darke some feele him not, no more then on the earth spotted mirrors represent a perfect forme vnto vs.

CHAP. XIII.

Of double Pa-
relies.

IN the same manner likewise two Parelies are wont to bee made. For what letteth it, but that there may bee as many as there are clouds that are fit to represent the image of the Sunne? Some are of that opinion, that as often as they see two such representations, that they iudge the one to be of the Sunne, the other of the image it selfe. For amongst vs likewise, when as diuers mirrors are disposed so, that the one is in the sight of the other, all of them are filled, but yet there is but one image of the thing; the other are the resemblances of that image. For it is no matter what the thing is, which is shewed in a mirror, because it representeth all that which is set before it. So there likewise in the aire, if any casualtie dispose the clouds, so as they behold one another: the one cloud will represent the Sunne it selfe, and the other represent the image of the Sunne. But such clouds as these ought to be thicke, light, shining, and entirely of the nature of the Sunne; and therefore all these representations are white, and resemble the Crescent of the Moone, because their brightness proceedeth from an oblique reuerberation of the sunne. For if the cloud be beneath the Sunne and neerer vnto him, the is dissipated by him, and being set farre off, of him, the cannot sufficiently entertaine his beames, to make shew of an impression, as mirrors represent not our faces which are farre off from them, because the sight of our eye hath not recourse vnto vs backe againe. Furthermore, the Parelies or Sunnes betoken raine (for I will vse the Historiographers name) especially if they shew towards the Southward, where the clouds are especially gathered: when such impressions as these beget the Sunne on euery side, if we beleuee *Aratus*, it betokeneth a Tempest.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of other diuers
sorts of fiery
Meteors.



It is time now to consider those other fires, which haue diuers appearances; sometimes there shineth a flarre, sometimes the heauen is as it were inflamed, sometimes there are fixed and inherent fires, sometimes they stay not in one place. There are many kinds of these scene; sometimes there are fires that outwardly are begit with a crowne, and inwardly flame. Sometimes the heauens gather together, in such sort as it they seemed to be some round digged trench. There are some that are called *Pithya*, when as the greatnesse of a grosse and round fire, like vnto a tunne runneth in the heauens, or elle burneth it selfe to nothing in one place. Furthermore there are * *Chasmata*, when as sometimes a space of the heauens openeth it selfe, and gysing wide seemeth as it were in the secret thereof to shew a burning flame: and all these Meteors are of different colours, some of intended rednesse, some of a lighter and fainter flame, some of a clearer and whiter light, some sparkling, and some equally yellow, without intrusions or radiations: we see therefore

The longest tract of Starres grow white behind.

These shoote and flie like starres, and seeme to shoote out long traines of fire, by reason of their immeasurable swiftnesse, when as our eyes cannot discerne their passing by, but wheresoeuer they ranne, beleueed that all that part was on fire. For such is the swiftnesse of their motion, that wee cannot apprehend their distances, but only see their ends. Wee see better the place where the bodie of a fiery flarre presenteth it selfe, then the way that it holdeth. He therefore designeth all his course, as it were with a continuall fire, because the slownesse of our sight followeth not the moments of his race, but seeth at once both from what place it issued, and whither it attaineth: which falleth out in lightnings; for the fire thereof seemeth long vnto vs, because he ouerslippeth his space in the twinkling of an eye, and all that circuit encountreth with our eyes, whereby it is discharged; yet is it not an extended bodie, that it may occupie all the space of the way whereby it cometh: for things so long and extenuated haue no force to giue a violent assault. How therefore doe these fires issue? When the fire is kindled by the collision of the ayre, it is violently pushed downward by the winde; and yet is it not alwaies caused by winde or by collision. Sometimes it is bred by reason of some opportunitie of the ayre; because that in this higher region there are diuers things that are drie, hot, and terrestrialall amongst which it is bred, and the matter that seedeth it faileth very suddenly, and therefore is it violently carried and vanished away. But why is it that his colour is diuers? what importeth it, what that is which is enkindled, and how vehement it is, whereby it is set on fire? But this fall of this fire signifieth winde, from that part from whence it breaketh forth.

CHAP.

whence this
lightning and
daring of them
proceedeth.

Their signific-
tion.

CHAP. XV.



How asketh mee likewise, how those lightnings are engendred, which the Græcians call *Sela*? In diuers sorts, as it is reported. It may be that the force of the wind breedeth them, or the heate of the highest Heauen may produce them: for when as the elementarie fire is spread euerywhere, sometimes it embraceth inferiour things if they be disposed to take fire. The motion of the Starres may by his course enkindle this fire, and transmit it to inferiour bodies. What then? Can it not be that the ayre repulseth that vertue which it hath from fire, as far as the æthereall Region, whence afterward there followeth a lightning or enkindling of a Starre, or some such like darting fire? Of these lightnings, some fall directly downwards, resembling shooting stars; some remayne in a certaine place, and shoot forth so much light as may disperse darknesse, and represent the day, vntil such time as hauing consumed their nutrature, they first of all become obscure, and afterwards after the manner of a flame that is extinguished in it selfe by continuall diminution, they are reduced to nothing. Of these some appeare in the clouds, some about the clouds, when as the thicke ayre hath drawne that fire as high as the stars, which it had long time nourished and entrayned neare vnto the earth. Some of these suffer no delay, but runne here and there, and are extinguished in that place where they first appeared. These are truly called lightnings, because their appearance is short and of small continuance. Neither fall they without some mischiefe; for oftentimes they doe as much mischiefe as tempestuous fire-breaks. By these haue wee seene the tops of houses strooken, which the Græcians call *Astropoplecta*. But these continued lightnings which haue their fire more strong, and which follow the motion of the Heauen, or that haue a particular tract, are called Comets, according to the opinion of the Stoicks whereof I am to intreate. There are diuers sorts of these, some bearded, some like torches or lamps, some are called *Cyparisse*, and others whose fire is scattered and long in their breaking forth. Some doubt, whether they ought to put in the ranke of these Comets those beames and tonns of fire that are seldome scene. For they haue need of much matter, and conglolation of fire, considering that sometimes their body is so great that it surpasseth the thicknesse and roundnesse of the rising Sunne. Amongst them thou mayest place these fires which are oftentimes mentioned in Histories, & whereof sometimes the brightnesse is so high that such fiery bodies seeme to be placed amongst the Starres, otherwhiles it is so low that it seemeth to be the burning of some houses, that are farre from the place where we are. In the time of the Emperour *Tiberius*, the Horse-men galloped to succour the Inhabitants of *Oriza*, supposing that their City was set on fire; but it was a heate of the Heauens, and a brightnesse of fire, thicke and foggy, which had shined for a great part of the night. Of these no man doubteth, but that they haue a flame which they shew, and their substance is certayne. The question is of the former, I meane of the Raine-bow and Crowne, whether they deceiue the sight and are but counterfeit, or whether they haue truly that in them which appeareth. Our opinion is, that neither the Raine-bow or Crowne haue any certayne body. For we esteeme that there is not any thing but fallacious in mirrors, which doe but represent a body subsisting without them; otherwile it would remaine therein, and could not be hidden or defaced by any other Image, neither should a man in one instant see so many

How lightnings
are made.

continued
lightnings or
Comets, and
their diuers
sorts.

whether the
Raine-bow and
Crowne be but
appearances.

infinite formes both appeare and vanish in one and the same mirrour. What is it then? They are Images and vaine representations of true bodies, nay, which is more, there are some artificiall mirrors found, which may make some things appeare faire contrarie to that they are; for, as I said, there are some mirrors that make their faces seeme crooked that looke into the same, and some there are that make their forme infinitely more huge, and exceeding humane habite, and the measure of our bodies.

CHAP. XVI.

IN this place I will tell thee a storie, to the end thou mayest vnderstand that Lust forgetteth not any instrument to prouoke his desire, but is diligent and ingenious to excite his owne fury. There was a man called *Hottius* so vnclenly and villainous, that he was not ashamed to make shew of his scurrillic and filthy inesse in the publike Theater. This rich and concetuous wretch was owner of two millions and five hundred thousand crownes; yet *Dinus Caesar* after that his slaues had murdered him, iudged that hee was vnworthy that any man should reuenge his death, & yet notwithstanding would he not declare that he was iustly slaine. He was not only impure in respect of one sex, but he surfetted in his lust both towards men & women, and made certain mirrors of that fashion, whereof I late made mention, that shewed the images of men far greater then they were, wherein one finger exceeded the arme in measure, length, and thickenesse. These did he dispose in such sort that when he endured the company of men, he saw in the mirrour all the execrable motions of him he had admitted, enioying by this means a false greatnesse of their members, as if it had beene true. In all bathes he made his choise, and chose him men by the open measure of their length, yet notwithstanding delighted he his insatiable lusts with fained appearances also. Goe now and say, that looking-glasses were inuented for cleannesse sake. It is shamefull to be spoken, what this Monster (worthy to be torne with his owne teeth) both spake and did; when as on euery side mirrors were opposed against him, to the end he might bee a beholder of his owne haynous villanies. And those things which a secret conscience would suppress, and such as any one being accused thereof, would be ashamed to confesse: these thrust he not onely into his mouth, but into his eyes. But vndoubtedly, haynous sinnes are afraid to behold themselves. The most desperatest villaines, and they that are disposed to all dishonour, feele that the tendernesse of shame easily seizeth their eyes. But this man, as it were a trifle to suffer things vnheard of, and vknowne in his owne person, hath made them come before his sight, and was not onely contented to see the greatnesse of his sinne, but thought good to plant about himselfe his mirrors, whereby he diuided, and disposed his villanies. And because he could not so diligently observe and see, at such time as he was seized vpon, and his head hidden, and his body tyed to the shamefull part of some villaynous Buggerer, hee represented his monstrous action to himselfe by resemblances: he saw in his mirrors the surquedrie of his mouth, he beheld the men whom he receiued vpon all the parts of his body. Sometimes diuiding himselfe betwixt a man and a woman, and abandoning his person to suffer both wayes, he beheld those villanies which a man durst not either imagine or name. What hath this impure carter left himselfe to doe in the darkenesse? Hee feared not the

A Member of intemperancy: a forme of shame the will, vnclenly of *Hottius*.

Model eyes blinke, and Christian ears abhor the revelations: themselves yeade them with shame, for such licentious, O can they bee such that breeds confusion for euer?

the day, and durst shew himselfe those monstrous embracements, and approue them vnto himselfe. What? doest thou thinke that he would not be painted in that habit? There is some modestie in those that are prostitute and harlots, and they couer in some sort those bodies of theirs, which are the objects of publike disgrace, whereby their vnhappy patience may lie hidden, so that in some sort the very Brothel-house lieth modestie in it. But that Monster made a publike spectacle of his vnclennesse, and shewed those things to himselfe, to couer and hide which no night were darke enough. I, saith hee, endure both a man and a woman at once, and notwithstanding in that part also which is left mee to some disgrace, I exercise the part of a man. All my members are exercised in pallardie; it is therefore requisite that mine eyes should haue their part, and that they should be witnesses and controllers. Euen those things which by situation are hidden from the sight of our bodies, are visited by art, lest any man should thinke that I know not what I doe: Nature did nothing when shee gaue a man so feeble instruments to execute his lusts, and when shee hath learned bruite beasts a more perfect contentment in their encounters. I will find a meanes how I may deceiue and falsifie my infirmities; wherefore should my iniquitie serue me, if I should not sinne more then Nature hath taught me? I will set these kind of mirrors about mee, that may present an incredible greatnesse of formes. If I might haue libertie I would make them truly as great, and because I may not, I will feed my selfe with the similitude; my villanie shall see more then it can conceiue, and shall admire at his owne patience. O detestable wickednesse! This man perchance was killed quickly, and before he saw these things. Hee serueth to be massacred before his mirror.

CHAP. XVII.

IN those Philosophers therefore bee now derided who dispute thus of the nature of mirrors, enquiring whence it cometh that our face the weth thus, and turneth towards vs. What pretended the Nature of things, that after shee had giuen vs true bodies, shee would likewise that a man should see these images? To what end was it to prepare this matter that was fit to entertayne forme? It was not to the end wee should plucke our beards by a looking glasse, or to polish a mans face: Nature hath not allowed Dissolution any thing to exercise her folly in: but first of all, because our eyes are too feeble to behold the Sunne at hand, to the end that they might comprehend the forme of the same, shee discouereth it in a more duller light. For although we may behold him both at his rising and his setting, yet should we not know his true forme in his replendent brightnesse, if his face were not shewed vs more easily to be observed in some pure & polished thing. Secondly, we should not see the eclipses, neither might we know what it is, if we did not more easily vpon the earth perceiue the images both of Sun & Moone. Thirdly, mirrors haue beene inuented to the end that a man might know himselfe. Of this inuention haue followed diuers benefits; first, the knowledge of our selues; afterwards, the resolution of some occurrences. The faire ought to learne herein how to auoid infamie: the foule, to redeeme by their vertuous behaviour, the imperfection of their countenance: The young, to remember their felices, that being in their flourishing years, that it is time for them to learne, and attempts actions of value. The old to shake off all misse-bee-seeming actions that

Of the use of mirrors vnclenly the occupiers of the further contemplation.

that are vnfitting for their white haire, and to meditate on death. For this cause nature ministred vs the meanes to see ourselues. A cleere Fountaine, and euery polished stone representeth euery mans face.

*Late did I see my selfe from the shore,
When seas were calme'd, and tempests stir'd no more.*

whence dissolution grow.

What were these fellowes, thinkest thou, that combed themselves by this glasse? That age was more simple, the men contented themselves with that which next came to hand; as yet the benefits of Nature were not wrested vnto vice, neither was her inuention employed and rauished to satistie dissoluition and exesse. At the first, as casualtie offered the oportunitie, so men discovered their faces: but afterwards, when as selfe-loue had insinuated it selfe amongst mortall men, and made euery man beleue that he was faire and well pleasing, they oftentimes despised those things, wherein at the first they saw and beheld themselves. But when the world became euill, and men began to puzzle themselves in the earth, the vse of Iron was first found out, which had not brought with it any incommodie, had men contented themselves therewith. But other mischiefs began to burgen out of the earth, which by their lustre began to appeare, and please those which other wise thought not thereupon, so that the one conceived a delight in beholding a goblet, another an instrument made of bras, and fit for seruice, and not to be beheld. Anon after some part of the earth was ordained to this seruice, although in other respects: silver shined not as yet, but some other matter more brittle and of lesse value. At that time also when as these old fathers liued temperately, yet cleanly enough, if they had washed away the sweate and dust which they had gathered by their daily trauell, in the fleeting streame; it was enough for them to stroake downe their haire, and to combe their long beards, and in this time euery one serued himselfe, and assisted others. That haire which in times past was vsually wont to be scattered by mens hands, was dressed and handled by women; but they that had a faire haire, contented themselves with the naturall growth thereof, as we see Horses and Lyons doe. But afterwards, when as dissoluition had gotten the better hand of the world, men made mirrors of gold and silver, as great as the bodie, and afterwards garnished them with precious stones, in so much as one of them cost a woman more silver, then in times past would haue sufficed to endow the daughters of great Capitaines, that were married vpon the common purse. Thinkest thou that those mens daughters had a mirror enchaft with gold, whereas they were enforced to borrow silver to marrie them? O happy pouertie, the cause of so worthie a renouew. Had they bene rich, the Senate had not allotted them their dowrie. But whosoever he was that had the Senat for his father in law, vnderstood that he had receiued a dower, which it was not lawfull to restore. At this day the summe of money that was furnished by the Senate for the daughters of *Scipio*, was not sufficient to buy a glasse for the daughters of enfranchised slaues. For dissoluition invited by little and little by her riches, is animated to much immodestie: and vices are growne to their full maturitie. In briebe, by such deuices all things haue bene so confused, that that which we call a womans cabinet, is an equipage of men, nay, I will say lesse, euen souldiers baggage. But now the mirror which was onely admitted for ornament sake, is made a necessary instrument to whatsoeuer vice.

The end of the first Booke of Naturall Questions.



OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS,

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,

Dedicated to LVCILLIVS.

The second Booke.

CHAP. I.



LI that which a man may draw in question in respect of the Vniuerse, is diuided into celestiall, aeriall, or earthly things. The first part examineth the nature of the stars & the greatnesse and forme of those fires, wherein the World is included: whether the heauen be solid and of a firme and concreate matter, or compact of a subtile and thin substance: whether it drieth or is driven: whether the stars are vnder it, or fixed in the contexture thereof: how the Sunne obserueth the annuall changes; or whether he obserueth an oblique course, and other such like questions. The second part intreateth of the impressions of the ayre, and such as conuerse betwixt heauen and earth. Of this sort are milles, raines, snowes, and thunders that astonish mens mindes. In briebe, whatsoeuer the ayre doth or suffereth; these call we sublime, because they are higher then the lowest. The third part sufficiently debateth vpon fields, lands, trees and plants, and (to vse the Lawyers phrase) all that which the earth containeth. Whence commeth it to passe (sayest thou) that thou hast put the question of the motion of the earth in that place, wherein thou art to discourse vpon thunder and lightning? Because that the trembling of the earth is caused by the violence of the wind, which is but agitated aire, which although it plunge it selfe vnder the earth, yet ought we not to consider it there, but in that place where nature hath lodged it. I will tell thee a thing that shall be more wonderfull, I must intreat of the earth amongst celestiall things. Why (sayest thou?) Because that when we discusse in this place the properties of the earth, whether

*A diuision of
Philosophy into
three parts, ac-
cording to Se-
neca.*

*why he inter-
mixeth the ques-
tions of the
aeris.*

X x

the

the be broad and vnequall, or immeasurably extended in length, whether it be compact wholly in the forme of a bowle, or assemblth her parts into an Orbe; whether she enclose the waters, or the waters haue enclosed and couered her; whether she be a sluggish or a senselesse creature, or a bodie full of spirit, but coming from another place, and such other like things that properly haue a relation or dependance on the earth, and if a man may so speake it, are placed in the ranke of those things that are most bale. But in questioning what the situation of the earth is, in what part of the world it hath beene seled, how it is opposed against the heauen and the starres, this question exceedeth the precedent, and is more high.

CHAP. II.

*Of the Elements
or spiritlike bodies,
whereof one is
the ayre.*

BEcause I haue made mention of those parts, into which all the matter of things created is diuided, I must speake something in general, and first of all presuppose, that amongst the bodies that are simple, whence proceed those that are composed, some reckon the aire. Thou shalt vnderstand what this is, and why I must speake thereof, if I ayme my discourse more higher, and if I say, that there is something continued, and wholly one, and some thing contrariwise, consisting of diuers parts. Continuation is a continuall coniunction of parts amongst themselves. Vnitie is a continuation without intermission, and a touch of two bodies vnited in themselves. Is it to be doubted that amongst these bodies which both we see and handle, which are either felt or feeble, but that there are some compound? These are such by connexion or aceruatiue, as for example, a rope, corne, or a ship. Again, some not compounded, as a tree or a stone. Therefore thou must needly grant, that amongst those things likewise which are separated from sense, but are apprehended by reason, there is in some of them a vnitie of bodies. See how I spare thine eares, I could acquire my selfe, if I would vse the Philosophers termes, and say, vnite bodies; but since I forgiue thee this, see likewise that thou giue me thanks. Why so? If at any time I shall say one, remember thy selfe that I referre this not vnto number, but vnto the nature of the body, not composed by externall helpe, but by his owne vnitie: by this note, Ayre is one of the simple bodies.

CHAP. III.

*Of the parts, and
of the matter of
the world.*

The world comprehendeth all those things which can fall within our knowledge; of these some are parts, some are left in stead of matter: all nature wanteth matter, euen as euery art that is Manual. What this is, I will make it more plaine. The hands, the bones, the nerves, the eyes are a part of vs; the sucke of that meat which we retaine, and such as must be distributed into parts, the matter. Again, bloud is as it were a part of vs, which notwithstanding is a matter also: for it preparerth other things likewise; and notwithstanding it is of the number of these, by whose means the whole bodie is made.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.



Ayre is a part of the World, yea and a necessarie part, for this is it that vnith both heauen and earth, that so separateth the lowest from the highest, that notwithstanding they are ioyned by it. He separateth them, because he is in the midst of them; and vnith them, because both of them by his meanes are agreed together. Al that which is sent him from the earth, he communicateth with the heuens. Again, he imparteth to terrestriall things, the efficacie of celestially bodies, which I so call a part of the world, as I do beasts and plants: for both these kindes of beasts and plants are a part of the world, because they haue been created as things necessarie to perfect the whole, and because the whole cannot consist without them, but one liuing creature and one plant is as it were a part; for although it should die, yet that which is cut off, is of the whole: but aire, as I haue said, cleaueth both to heauen and earth, it is borne both with the one and the other; but that hath vnitie, whatsoever is a natue part of any thing, for nothing is borne without vnitie.

The aire is a necessary part of the world.

CHAP. V.



SO, the earth is both a part of the world & the matter. I think thou wilt not aske me why it is a part, for as well maist thou aske me why the heauen is a part; for no more can the Vniuers be without this, then without that: but it is composed of these parts, by meanes whereof he maintaineth all their stars in their being and vigor, all liuing creatures and all plants. It is the heauen and earth that furnisheth all creatures and the world (that requirerth so many things) with all their vigor, that maintaine many celestially bodies in their being, turning so swiftly continually, and so greedily both in their motion, and in their nourishment. In briefe, by the meanes of heauen and earth, all the nature of things receyue that which is needfull for it, for his nourishment and conseruation. From them likewise hath the world drawne all that which hee needeth, as long as he shall endure. I will propose vnto thee a little example to make thee comprehend so greata thing: Egges containe as much humour as is necessarie for the being of that creature which is to be hatched.

The earth is a part also, and the matter of the world.

CHAP. VI.



The ayre is so continuare with the earth, and so vnited with it, that as soone as she departeth from her place, he supplyeth it; It is a part of the whole world, and yet the same, and receiue what soeuer nutriment the world sendeth him, in which respect we must take it for matter and not for a part. Hence is all inconstancie and tumult; This doe some men compose of distant small bodies, as of dust, and depart very much from the truth; for neuer is there an accord of a bodie that is framed of parts, but by vnitie when as the parts ought to consent to the intention, and to adde strength thereto. But the Ayre if it be diuided into A,

whereof the ayre is composed.

A refutation of the error of the Epicure, who compoeth the ayre of Atomes.

XXX 2

comes,

The force of the
ayre exercised
by effects.

Diuers compa-
risons to coole in
this refutation.

to mes, that is to say into small parts, is scattered. And such things as are scattered, may not be maintained. These things that are swolne and yeeld not to the stroke, will shew thee the intention and force of the ayre. Thou shalt perceiue it in waigthy things, which are caried away by the wind for a great space. Thou shalt perceiue it by voices, which are either more feeble or stronger, according as the ayre is moued: for what is a voyce, but an intention of the ayre, to the end it may be heard, formed by the repercussion of the tongue? What is euery course and motion, are they not the workes of agitated ayre? This is it that giueth force to the nerues, and swiftnesse to those that run: This is it that when it is vehemently moued and troubled in it selfe, rendeth vp trees and forrests, and beating vp whole houses on hie, at last breaketh them in pieces. This is it that encrease the Sea when it is calme and still. Let vs come to lesser matters; for what long is there without the intention of the spirit? Cornets and Trumpets, and those that by some pressure yeeld a greater found then may be deliuered by the voice, doe they not enlarge their founds by the intention of the aire? Let vs consider the great efficacie of feedes so small, as scarcely a man may discern them; if these fall into the clefts of stones, yet doe they push forth and waxe great in such sort, that they riuie and cleaue huge stones in sunder, and dissolue them in a moment; and small and tender rootes in their beginning in succession of time, skorne and breake both stones and rocks: what else is this but an intention of spirit, without which there is nothing strong, and against which nothing may resist? And by this, if by nothing else we may conceiue that there is an vnitie in the ayre, because our bodies are vnited in themselves; for what else is it that containeth them but spirit? by what other thing is it that our minde is agitated? What is his motion but an intention? What is intention, but out of vnitie? What vnitie except it were in the aire? And what other thing produceth fruits and weake seedes, and raiseth flourishing trees, and extendeth their branches, and stretcheth them out on high, then the intention and vnitie of the spirit?

CHAP. VII.



Thers teare and rend the ayre into small peeces, so as they intermixe void with it, and they thinke it to be an argument that the ayre is not a full bodie, but that it containeth much vacuity in it, because birds haue so easie a motion therein, because both small and great may haue their passage thorow it: but they are deceived; for the like facilitie likewise is in the waters, and yet may no man doubt of their vnity, which so entertaine bodies, that they alwaies ioyne themselves to them. This doe the Latines call *Circumstance*, and the Grecians *Peristasis*, which is as well within the ayre, as in the water: For it enuironeth euery body by which it is impelled. There is no need therefore of any void to intermixe therewith. But of this in another place.

CHAP.

That the ayre is
a full bodie, and
not void, ap-
peares in whole
ner in parts.

CHAP. VIII.



Ut now it is to be gathered that there is a certaine vehemencie in Nature, and that of great force: for nothing is vehement but by intention, and yet vndoubtedly nothing can be intended by any other thing, except it be intended by it selfe; for we say after the same maner, that nothing can be moued by another, except something were moueable of it selfe. But what is it that may be thought to haue more intention of it selfe then spirit? And who is he that will denie that this is intended, when he seeth the earth, the mountains, houses, and many wals, great Cities with the people, and all the Sea-shoares shaken? The swiftnesse & great extent of the ayre sheweth his intention. The eie presently intendeth his sight through many miles, one voice at one time resoundeth through many Cities, the light creepeth not on by little and little, but in an instant spreadeth it selfe ouer all things.

Of the agitation
and power of the
ayre.

CHAP. IX.



Ow can the water be intended except it be by the ayre? Doubtst thou but that that overflow of water that riseth and increaseth from the foundation of the lowest sands and channell, & mounteth to the verietop of the Amphitheater, is without the intention of water? Truly there is no Crane or any other Engine that may more mount or driue the water then the spirit. She applyeth her selfe vnto it, she is raised, and indeuoureth many things contrary to her nature, and being created to flect, ascendeth vpward when the ayre possesseth or impelleth her. Those barks that are ouer-laden, shew they not that it is not the water but the winde that keepeth them from sinking? For the water would giue place, neyther could it sustaine any burthens, except the her selfe were sustained. A Trencher being cast out from a higher place into an Fish-pool descendent not, but leapeth backe; how, I pray you, except it were by the benefit of spirit? How doth the voice penetrate thick wals, but for this cause, because there is ayre in solid & massiue things, which both receiue and sendeth back the sound that came from without, not onely intending by the spirit those things that are open, but those things likewise which are hidden, and included? which he may easily doe, because he is no waies diuided, but by those verie meanes whereby he seemeth separated, he gathereth vp himselfe into himselfe. Plant betwix him and vs thicke wals, and mightie and high mountaines, this hindereth him from comming to vs, but not vnto himselfe, for that is onely intercluded whereby we may feele him. He himselfe passeth thorow that which is diuided, and not onely spreadeth himselfe thorow the midst, but begirerth it on euerie side.

The efficacie of
this agitation,
and how the ayre
is mixed amidst
the earth and
waters.

XXX 3

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the situation
and diuers quar-
ters of the ayre.

THe ayre passeth and spreadeth it selfe from the etherial and cleere region, as farre as the earth, more swift, more subtile, and higher then the earth and waters, yet more thicke and waigh tie then that region, being of himselfe colde and obscure; his light and heate are borrowed from another place, yet in euery place he is not like himselfe, for he is changed by his neighbours. The higher part thereof is driest, hottest, and for this cause also the most thinest, by reason of the vicinitie of eternall fires, and those so many motions of starres, and the continual reuolution of the heauens. That lower part, which is neere vnto the earth, is thicke and obscure, by reason that it entertaineth the exhalations of the earth. The middle part is more temperate if thou comparc it with the higher and the lower, as much as concerneth drynesse and tenuitie, but colder then eyther part; for the higher parts thereof feele the heate of the neighbouring starres: the inferiour likewise are warmed, first by the exhalations of the earth, which bring with them very much heate; againe, by reuerberation of the beames of the Sunne, which redoubling their heate, as farre as they may reflect, doe warme him gently: againe, by the warme vapour of liuing creatures, hearbes and plants; for none of all these can liue without heate. Adde hereunto how, not only those fires that are made by hand, & are certaine, but such as are covered by the earth, wherof some haue broken forth innumerable, are alwaies burning in obscure and secret places. We may also well say, that being the cause of fertilitie in so many places, they haue some heate; for colde is barren, and heate is fit for generation. So then the middle Region of the ayre being farre distant from the higher & lower, remains cold, because the nature of the aire is such.

CHAP. XI.

Why the ayre is
moore leaue
inconstant.

Seeing, wherens it is thus diuided, in the lower part thereof, it is for the most part variable, inconstant, and mutable. About the earth it doth very much, it suffereth very much, it agitateth and is agitated, yet all of it is not affected in the same sort, but diuersly in diuers places, and in his parts as both vnquiet and troubled. But the causes of this his inconstancie and change, are in some sort ministred by the earth (whose positions being diuersly changed, are of great moment in respect of the temperature of the ayre) in some sort by the course of the Planetes; amongst which thou maist impute the most to the Sunne. The yeare followeth him, according to his motions, the Winters and Summers are changed. The Moone hath the next power. The rest of the starres likewise no lesse affect the earth then that aire which hath inconstancie vpon the earth, & by their contrary and crooked risings and settings now moue colde, now showers, and are the causes of other iniuries of the earth. Hauing to speake of thunder, lightning, and fulgurations, it concerned me to make this Preface, for since such impressions are caused in the aire, it was necessary for me to discover the nature thereof, to the end it might more easily appeare, what it might eyther doe or suffer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.



Here are three things therefore that happen, fulgurations, lightning, and thunder, which are made together, and are not so soone heard the one as the other. Fulgurations shew the fire that lightning sendeth: the one is, if I may so speake it, as it were a threatening and a thunder without noise. The other is the effect and stroke of the threat. There are some of these wherin all men consent, some wherin mens opinions are different. They accord in this, that all these are made either in the Clouds or of the Clouds. They likewise confesse that they are of fire, or of a hot and drye exhalation. Let vs now descend to those things that are in controversy. Some thinke that fire is in the Clouds, some hold that it is made for a time, and that it beginneth not to be, except then when it appeareth. Those that are of this opinion, are not agreed as touching this, from whence this fire proceedeth. For some gather it from the light: other some say that the beames of the Sunne, by force of their reuerberation and frequent reflection, enkindle the fire. *Anaxagoras* maintayneth that it distilleth from the Ethernall Region, and that from this so great heate of the Heauens many of these do fall, which were long time kept and enclosed in the Clouds. *Aristotle* thinketh that this fire is not gathered long time before, but that it shoote out at that verie instant that it is formed: whose opinion is thus. Two parts of the World, Earth and Water, lye below, and euery one of these contribureth to himselfe some thing. The earthly vapour is drye and resembleth smoke, whence arise the Winds, the Thunders, and Lightnings. That of the Waters is moyst, and conuerteth it selfe into Raies and Snowes. But when this dry exhalation of the Earth that produceth the Winds, being thicke, commerh to ioyne it selfe with the Clouds, that are vehemently closed and locked one within another, it breaketh it selfe. And in this conflict the stroke yeeldeth a noise, such as we heare in our Ovens, when the flame cracketh, if the fire be made of greene wood. And as the Wind hauing some moysture intermixed with him, when as it is assembled and shut in one, bursteth out into a flame: in the same manner, that spirit which, as I said a little before, was expressed by the collision of Clouds, and being impacted with others, neither can be broken nor presse forth in silence. And different the cracke is, by reason of the different dashing together of the Clouds, wherof some yeeld a greater sound, some a lesser. But that force of the expressed spirit is fire, which hath the name of flashing or fulguration enkindled easily, without any force, and various; yet see we the fulguration before we heare the sound. Because the sense of the eye is more swifter, and exceedeth the eare by farre.

Of the celestial
fire according
to the Aire, that is,
fulgurations,
lightnings and
thunder.

Diuers opinions
as touching the
nature of them.

The summe of
Aristoteles opi-
nion. Lib. de
Caelo. cap. 3.

CHAP. XIII.



But that their opinion is false, that containe the fire in Cloudes, may bee gathered by diuers reasons. If it falleth from the Heauens, why falleth it not daily, whereas so much thereof burneth continually there? Againe, they haue yeelded no reason why the fire which naturally mounteth vpward, should flow downward. For the condition of our fire is otherwise, whose sparkles which haue

whether there be
fire reserved in
the Clouds, or
whether it fall-
eth from on
high.

some

some weight doe fall. So then the fire descendeth not, but is precipitated and drawne downwards. No such matter befalleth the Elementary fire, which is most pure, and wherein there is nothing that may be depressed, or if any part thereof should fall, the whole is in danger, because that that which is comprehensible may wholly perish. Moreover, if that whole leuitie daily hindereth him from falling, hold any thing that is weighty secretly hidden in himselfe, how can he subsist in a place, whence of necessity he ought to fall? What then? Are not some fires wont to bee carried into the inferiour parts, as these verie lightnings the which are now in question? For they goe not, but they are carried by Fate. There is some power that depresseth them, which is not in the Etheriall Region. For nothing in this Region is compelled by force, nothing is broken, nothing falleth out extraordinarily. All is governed, there is a repured fire that enuironeth the World, lodged in the highest extremities of this round Machine, the which doth all that fittingly, which is requisite for the entertainment of himselfe: it cannot moue from thence, neither be abased by any other forren accident, because in the Etheriall Region there is no place for any incertaine body. For those things that are certain and governed striue not.

CHAP. XIV.

YOU say (I tell you) when as you yeeld a reason why certaine Stars flee from one place vnto another, that some parts of the Aire may draw vnto themelues the fire that falleth from the Etheriall Region, and that by it they are enflamed aboue. But there is a great difference in this, whether we say that fire falleth from the Etheriall Region (which Nature permitteeth not) or that by reason of the fiery force it enkindleth those things that are beneath, or that it is enkindled heere. For the fire falleth not from thence (for that cannot be) but is bred heere. Wee see amongst our selues, that when as fire scattereth it selfe abroad, that some Ilands that haue beene long times hot, conceiue flame, and take fire of themelues. It is therefore likely to be true, that in the higher Region of the Aire, (the which hath this propertie to draw fire vnto it selfe:) that fire is enkindled sometimes by the heate of the Etheriall Region, which couereth and embraceth it on euery side. For it must needs be, that both the lower part of the Etheriall Region hath somewhat in it that resemblen the Aire, and that the highest Aire be not vnlike to the lower part of the Etheriall Region, because that one thing cannot readily passe or ioyne it selfe with that which is directly contrary thereunto. For these by their Neighbourhood by little and little intermixe their force in such sort, that thou mayest doubt whether of them both it is.

CHAP. XV.

SOME of our Stoicks thinke that the Ayre (when as it is easily changed into fire and water) draweth not from other parts, new causes of inflammations, but that in agitating himselfe, hee enkindleth himselfe, and that then when he scattereth the thick and compact conuaitie of the Cloudes, that necessarily in the enter-shocke of those so vaste bodies, there should be formed a great noise. But this

CON-

If the Aire draw fire from the Etheriall Region, or if it be enflamed.

The opinions of the Stoiques, as touching the inflammations of the Aire, and the agitation of it selfe.

conflict of Clouds (which hardly giue place the one vnto the other) is of no small force to enkindle a flame, even as in some sort the Iron assiteth the Iron to cut, although that cutting be a thing proper vnto Iron.

CHAP. XVI.



HAT difference then is there betwene fulguration and lightning? I will tell thee: Fulguration is a fire that is spread at large. Lightning is a fire that is gathered and darted with violence. Wee are wont in ioyning both our hands together to take vp water, and afterwards in shutting to force it out, as it were, out of a Pipe. Suppose such like things to bee done there. The freightnesse of those Cloudes that are compressed & shut together, yeeld forth the wind that is shut in them, and by this meanes are they inflamed, and then vomit out fire as it were the stroke of some Engine of Warre. For wee see Arbelctres and Scorpions pull forth their Arrowes with some noise.

The difference betwene fulguration and lightning.

CHAP. XVII.



SOME thinke that the spirit passing through cold and moist maketh this noise. As the glowing Iron hisseth when it is thrust into the water. But euen as if a burning red hot peece thereof be put into water, it is not extinguished without much hissing: So (as *Anaximenes* saith,) when as the wind encountreth with the Cloudes he causeth thunders; and whilest it striueth and wandreth through the resisting and open Clouds, in his very flight he enkindleth fire.

How thunders are caused after Anaximenes opinion.

CHAP. XVIII.



ANAXIMANDER referred all things to winde. Thunders, saith he, are the noise of a Cloud that is strooken: Why are they vnequal? Because the shock it selfe is vnequall. Whence commeth it that it thundereth in faire weather? Because at that time alio the winde breaketh through the thicke and dry Ayre. But why sometimes doth it not lighten and thunder? because the winde that was ouer-feeble to make fire, was strong enough to make a noise: What then is fulguration? It is an agitation of the Ayre, that separating it selfe and falling out of the Clouds, discovereth a fire that is feeble and retayned. What is lightning? It is the course and out-breaking of a winde more violent and thicke.

The opinion of Anaximander hereupon.

And as touching thundering and lightning.

CHAP. XIX.



THE opinion of *Anaximander* is, that these impressions are made by some influence of the Etheriall Region into these of the Aire. So fire impacted in cold Clouds maketh a noise. But when it deuideth them, fulguration followeth, and the lesser force of fires, causeth fulguration, the greater, lightning.

Anaximanders opinion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The examination
of Diogenes
Apolloniate
hypothesis.

DIOGENES APOLLONIATES saith, that some thunders proceed from fire, some are caused by winde. The fire produceth those which he foregoeth and foretelleth: the winde those that yeld a clap without lightning. I confesse that the one is caused, and is without the other sometimes: not withstanding in such sort, that their power is not separated, but that the one may be produced by the other. For who would deny that the violent winde in stirring vp a vehement noise, could not likewise make a fire? And who likewise will not confesse this, that the fire may sometimes breake the cloudes, and yet not enforce his passage, if after hee hath trauesed some, hee is stayed and extinct by a more greater assembly of other cloudes. It followeth then that the fire conuerteth it selfe into wind, and that it loseth his light and clearenesse when it burneth and enflameth that vpon the Earth which it hath followed. Adde hereunto, now that it must needs be, that the violence of lightning pulseth forth the wind, and sendeth it before him, and draweth it likewise after him when he cleaueth the ayre by so weightie a stroke. And therefore it is that all things before they feele the stroke of the thunder, trembling being shaken by the assault of the wind which the fire driueth before him.

CHAP. XXI.

Seneca's opi-
nion, as touch-
ing lightning &
thunder.

DISMISSING our Masters, for the present, let vs begin to speake of our selues, and from those things that are confessed, let vs passe ouer to those things that are doubtfull: but what is that which is confessed? That lightning is fire, and fulguration likewise, which is nought else but a flame, and should bee lightning if it had more force. That it is fire, the heate thereof testifieth, and the effect maketh proofe enough: for lightning oftentimes is the cause of mightie fires: woods and parts of Cities are burned vp by it; yea, those that are not stricken, yet are they seene to be blasted, and some are coloured as it were with soote. Furthermore, all things that are stricken with lightning, smell of sulphure. It followeth therefore that lightning and fulguration is fire, and that the one is intermixed with the other, in such sort, as that fulguration which is not carried as farre as the Earth; and againe lightning is a fulguration that is carried as far as the Earth. It is not a desire I haue to speake much that lengtheneth this Discourse; but to the end I may prouethat these things are of the same semblance, marke and nature. Lightning is somewhat more then fulguration; let vs turne this, Fulguration, is almost as much as Lightning.

CHAP. XXII.

A comparison is
taken from ma-
teriall fire, and
that which is
celesstiall, that
sometyme ex-
ceedeth both light-
nings and tem-
pestuous.

IT being manifest that both of them are fires, let vs examine how fire is made amongst vs: for it is made in the same sort, as it is aboue vs, & that in two sorts; the one is when it is enforced out of a flint stone; the other is, if it be found out by attrition, as when as two woods are long times rubbed the one against the other: e-

uery

CHAP. XXIII.

BUT haply those Cloudes also that are enforced and driven against other Cloudes by an agitation of a murmuring wind, and that is not ouer-strong, will engender a fire that will shine without faling; for there needeth a lesse fire in fulguration then in lightning.

By those things that are abouesaid, we haue gathered to what heat they attaine which are rubbed one against another. Since then the Ayre which of his nature is easily changed into fire, by the violence of his forces being conuerted into fire is broken, it is both credible and likely that the fire which is fraile, and will sodainly perish, issueth from a matter that is not solid, where-in it may continue long time. It passeth therefore and stayeth no longer then his way endureth, for it is pushed forth without any matter to maintaine and feed it.

CHAP. XXIV.

NOW commeth it then to passe (sayest thou) that where thou sayest, that this is the nature of fire to mount vpwards, yet that the lightning falleth downwards; what, is that false which thou hast spoken of fire? For he as well mounteth vpwards as he falleth downwards. Both of these may be true; for fire by nature mounteth like a Pyramis, and if nothing hindreth it, it ascendeth: as water by nature is carryed downwards; but if some force be added thereunto to impell it to the contrary, yet returneth he to the place from whence he fell by means of the shower; but the lightning falleth by the same necessity whereby it is driuen out. So farreth it with those fires as with trees, whose tops if they be tender, may bee so drawne downe that they may touch the Earth, but when thou shalt let them goe, they will returne vnto their owne place. Thou art not therefore to respect the habit of euery thing as it is enforced. If thou wilt permit fire to goe whither it will, it will mount to Heaven, that is, to the place where euery light thing should be: but when hee meeteth with any thing that may repulse him, or alter his ascent, this is not naturall vnto him, but enforced.

CHAP.

If lightning and
thunder arise
by means of the
inter-fricke of
cloudes.

Why the light-
ning falleth
downwards
when as it is the
propertie of it to
mount upwards.

CHAP. XXV.

How fire may issue from water, that is to say, from the clouds.

Ou maintaine (sayest thou) that Clouds encountering vehemently one with another engender fire; but if they be moist and wet, how than can they engender fire, which in all likelihoods is vnfit to haue his beginning from a Cloud, as from water?

CHAP. XXVI.

What fire that is bred, is not water at the first in the Cloudes, but thicke Aire, prepared to turne into water; and yet not changed into the same, but now readie and inclined to be changed. Thou art not to thinke that it is gathered then, but onely powed out. It is made and falleth at once: besides, if I should grant, that a cloud is moyst, and full of entertained waters, yet is there nothing that hindereth, but that fire may be drawne out of moysture, nay, (which thou wilt more wonder at) out of humour it selfe. Some haue denyed that any thing may be changed into fire, before it were turned into water. A cloud therefore notwithstanding the water that it containeth, in some part may render fire, as oftentimes one part of the wood burneth, the other sweateth. Neither doe I say that these are not contrarie amongst themselves, and that the one destroyeth not the other, but where the fire is more forcible then the water is, it getteth the mastery. Againe, whereas the abundance of humour exceedeth, then is fire without any effect. And therefore greene wood burneth not. It importeth therefore how much water there is. For a little resisteth not, neither hindereth the fire. Why not? In the memory of our ancestors, as *Poſidonius* testifieth, when as in the *Egean* Sea there appeared an Island and the Sea fomed by day, and from the depth thereof there arose a smoke. Afterwards there issued a fire not continuall, but shining and sparkling at certaintimes, after the manner of lightnings, as often as the heate beneath was overcome of the water that couered it. After this, certaine stones discouered themselves which were turned out of their places, and rocks partly whole which the wind had driuen forth before they were wholly burned, partly eaten and turned into the lightnesse of a Pumice stone. At last there appeared the top of a Mountaine, blacke and almost burned: afterwards there was somewhat added to the height thereof, and that Rocke grew to the bignesse of an Island. The same happened againe in our memorie, when *Valerius Asiaticus* was Consul. Why haue I related these things? To the end it might appeare, that neither the fire is extinguished when the Sea ouerfloweth it, nor the force thereof is prohibited to issue by the weight of mightie waters. *Aſclepiodotus*, *Poſidonius* ſcholer writeth, that the fire issued forth of the water to the height of two hundred fadomes. And if the immeasurable force of waters ascending from the depth, could not reſtraine the force of the flames: how much leſſe can it extinguiſh fire in the aire, where the humor is thin, and but like a dew? So that this reason hath no difficulty in it, that may hinder the cauſes of theſe fires, which we ſee neuer ſparkle, except at ſuch time as there is an inclination to raine, for in faire weather commonly we ſee no lightnings. A faire and cleere day ſeareth none of theſe, neither the night alſo, except it be obſcured by darke clouds. What then? Doth it not lighten

Anſwer to this queſtion.

Anſwerable example.

lighten ſometime when as the ſtarres are cleere, and the night is calme? Yet art thou to know that clouds are there whence the brightneſſe appeareth, although the mountaines hide them from our ſight. Adde hereunto (which may bee) that the moiſt and low clouds yeeld fire, by beating one againſt another, which mounting into the higher parts, are ſcene in the cleereſt and pureſt part of heauen, although they are bred in a blacke and obſcure cloud.

CHAP. XXVII.

Some haue ſo diſtinguiſhed Thunders, that they haue ſaid that there is one kinde of them that maketh a grieuous murmure, ſuch as is wont to fore-runne an earth-quake, when as the windes that are encloued vnder the earth doe roare and make a noiſe. I will tell you how theſe men ſuppoſe that this may bee done. When as the clouds haue locked the winde within themſelues, the ayre that is toſſed in the hollow parts thereof, yeeldeth a ſound like vnto roaring, boarſe, vnequall, and continuat; and therefore alſo where the Region of the ayre is moiſt, it ſhutteth vp the Thunder from iſſuing forth; and therefore theſe kinde of thunders are the fore-tokeners of a ſhower that is at hand. There is another ſort that a man may rather call crackes then Thunder, ſuch as which we are wont to heare when as a bladder is broken ouer a mans head. Such thunders breake forth when as a cloud that is gathered together is diſſolued, and ſendeth forth that winde wherewith it is diſtended. This ſudden and vehement noiſe is properly called a cracke, which where it burſteth forth, cauſeth men to fall and ſound; and ſome liuing to wax ſtupid and aſtoniſhed, and wholly beſide themſelues, whom we call ſtrooken or *Apoplectique*, whoſe mindes that celeſtiall ſound hath driuen out of their place. This cracke likewiſe may bee cauſed by this meanes, that is, when as the ayre that is incloſed in a hollow cloud, and being extenuated by his motion is ſcattered abroad, and afterwards ſtriving to haue a more larger place, and retained by the cloud that incloſeth him, he maketh a noiſe. What therefore? May it not be likewiſe, that as in ſtriking one hand vpon another, we make a loud ſound, ſo the clouds that are thicke by beating one againſt another, ſhould make a great noiſe, becauſe they are great things that concur?

Of the diuerſitie of thunders.

CHAP. XXVIII.

We ſee (ſaith he) clouds that hemme in the mountaine tops, and yet no ſound is made; firſt of all they thunder not at euery time they encounter, but then when they are ſtily compoſed to yeeld a ſound: when the backs of our hands be beaten together they yeeld no clap, but one palme being ſtroken againſt another, there followeth a ſound; yea, and it appertaineth much to the matter whether the hands that are clapped one againſt another be hollow, or flat & extended. Furthermore, the clouds muſt not onely goe, but be driuen forward by a great and tempeſtuous force. The mountaine likewiſe doth not cut the cloude, but directeth it, and ſcattereth that which firſt cometh to meeete with it. Neither doth a bladder likewiſe, howſoeuer it let out the winde, alwaies cracke: if it be

Why the cloudes broken above the mountaine tops, and yet no thunder followeth.

Y y y

cut

cut in two, it issueth forth without any sense of the care: if you will haue it sound, it must be broken and not cut. The same say I of the clouds, except they hocke together with great violence, they cannot make a noyse. Adde herunto now that the clouds which are gathered together vpon a mountaine, break not, but are spread abroad into some parts of the mountaine, as on the boughes of trees, on bushes, sharpe stones, and eminent rocks. Behold how they are dissolved, and if they haue any breath in them they let it out in diuers sorts, which except it breake forth all at once, maketh no noyse; whereupon note that the wind that whisteth about a tree, thundereth not, but singeth. To make thunder there needeth a great clap that may at one time disperse the whole globe of winde.

CHAP. XXIX.

Moreouer the ayre is apt of it selfe to entertaine voices: why not when as a voice is nought else but a repercussion of the aire? It is necessary therefore that the clouds, both those that are hollow, and they that are extended, should bee deuised and secured on both sides. For thou seest that empty vessels sound more then those that are full, and those strings that are wound vp, more then they that are let slip, so Drummes and Cymballs yeeld a sound, because such instruments repell the ayre that resisteth them outwardly, and could not sound in the ayre, except they were hollow.

CHAP. XXX.

There are some of the opinion, amongst whom *Asclepiodotus* is one, that lightning and thundring may breake forth, by reason of the encounter of some bodies. *Etna* in times past abounded with much fire, and poured forth a mighty multitude of burning land. The day was covered with dust, and sudden night terrified the people. At that time it is reported that there was much thunder and lightning, which were caused by the concourse of drie bodies, and not of clouds; for it is very likely, that in so great an inflammation of the ayre there were none. *Cambyses* in times past sent an Armie to the Temple of *Ammon*, whom the land (being scattered by the Southerne winde) covered like flakes of snow, and at length buried and overwhelmed. And then also it is very likely that there were thunders and lightnings, by the attrition of sands rubbing one against another. This opinion is not repugnant to our purpose; for we haue said that the earth breatheth forth bodies of both natures, and that thorow all the Regions of the ayre there wandereth some drinse and humiditie: if therefore any such thing happen, it maketh a cloud more solid and thicke, then if it had beene covered by a simple winde; and this cloud may be broken, and yeeld forth a sound. As touching the aboue named accidents, whether it bee that the ayre hath beene filled by such streaming fires, or whether it be by the winds ouerturning the sands, it must needs be that a cloud must be first formed, whence afterwards there may issue thunder. But drie things engender clouds as well as moist, and as we haue said, a cloud is but the thickeesse of grosse and assembled ayre.

CHAP.

How oftenall
the ayre is in
thunders, and
how.

Asclepiodotus
opinion con-
firmed by two rare
examples.

CHAP. XXXI.

If thou wilt obserue the same, thou shalt find that the effects of Thunder are maruailous; neither is it to bee doubted but that there is some extraordinary and diuine power intermixed with it. Siluer melteth in purfes, and yet are they neither rent nor spoyled. The sword is moulten, and scabberd vntouched. The Iron runneth downe from the laueline top, and yet the Steele vnscared. The wine thickeneth and remaineth three dayes as if it were Ice, when the Tunne is broken. This likewise mayest thou put amongst those things that are worthy note; That men and other creatures that are stroken with lightning, haue their heads turned towards that place from whence it parteth, and that all the tops of those trees that are blasted bend towards the lightning. Furthermore, Serpents and all other venomous beasts lose their venome if they be touched with lightning. Whence, saith he, know you this? In enuened bodies no worme breedeth; but those bodies that are strooken with lightning are filled with wormes within a few dayes.

Of the maruailous effects of lightnings.

CHAP. XXXII.

Moreouer I say that lightnings preface things that are to come, not mimittin only a signe of one or two things, but oftentimes they foretell the whole order of succeeding Fates, yea, and that by euidēt decrees, and farre more manifest then if they were written. But this is the difference betwix vs and the Tuscans, who exactly vnderstand this diuination by lightning. We hoide opinion, that because the clouds enter hock and scatter one another, therefore the lightning bursteth forth. They thinke that the clouds are rudely driuen the one against the other, to this end, that lightning should issue, and bee darted on the earth. For whereas they referre all things vnto God, they are of this opinion that they signifie not because they are made, but that they are made, to the end they should signifie; yet are they engendered by one and the same reason, be it that either they ought to signifie by a deliberate purpose, or by a consequence; how then signifie they except they be sent from God? How? In such sort as birds, who take not their flight to meete vs, yet in flying eyther on the right or on the left hand they haue prefiged somewhat. And these, sayest thou, God moueth. Thou makest him too idle, and a minister of small matters, if in some men hee dispolet their dreames, in beasts their entrailes, yet are these things ordered by diuine assistance. But the feathers of birds are casual, and incertaine, formeth he the entrailes of beasts vnder the axe. The order of the Destinies is expressed vnto vs by other more certaine meanes, who euer where publisheth signes of that which shall come to passe long before they happen, whether some are familiar vnto vs, the rest are vnknewne. All whatsoever is done is a signe of something that is to come. Those things that are casual, and incertaine without reason, admit not diuination. The thing that hath order hath prediction also. Why therefore is this honour giuen vnto the Eagle, that she should preface the matters of greatest importance, or to the Crow, or to a few other birds, and that the chattering of all others hath neither signification or preface? Because

Lightnings are foretellers of that which is to come.

whether euer
thing that is
done and vnder-
stood hath a
signification.

Yyy 2

cause there are many things that are not as yet reduced into Art, and other things which a man cannot reduce, because they are too farre estranged from our acquaintance. But there is no living Creature that foretelleth not somewhat, either by his motion or encounter. All things are not obserued, but some things are noted. Diuination serueth him that will obserue the same. It therefore appertayneth vnto him that hath aduised his minde thereunto. Those things which a man respecteth not, may notwithstanding containe some certitude. The Chaldeans in their obseruations respected nothing else but the influence of fixe Planets. What thinkest thou? Iudgest thou that so many thousand starres shine to no purpose? And what is that which deceiueth these Calculators of Natiuities, but they subiect themselves, I know not how, to some small number of starres, whereas all they that shine ouer our heads, haue some influence and power ouer vs? It may be that the more nearer Planets doe dart their beames more effectually vpon vs, and that they which haue a more swifter motion, touch vs in one sort, and other living creatures in another. But the fixed starres, and those that for their swift course haue an answerable motion to that of the first Mouer, and seeme not to stirre, are yet without force and effect in our respects. To speake of these things orderly, we must regard both the one and the other, and know that which is proper both to the one and to the other. But there is no lesse difficultie to know that which they can, then to doubt whether they haue any power or no.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Et vs now returne vnto lightnings, the power whereof is diuided into three considerations, namely, into their Signification, their Interpretation, and their Remedie. The first part respecteth Forme; the second, Diuination; the third, Expiation. For wee must appeale the gods, beseeching them to giue vs goods, to auert all euils, to maintayne their promises, and to remit their threatnings.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Tuscans thinke that lightnings haue a soveraigne power; for whatsoever other things doe portend, are taken away by the intercourse of lightning. Whatsoeuer lightning prefigereth is fixed; neither is it changed by the signification of any other preface. A flash of lightning that portendeth some good, abolisheth all the sinister predictions of the intrayles of Beasts, and whatsoever the flight of Birds shall threaten. All that which lightning denounceth cannot bee crossed by the prefiges of the intrayles of beastes or by birds: wherein methinks they are much deceived. Why? Because there is nothing truer then Truth. If birds haue foretold that which ought to come to passe, this Augurie cannot bee disannulled by lightning: If it may bee; the Birds haue foretold nothing that shall come to passe. I doe not now make a comparison betwixt the bird and lightning, but of two true prefiges. If both of them foretell that which is to come to passe, they are alike. If therefore the lightning that commeth after abolisheth the iudgement of the intrayles, and of the augures, the intrayles were badly looked into,

and

The knowledge
of lightnings
has relation to
three considera-
tions.

What power the
Tuscans attri-
bute to light-
nings in re-
spect of diuination.

and the motion and crye of birds worse obserued: for it importeth nothing to know whether of these two are more strong and puissant in their nature, or whether of both hath proposed more signes of truth, for the signe in this respect is equal, if thou say that the force of the flame is greater then that of the smoke, thou yest not; but to expresse the fire, the flame and smoke are of the same value. Therefore if they say thus, that as often as the entrayles of beasts shall preface one thing, and the lightning another, the authoritie of the lightning shall be more great, haply I shall bee of their opinion: But if they maintaine that a flash of lightning disannulleth the truth which those other signes haue foretold, and that we ought not to build on any thing but on this flash of lightning: I say, they abuse themselves; and the reason is, because it importeth not how many prefaces there be; It is but one thing that shall come to passe, which if it hath bene well comprised in the first prediction and diuination, the second will be no prejudice vnto it. All comes to one: I therefore say, that it skilleth not, if one thing (by means whereof wee would informe our selues) bee the same, or another thing, because that whereof wee enquire is one and the same.

CHAP. XXXV.

Destinie cannot be changed by lightning; Why not? because that lightning is a part of Destinie: Whereto then serue so many expiations and ceremonies, to what purpose is all this, if the Destinies be immutable? Permit me to follow the austere opinion of those who entreate of these things, and maintaine that Destinies are no other thing but the solace of a pensiue thought; The Destinies maintaine their right precisely, there is neither prayer that moueth them, nor misery or fauour that altereth them. They obserue their irruocable course, they passe onward in an assured and vnaltered order. Euen as the water of violent streames neither turneth backe, nor stayeth, but every waye is forcibly driven on by another that beateh at his backe: so the order of Destinie is gouerned by an eternall succession, the decree whereof is, not to change that which hath bene ordained and designated.

CHAP. XXXVI.

But what meanest thou by this word Destinie? I thinke it to be an inuincible and immutable necessity of all things and actions; if thou thinkest that this necessitie may be pacified by sacrifices or by oblations of the head of a white Lambe, thou knowest not what diuine things are: you likewise say that the resolution of a wise man cannot bee changed: how much lesse that of gods, considering that a wise man onely discouereth for the present that which is good, but all things are present to the diuine Essence; yet notwithstanding in this place will I plead their cause, who are of the opinion that a man may remedy lightnings, and affirme that expiations are auailable sometimes to remoue dangers, and sometimes to lessen them, or at least wile to differre them.

What Destinie is
according to the
Stoikes.

CHAP. XXXVII.

To what intent
these words
mean, if the
doctrine of De-
stinie be re-
sist-
ed.



Will prosecute hereafter that which remaineth to bee intreated vpon as concerning this matter; meane while, we all of vs are agreed in this point, that wee suppose that vowes are profitable, (the force and power of the Fates alwayes referred:) for some things are in such sort left in suspence by the immortal Gods, that they turne vnto good, if vowes and prayers bee made vnto them. This therefore repugneth not against Destinie, but is inclosed in the same. Thou wilt say vnto me, This thing shall happen, or shall not happen; if it must come to passe, if you vow and make your request, yet shall it take effect; if it shall not come to passe, vow and pray as much as you list, it shall not fall out: the consequence of this Argument is false, because you haue forgot the exception that I haue put betwene both, that is to say: This shall happen, provided that a man make vowes and prayers. It must necessarily follow, that to vow, or not to vow, are comprehended within Destinie.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The meanes are
inlosed in des-
tinie, and are the
meanes to attain
vnto the end
that Destinie or-
dained.



Resuppose thou that I confesse my selfe vanquished, and that I auow that this is comprehended also in Destinie, that a man should make vowes: and therefore, they shall be made; It is designated that such an one shall be an eloquent man, but vnder this condition, it is designated, that he be instructed in good letters: the same Destinie therefore that addiceth him to studie, will cause that he shall become wise. Another man shall be rich, but so as he traffique vpon the Seas: but in that order of Fate which promisseth him so great a patrimony, this Destinie likewise is inclosed, that he shall set saile to the wind, and that by reason thereof without any feare or exception, he shall embarque and saile. The same (say I) of expiations. Hee shall escape dangers; if he hath appeased the fore-threatned wrath of the gods by sacrifice. And this likewise is in Destinie, that he must expiate, and therefore he shall doe it. These things haue beene oftentimes opposed against vs, to approue that nothing hath beene left in our will, but that all power hath beene committed to Destinie. When as this matter shall be handled, I will tell you how there remaineth somewhat in mans will, although the Destinie continueth. But now haue I explicated, that which was in question; how though the order of Fate bee certayne, the expiations and remedies of prodigies preuent the dangers, because these remedies impugne not destinies, but are comprehended in the Law of the same. What then, sayest thou, doth the South-sayer profit mee? for although hee counsell mee nothing, yet must I necessarily make this expiation. It sufficeth, because he is a Minister of Destinie. So when as health seemeth to proceed from Fate, yet ought wee to thanke the Physician, because the benefit of Fate, came vnto vs by his hands.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.



Cicinna saith, that there are three sorts of lightnings, the one of counsell, the other of authoritie, the third of estate. The first precedeth the act, and commeth after the thought; that is, when the flash of lightning counsellethe or discovereth that which the thought deuileth: The second, when as a lightning commeth after a thing is executed, to signifie that either good or euill fortune shall succede. The third, when as lightning happeneth, when men are at rest, without thinke: or doing any thing. This sort of lightning menaceth, or promisseth, or admonisseth, by reason whereof Cicinna nameth it momentary: but I know not why it should not bee the same with that of counsell. For bee that admonisseth giueth counsell, yet hath it some distinction, and therefore is it separated from that of counsell, because this first perswadeth and disswadeth, but the third containeth but a simple aduice, to flee an imminent perill; as when wee feare that our neighbours will deceiue vs, or set fire on our houses, or that our slaues conspire against vs. Besides this I see another distinction: The first concerneth him that thinketh, the other, him that thinketh nothing. Euery thing hath his proper tie, we counsell those that deliberate, wee admonish those that thinke not themselves.

Diuers sorts of
lightnings in re-
gard of their
signification, ac-
cording to the
Iulians and
Stoicks.

CHAP. XL.



First of all the three sorts concerne not all lightnings, but are the significations thereof. For the sorts of lightning are that the one pierceth, the other scattereth, and the other burneth. The lightning that pierceth is subtile and flaming, taking his sight throw narrow passages, by reason that his flame is so subtile and thin, as nothing more: That which dissipateth is gathered together as it were into a ball, hauing intermixed in it selfe the force of a coasted and stormy winde, by meanes whereof this lightning entreth and issueth ordinarily by one and the same habite: his force that is spread at large pierceth not, but breaketh that which it toucheth: that which burneth hath very much terrestriall vapour in it, and is more fierie then flaming: by meanes whereof it leaueth great marks of fire behinde him, that remaine on those things it hath stricken. No lightning falleth without fire, but wee properly call that a fire lightning, that leaueth manifest markes of fire behind it: but this lightning that burneth or blacketh, burneth in three sorts; for either it attainteth and blaſteth slightly, or it burneth, or causeth the thing that is stricken to fall on fire: the fire is in all this, but there is a difference in the sort and in the meanes: for all that which is burned was blaſted or scorched likewise; but all that which is blaſted and scorched is not alwaies burned. It may be that the fire hath giuen but some light attaint; wee know that there are many things that are consumed in the fire without making any flame: for nothing can burne except it be burned. I will adde this word more. One thing may bee burned, and yet not kindled, and something kindled which is not burned.

Diuers names of
lightnings accord-
ing to their di-
uers effects.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

The effects of
these lightnings
that blacke these
things which
they touch.
The Tuscans opi-
nion as touch-
ing the falling of
lightnings.

NOW passe I over to that kind of lightning that blacketh those things it beareth vpon, this either discoloureth or coloureth. I will discouer the difference of them both. That is discoloured, whose colour is vitiated, not changed: that thing is coloured, whose appearance is other wise then it was at the first, as blew, or blacke, or pale: The Tuscans and Stoikes accord herein, but they differ in this, that the Tuscans say, that *Iupiter* darteth his lightnings, and they giue him three different handiuls to cast. The first, say they, admonisheth and is peaceable, and is darted by the good will of *Iupiter* himselfe. The second likewise is darted from his hand, but by the aduice of counsell, wherunto he calleth twelue other gods. This kind of lightning sometimes doth seeme good, but not without harming those vpon whom it is sent. The third also is darted by the same *Iupiter*, but after he hath consulted with the gods, whom they call superiours and infolded. This spileth and includeth, and ouerturneth all that which it meeteth withall in publike, and in particular; for fire consumeth whatsoeuer it meeteth with.

CHAP. XLII.

The explication
of the Tuscans
opinion as touch-
ing to Seneca
case mind.

IF you obserue this well, you shall perceiue at the first sight that antiquitie erreth herein. Whata folly is it to beleuee that *Iupiter* darteth lightnings out of the clouds, that sometimes catch hold of statues, pillars and trees, blasting sheepe, and other innocent beasts, burning vp the altars, and yet sparing sacrilegious persons, and as if he had not sufficient counsell in himselfe, but that hee must call other gods to assist him? Likewise that these lightnings which hee of himselfe darteth, are presages of ioy and peace; and that these lightnings which are darted by the plurality of voyces of many of the gods, are dangerous: if you aske me my opinion, I thinke that the Tuscans are besetted to beleuee that *Iupiter* hath bene in suspence, or ill addressed to execute. For, I pray you, when he hath darted those fires which should fall on innocent beasts, and leaue the wicked unpunished: shall we say that hee would not vse his greatest iustice, or that it hath not succeeded according to his mind? what was their intention when they said this? These wisemen pretending to bridle in the minds of the ignorant, made them beleuee, that there was an inuitable feare, to the end we should dread a Diuinity, that is aboue vs. It was necessary in so great intemperance and corruption of manners, that there should bee some power, against which no man should thinke himselfe able to preuaile. To the end therefore, that they who addit not themselves to doe well, but for feare of strokes, should be afrighted, they established a iust Iudge over their heads with conuenient instruments in his hand to chastice them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

BUT why is that lightning, which *Iupiter* himselfe darteth, onely peaceable, and the other pernicious? Because a Prince (which is signified by the name of *Iupiter*) ought of himselfe to doe good vnto his subiects without euer harming them, except his counsell be of a contrary opinion. They that are mounted in authoritie about other men, learne here, that the lightning is not darted out of heauen vpon the earth but by counsell; let them therefore call vnto themselves diuers, let them weigh their aduice, moderate their decrees, and haue this thought when they haue occasion to smite any thing: *Iupiter* contents not himselfe with his owne private counsaile.

CHAP. XLIV.

IN this place neither haue they bene so vnadvised, as to thinke that *Iupiter* changed his lightning. These are the tricks of Poeticall libertie:

*There is another lightning farre more slight,
Forg'd by the Cyclops hands, wherein lesse fright,
Lesse flame or wrath is put when they are framed,
And this the gods their second lightning named.*

Such an error entered not into the heads of so great learned men, as to thinke that *Iupiter* had sometimes more slighter and trifling lightnings. But they intended this, to teach Princes that haue the charge to dart their lightnings against mens sins, that all crimes deserue not the same punishment, but that some are to be punished with extreame rigour, others (suppressed by more sufferingable chastisements, others by censures and aduertisements.

CHAP. XLV.

NEITHER beleueed they this likewise, that *Iupiter* is such an one, as we see in the Capitoll, and in other Temples, darting lightnings out of his hand, but they imagine such a *Iupiter* as the Stoikes doe, who is the keeper and protector of the world, a spirit and mind, which is the workmaster and Lord of this world, to whom all names are agreeable. Wilt thou call him Destinie? Thou shalt not erre. On him depend all things, and all the causes of causes are of him. Wilt thou name him Providence? Thou sayest well. For his wisdom it is that provideth for this world, to the end it might be firme and immutable for euer; and that hee should continue his course and his effects. Wilt thou call him Nature? Thou shalt not sinne; for all things haue had their beginning by him, and wee liue by his spirit. Wilt thou call him the World? Thou shalt not be deceived, because he is all that which thou seest, wholly infused into his parts, and sustaining himselfe by his vertue. The *Stoicirians* haue bene of the same opinion, and there-
fore

The continuati-
on of Senecaes
opinion, whereby
he laboureth to
excuse the opi-
nion of the Tus-
cans, as touching
lightning.

why the ancients
attributed to
Iupiter certaine
lightnings of
different effects,
their opinion
likewise touch-
ing *Iupiter*, set-
ting downe di-
uers names ac-
cording to his
different effects.

fore said they that *Jupiter* darted his lightnings, by reason that nothing is done without him.

CHAP. XLVI.

Why doth *Jupiter* overpasse some things that are to be broken, and why striketh he those which he should not strike? Thou drawest me into an higher discourse, to which I will assigne a better place, and a fitter time. In the meane while I say this, that *Jupiter* sendeth not downe lightning: but that all things are so disposed, that even those things which are not done by him, yet are not done without reason, which is onely his: Their force is his permission. For although now *Jupiter* doth them not, yet is he the cause that they were done. He assisteth not all things one after another, but he hath given all things their marke, their efficacy, and their cause.

CHAP. XLVII.

Neither allow I their diuision, for they say that all lightnings are perpetuall, or finite, or prolonged. The perpetuall are those whose signification appertaineth to the whole life, comprehending not onely one thing, but a succession of all that should happen from the beginning of life vntill the end. Such are the lightnings which are made at such time as a man entereth into the possession of his patrimonie, or into some new condition of life; or when as a Citie changeth her gouernement. The finite haue a certaine day and terme assigned. The prolonged are those whose threats may be deferred, but not wholly prevented or extinguished.

CHAP. XLVIII.

I will tell you the cause why I consent not to this distribution. For that lightning which they call perpetuall, is finite; for it hath a certaine day prefixed as well as the rest. Neither therefore is it finite, because it signifyeth a long time. For that which is prolonged is limited also, for by their owne confession, such a menace is certaine vntill such time as a man hath obtained delay. For they auer that private lightnings extend not about ten yeeres, and that publike cannot be deferred about thirtie: and by this reckoning these likewise are finite, because there is a prefixed time, beyond which they may not be proroged. The terme then of all lightnings and their effects is certaine and determinate: for a man cannot comprehend in a certaine time a thing that is vncertaine. And as touching that which wee ought to consider more necerely in lightnings, they speake both generally and confusedly, and they will haue vs to distribute the effects in such sort, as after them the Philosopher *Attalus* and their schollers hath done, which is, that we should regard where, when, to whom, and in what thing the lightning hath salne, what, and how great it hath bene: if I would distribute

Whether *Jupiter* darteth his lightnings himselfe.

The *Tuscan* diuision as touching lightnings, confused.

The reason why this diuision is refused.

distribute all these things by parts, what should I doe but enter into an infinite number of distinctions?

CHAP. XLIX.

I will now set downe the names of lightnings, according as *Cicero* hath described them, and will discouer what my opinion is in these. Some (saith he) are postulatorie, whereby those sacrifices that either are intermitted, or not rightly performed, are repeated. Some monitorie, whereby we are taught what we are to take heed of. Some pestiferous, which portend death or banishment. Some fallacious, which vnder an appearance of good, doe vs harme. They giue an vnhappy Consulate to those that shall undertake the charge, and an heritage, the purchase whereof will breede more losse then profit. Some threatening, that offer euill but in appearance onely. Some murdering, which abolish the threats of precedent lightnings. Some *Attestata* or witnessed, that accord with the precedent. Some concealed, which are done in secret. Some confused, which beate vpon those things which before time were attained and left. Some royall, that shew their effects vpon a whole assemblie of people, or vpon the principall places of a free Citie, and whose signification threaten some tyrannicall inuasions into a Common-weale. The lower, when the earth vomiteth flames of fire. The *Hospitalis*, that by sacrifices draw, or (as they speake it in a more milder terme) inuite *Jupiter* vnto vs. But if he be then inuited when he is displeased, he cometh to the great hazard of those that haue inuited him. The Auxiliarie which are likewise called *Summoned*, but that cometh for their good, that haue caused it to come.

CHAP. L.

Now farre more simple was that diuision, which *Attalus* (a man of great note, and a Philosopher of our sort) vsed, who had intermixed the discipline of the *Tuscan* with Grecian subtilties. Amongst lightnings (saith he) some there are that concerne vs, other some that signifie nothing, or if they signifie any thing, we know not what it is. As touching those that signifie, some of them are ioyfull, some are aduerser, and some neither aduerser nor ioyfull. Of those that are aduerser and contrary, these are the kinds: either they portend some vnauoidable euils, or such as may be auoided, or such as may be lessened or prolonged. The ioyfull signifie either such as are permanent, or such as haue small continuance. Those that are mixed, either haue a part of good, or euill, or conuert the euill into good, or the good into euill. Those are neither fatal nor ioyfull, which signifie vnto vs some action, whereat we ought neither to be terrified, nor reioyced: as for example, some long voyage, wherein there is neither feare nor any thing to be hoped for.

CHAP.

Divers attributes of lightnings, as ridiculous as their prophane Authors, exceeding the bounds of naturall Philosophy.

A more moderate distinction of the Philosopher *Attalus*.

CHAP. LI.

Will returne vnto those lightnings which haue some significati-
on, which notwithstanding concerneth vs nothing; as it in the
same year the same lightning that fell before falleth once more.
There are lightnings likewise that haue no signification in our
respect, as those whereof wee know nothing; witnesseth the light-
nings that fall in the spacious extent of the Ocean, or in the deserts: for they
haue no signification, and if they haue, it commeth not to our knowledge.

CHAP. LII.

Et there remaineth somewhat for me to declare as touching the
force of lightnings, which effect not euery matter according to the
same manner. He breaketh and dispatcheth those things most ve-
hemently which are hardest, and sometime passeth by those
things that are yielding, without any iniurie. He consisteth more
rudely with stones and iron, and those things that are hardest, because hee is
constrayned to make his passage thorow them with violence. So then hee open-
eth the passage, sparing that which is tender and hollow, although it seeme
to bee more proper to take fire, because that in finding a passage hee sheweth
himselfe lesse violent. Therefore is it, as I haue said, that a man findeth silver
melted in his purse, because that fire that is the purest and thinnest, passeth light-
ly thorow the pores of the leather: but whatsoeuer it findeth solid in substance
he breaketh in pieces as rebellious and resisting against him. But, as I said, it
rageth not after one manner, but by the kinde of euill that hapneth you may
see what it is, and by the effects you shall know what lightning is. Oft-times
in the same matter one and the same flash of lightning causeth different effects,
as in falling vpon a tree it burneth that which is drie in it, pierceth and breaketh
that which is hardest, dispatcheth the bark, cleaueth the trunk, pulleth vp the
rootes, smoldereth and parteth the leaues. It congealeth wine, and melteth
iron and brass.

CHAP. LIII.

Maruaillous thing this is, that the wine which is congealed by
lightning, and afterwards returneth into his former estate, killeth
or maketh those men mad that drinke thereof. Betinking my
selfe of the cause hereof, I say that there is a mortall efficacy in
this fire, whereof it is very likely that some spirit remaineth in the
wine which hath bin congealed and frozen. For this liquid substance could not
be congealed without some meanes. Moreover, if lightning toucheth oile or
any fat liquor, it sinketh euery after wards; whereby it appeareth, that in this
fire, so subtil and inforced against the order of nature, there is so powerfull an
efficacy, that it not onely killeth that which it toucheth rudely, but also that
which it attaineth with the breath thereof. Furthermore, in what place soeuer
the lightning falleth men vndoubtedly smell a sent of brimstone, which being

weighty

Of those light-
nings which
haue signifi-
cation, and concerne
vs.

Of the diuers ef-
fects of light-
ning, according
to the matter it
meets with.

Of the particu-
lar efficacy of light-
ning in wine.

CHAP. LIV.

Will now returne to *Posidonius* opinion: The moister part of the
earth and terrestriall things being on one side, the dryer & lighter
part flyeth on the other. This serueth for a nutriment to Light-
nings; that vato raines. All hote and dry exhalations ascending
and attaining into the Ayre, cannot keepe themselves inclosed in
Clouds, but breake their Prisons; whence followeth that which we call Thun-
der. All that likewise which refineth it selfe in the Ayre, is dried and warmed
by the same meanes. And this likewise, if it be enclosed, seeketh nothing else,
but how to escape and breake thorow with noyse. Sometime it escapeth all at
once, whence proceedeth a very great Thunder; sometimes by parts, and by
little and little. This spirit therefore expresseth these Thunders, whilst either
it breaketh the Clouds, or flyeth by it. But this violent tumbling which the
exhalation maketh in a Cloud, is a most powerfull force to enkindle the same.

CHAP. LV.

Hunders are nothing else but a sound of the dry Aire, which can-
not be done, but when it is either broken, or breaketh. And if
the Clouds, saith he, be beaten one against another, that noyse is
made which is now in question, but not vniuersally, because
there is no generall consist, but in certaine places only. Soft
things yeeld no sound, except they bee stricken against those things that are
hard. As a waue of the Sea maketh no noyse, except it meet with some hard
thing that stayeth it. The fire being cast into the water maketh a noyse in the
quenching. Be it so: All this maketh for mee, for the fire at that time maketh
not the noyse, but the Aire that flyeth athwart, is that which extinguisheth the
fire: and if I should grant thee that fire doth it, and is extinguished in the cloud,
I say that it groweth from the exhalation and the flock. What then (saith hee)
may not one of these sitting stars fall into a cloud, and be extinguished therein?
Let vs presuppose that it may, and that it happeneth sometimes. For the pre-
sent we seeke for a naturall and continual cause, not for a rare and casual euent.
Put case that I acknowledge all that to be true which thou speakest, that some-
times fires doe shine after it hath thundered, resembling shooting and falling
Stars, yet is not this the cause of Thunder, but this hapneth, because it hath
thundered. What is Fulguration? *Clidemus* denieth that it is a fire, maintaining
this, that it is a but an apparance: euen as by night, after the stroke of the Oare
we see some brightnesse. This example is not answerable, for this shining ap-
pareth in the water, that which is made in the Aire cracketh and issueth forth.

Zzz

CHAP.

From the con-
sideration of
lightnings, he
returneth to
the scope of thunder.

What thunder
is, and how it is
caused.

CHAP. LVI.

The definition
of thunder, and
whence it is
caused.



ERACLYTUS thinketh that Fulguration is as it were but a sparkling of those fires which begin to take fire in our Fornaces, and a first flame as yet vncertaine, that now is extinguished, and then lighted againe: these did the Ancients call *Fulgura*, that is to say, Fulgurations, but we call them Thunders in the plural number, and the Ancients called it Thunder, or a sound. This haue I found in *Cicynna*, a man very eloquent, who had had some reputation for his Eloquence, except *Cicero*es shadow had obscured him. The Ancients haue vsed this word, making it shorter by a syllable in the midst, which now we make long. For as we say, *Splendere*, that is, to shine, we say likewise *Fulgere*, that is to lighten: but they were accustomed to pronounce the second syllable short, and to say, *Fulgere*, to signifie the sudden breaking out of light from the clouds.

CHAP. LVII.

Senecaes opinion
in this point



Askest thou me what mine opinion is? for vntill this present I haue done nothing but discover other mens opinions: I will tell it thee. Fulguration is made, when as a sudden brightnesse spreadeth it selfe at large, which happeneth at such time as the Aire by subliation of the clouds is conuerted into fire, finding no fodder to rayse it more higher. I thinke thou wilt not wonder, if either motion extenuateth the aire, or extenuation enkindle it. In this sort a bullet of Lead violently shot out of a peece, mollieth and melteth it selfe, and the shock of the aire serueth it in stead of fire. And therefore it is for the most part that Lightnings are made during the Summer time, because the season is ordinarily hot, & fire is caused more easily by the attrition of hot things. Fulguration and Lightning are caused after the same manner, the one shineth, the other is darted. But that hath a lighter force, and lesse nutriment. And to let you know mine opinion in a word, Lightning is but an intended Fulguration. When as therefore a hot and smokie vapour mounteth from the Earth into the Aire, and hath sometimes whirled it selfe amongst the Clouds, it finally issueth forth with violence; if it be feeble, then followeth Fulguration. But when as Fulgurations haue more matter, and burne more violently, they are conuerted into Lightnings, and fall vnto the Earth.

CHAP. LVIII.

why the lightning
appeareth
at once, and is
not extended
from high to low
in the forme of a
column of fire.



SOME there are that thinke that the Lightning mounteth againe, some others say that it stayeth after it hath consumed that which nourisheth it, and that the stroke is enfeebled. But why doth Lightning appeare all at once, & extendeth not it selfe from high to low, in the forme of a Pillar of fire? Because he is wonderfull light, & of a swift motion, so that at one time he breaketh thorow the clouds, enflameth the aire, & then when his motion ceaseth, the flame is extinguished. For the course of the exhalation is not continuall, so as the fire may extend it selfe,

selfe, but when as by violence he is enkindled the more, he taketh his Career to escape. Being at liberty, and the combate finished: for the same cause sometimes it extendeth it selfe as farre as the earth: Sometimes it is dissolved, if any the least resistance do presse it. Why falleth this fire obliquely? By reason that it is composed of the ayre, which is oblique and crooked, and because that nature draweth the fire on high, and violence forceth it downward, it beginneth to be crooked. Sometimes nature and force encounter, as it were, equally, in so much as the fire mounteth and is drawne downwards. Why for the most part are the tops of Mountaines stricken? Because they are opposed against the clouds, and the fire falling from the Heauens, must needs passe by them.

CHAP. LIX.



Vnderstand now what long since thou hast desired, and what thou demandest I had rather (sayest thou) not know lightnings, then feare them. Learne therefore, of whom thou wilt, how they are made For mine own part, I take more pleasure to know how I may not feare them, then how I may define them. I will follow thee whither thou callest me. For in all things, and in all speeches, we ought to intermix somewhat that is wholesome and profitable. When as we found into the secrets of Nature, when as we entreate of diuine things, the mind must be freed from all passions, and feeld likewise in some sort. Which the most learned of vs, (& they that are continually exercised in this studie) haue great need to doo: not onely to saue our heads from those strokes which are on euery side aimed against vs, but to the end we may suffer them constantly and patiently. Inuincible we may be; vnassaulted we cannot be; although that in the mean while there is some hope that we may be vnshaken. How, sayest thou? Contemne thou death, and all those things that leade vnto death, whether they be Wars, or shipwracks, or biting of wilde beasts, or weight of raines, tumbling downe with a sudden fall, are contemned: Can they do any more then diuide the body & soule? no diligence can preuaile against these things, no felicity tame them, no power auoid them. Fortune disposeth diuers things diuersly, but death adiourneth all persons indifferently, whether the gods be either pleased or displeased, we must die. And since there is no hope to escape, let vs gather the greater courage. Those creatures that are most cowardly, whom nature hath framed vnto flight, endeauour with their weak bodies to worke forth a passage, when as none appeareth. There is no enemy more dangerous then hee, who hemmed in on euery side, growes desperate and resolute: for necessitie maketh vs alwayes more violent then valour doth. He that despaireth of his life, performeth the noblest exploits, or at least wile such as may equall the actions of the most resolute. I thinke that we haue bin (for indeed lo we are) betrayed & deliuered vnto death. This is true (my *Lucilius*) we are all of vs referred to death. For how long time, thinkest thou, shall all this people that thou seest, endure? Nature will adorne and bury these within a little time: we need not to dispute of the thing, but of the day, onely we must come thither, either sooner or later. What then thinkest thou not that hee is more fearefull then feare, more foolish then folly it selfe, that maketh long pursuits, and entreateth some delay of his death? Wouldst thou not iudge him a recreant (that being condemned to lose his head amongst diuers other, and already within the Executioners hands,) that would

Of the true life
of this part of
naturall Philo-
sophie which
intreateth of
lightnings, con-
sisting on the con-
tempt of death,
whereof he en-
treateth amply,
and sheweth that
we ought as little
to feare light-
ning, as any other
accidents that
endanger life.
Senecaes ma-
kers warily
casually writing.

O that this Pa-
gans thought
were our modern
Christians medi-
tation, they
would not then
so proudly over-
look the poore,
who are one with
them in the
grave, and like
to be greater
then they in
heauen.

onely entreate this fauour, that he might be beheaded the last? Thus doe wee: we account it a great matter to dye lateſt. All of vs are condemned, and moſt iuſtly condemned to a capital puniſhment. For (which is greateſt comfort to thoſe that are to ſuffer the moſt extremities) all mens cauſe is one. If the Magiſtrate had pronounced a ſentence againſt vs, every one ſhould ſee vs march forward and ſubmit our ſelues vnto the Hang-man. What matter is it, whether by commandement, or of our owne accord we march vnto death? O how little ſenſe haſt thou, and how ſmall conſideration of thy frailty, if thou ſcareſt death when it thundereth? Doth thy life returne againe by thy feare? Shalt thou lue if the lightning touch thee not? The Sword will hit thee, the Stone will ſtrike thee, the Feuer will ſhake thee. Lightning is not the greateſt, but the faireſt of thy dangers. But truly thou ſhould be badly dealt withall, if that infinite celeritie ſhould preuent the fence of thy death, if thy death ſhould afterwards be expiated with Sacrifice. If thou alſo at ſuch time as thou yeeldeſt vp the ghoſt, art a ſigne not of a vaine, but of ſome great thing. Truly it is a great iniurie for thee to be burned with lightning. But thou ſcareſt when the Heauen thundreth, thou quakeſt when the clouds break, and expireſt as often as lightning appeareth. What then? Thinkeſt thou it to be a matter more honeſt, to dye for feare, then vpon lightning? Liſt vp thy head then, I pray thee, more boldly againſt the menaces of Heauen, and when the World ſhall be all on fire, thinke thou that thou haſt nothing to loſe in ſo generall and famous a death. If thou thinkeſt that this conſuſion of cloudes, this diſcord of tempeſts, this conſiſt in the Aire is prepared againſt thee, and that this great collection of fires conſpireth thy ruine: comfort thy ſelfe likewiſe by this thought, that thy death is of ſome great importance. But thou ſhalt not haue time or place to berinke thee of this, the verie caſualtie it ſelfe cauſeth feare. And amongſt the reſt, this is one commodity thereof, that it preuenteth thine expectation. For neuer did any man feare lightning, except he that hath eſcaped it.

The end of the ſecond Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.



OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS,

Written by

LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,

Dedicated to LVCILLIVS.

The third Booke.

Which intreateth vpon the Waters.

THE PREFACE.



Am not ignorant, *Lucilius*, the beſt of men, how in my retyred yeares I lay the foundations of mighty matters, who haue reſolued with my ſelfe to circuit the Word, and to diſcouer the cauſes and ſecrets of the ſame, and afterwards to publiſh them, and to inſtruct others in them. When ſhall I attayne ſo much? When ſhall I gather together things ſo diſſeuered? When ſhall I cleerly conceiue thoſe things that are hidden? Olde age bangs vpon my backe, and reprocheth mee with my loſt time that was ſpent in vaine occupations; ſo much the more therefore let vs preſſe forward, and let labour recompence the loſſes of a life ſo ill imploved. Let vs ioyn night with day. Let vs cut off our occupations in worldly affaires, and let the Matter take no more care of them; let the minde be wholly awakened in it ſelfe, and at leaſt wiſe in this later time ſettle himſelfe in contemplation and knowledge of himſelfe: which he ſhall doe if he draw himſelfe to account, and meaſure every day the ſhortneſſe of time, he ſhall recompence by diligent vſe of the remainder of life, all that which is loſt of former time. It is a great contentment to the mind, when as being diſpleaſed and aſhamed of the time that is paſt, he addicteſt himſelfe

*Seneca in this
his Preface
yeeldeth a noble
reaſon why in theſe
his retyred yeares
hee addicteſt
himſelfe to the
ſerious ſtudies,
which he ſo care
leſſe had before
himſelfe poſteritie.*

to the exercises of vertue. It pleaseth mee to cry out, and publish this Verse of the famous Poet,

*We lend our haughty minds, more prouder wings,
And in small time contrive most mighty things.*

Thus would I say were I a child, and thus were I a young man: for there is no time that is not scant enough for so mightie things. But now we haue retrayed our selues to a matter both serious, graue, and almost infinite, and wee debate thereon in the after-noones. Let vs therefore doe as they are wont, who let forward on long iournies, who recompence their late rising with speedie footing. Let vs make haste, and without excusing our selues by age, let vs manage this price of businesse, which though I know not whether I may compasse, yet I am assured that it is great: my minde increaseth as often as hee intendeth and thinkes on the greatnesse of my attempt, and busieth not himselfe about the time, but vpon his deliberation. Some men haue spent themselves in digesting and setting downe the Acts of forreine Kings, and what the people either suffered or attempted together. How much better is it to reforme our owne infirmities, then to discouer other mens vnto posterity? How farre better is it, to celebrate the workes of the gods, then the Thefts of *Philip, Alexander*, and some others? who renowned for ouerthrowing diuers Nations, were no lesse plagues amongst mortall men, then inundations that drowne vpeuery plain, or fires which should confound and burne vp the greater part of men and beasts? They write how *Hannibal* passed the Alpes, in what manner he brought the Warre into Italie, how he was fortified by the Victories he had obtained in *Spaine*, how after the ruine of *Carthage* (his affairs and fortunes growing desperate) he oblatinately solicited Kings, offering himselfe to make War against the *Romans*, yea, though it were without an Army: how he ceased not, being strooken with age, to seeke out War in euery angle of the World, so well could he be without his Countrey, and so little could he endure to be without an enemy. How farre better is it to enquire what is to bee done, then what is done, and to teach those that haue submitted themselves to Fortune, that the giueh nothing but incertainties, and that all, whatsoever she hath, fleeteth away like the wind? For the cannot stay in one place, shee taketh pleasure to substitute sorrow in stead of ioy, and to confound them together. Let no man therefore bee confident in prosperitie, nor diffident in aduersitie. The affaires of the World haue their changes; Why art thou proud? Thou knowest not where these things that lift thee thus aloft intend to leaue thee: they shall haue theirs, but not thine ends; why yest thou on the ground? thou art false to the lowest, it is now time for thee to stand vpright: aduersities are changed to the best, desires to the worst. In thinking vpon the resolution of things, it is good to cast our eye, not onely on particular howses (which a little wind ouerthroweth) but also on publike Estates. There are Kingdomes that haue rayshed themselves from very slight beginnings, above those that were their Commanders. The ancient Monarchies decayed when they were at their highest: innumerable haue those Governments bin that haue bin broken by others. At this day, as much as euer, God raiseh vp some Estates, and humbleth others: neither doth hee it in a milder sort, but in such manner hee disperseth them, that there remaineth no appearance of their re-establishment. We beleeue these things to bee great, because we our selues are small. Many things haue their greatnesse, not according to their nature, but according to our hu-

For the one teacheth prevention, the other a-mongst good men remorse.

humilitie: what thinke we to be the principall thing in humane life? Is it not to haue couered the back of the Ocean with our ships, nor to haue settled our confines on the shoares of the red sea, neither for want of finding our land to haue fought the vnknown Illes, in forraging and spoyleing the whole world? But it is to haue beheld all these things in thought, to haue conquered our vices (which is the greatest victorie of all others.) Innumerable are those men that haue had Cities and Nations vnder their government, but few there are that haue bene Lords of themselves: what is the principall matter? To raise a mans minde above the threats and promises of fortune; to thinke nothing worthe to be hoped for: for what is there that is worth the wishing for? As oftentimes as thou shalt giue ouer the contemplation of diuine things, and haue recourse vnto humane, thou shalt see as little as they doe, who forsake the brightnesse of a cleere Sun, and enter into a thicke shadow and darkenesse. What is the chieft matter? To be able to endure aduersities with a constant minde, to suffer what soeuer it be that happeneth, as if thou wert willing it should happen. For thou shouldest doe no lesse, if thou thoughtest that all things were done by Gods ordinance. To weepe, to complaine, and lament, is a kinde of reuolt. What is the chieft? A minde that is confirmed and confident against calamities, not onely an aduersary, but a mortall enemy of dissolution, a minde neyther gree die of anger, neither flying it, that knoweth how, not to expect but to make fortune, and to march forth against both of these, both dreadlesse and vnconfused; a minde that is neither shaken by her tumult, nor blasted with her brightnesse. What is the chieft? Not to entertaine euill counsailes into our mindes, to lit clean hands vnto heauen, to require no good that should be deriued vnto thee, either by one mans gift, or another mans losse. To with that which a man may do without any other mans preiudice, namely, for a good conscience. And as touching those other things (which the children of this world prize so much) to respect them (although some misfortune should beare away both house and substance) as things that must issue by that place where they entered. What is the chieft? To raise the minde farre above all casualties, to remember that thou art a man, that whether thou be happy, thou must know that this will not continue long; or vnhappy, thou mayest know that thou art not so, except thou thinke thy selfe so. What is the chieft? About all things to haue a free minde: it is not the lawe of the Quirites, but the libertie of nature that giueh this. But that man is free, that hath discharged himselfe from himselfe. To be subiect to a mans passions is a continuall seruitude, from which it is impossible to escape, a slauerie that presseth with an equall weight, as well by day as by night, without intermission, and without reliefe. To be slave vnto a mans selfe, is the seruitude of seruitudes, which is easily dismissed if thou desist from importuning thy selfe in many things, if thou cease to haue a wil to bribe thy selfe, if thou set before thy eyes thy weakenesse and age, and say vnto thy selfe, Why am I mad? Why puffe I? Why sweat I? Why change I places? Why haunt I the courts and places of conference? I haue neyther neede of much nor of long time. Moreouer, it shall be good to consider the nature of things: this will first of all cause vs to retire our selues from shamefull matters, and afterwards will separate the bodie very far from the minde, which should be great and sublime. Furthermore, those subtle discourtes which we haue made in our selues, shall not make vs worse in open assemblies. But there is nothing more open then these wholsome counsailes, by which we may learne to bridle our vices and furies, which we daily beleeue, but giue ouer neuer.

How true this is, the greatest amongst men are testifies, the wisest Philosophers haue confirmed to such purpose.

Worthy contemplation. O had the sight of grace accompanied the lights of nature.

CHAP. I.



Now let vs enter into the consideration of Waters, and examine after what meanes they are made; either as *Ouid* saith,

*Clear was the fountaine bubling from the sand;
Baining with silver streames the fruitfull land:
Or as Virgil saith,
Where by nine channels with a roaring noise,
The wrathful sea breaks through the mountain hie
And drownes the fruitfull pastures that are nie.*

Or as I finde in my dearest *Iunior*;

*And from Sicilian springs,
Elys draws his wings.*

If any reason can discover their course; how so many huge floods fleete along both day and night; why the one swell and waxe proud through Winter waters; other, when as the rest are at the lowest, are at the highest. In the meane space let vs separate *Nilus* from the rest, that hath a peculiar & singular nature: we will reserve a day for him, but now we will onely intreat of common waters both cold and hote. In which we are to enquire whether they spring so of their owne natures, or whether they have other causes. Of the rest likewise we will discourse, which are either famous for their savour, or for any other particular profite: for some helpe the eyes, some the nerves, some heale desperate and inueterate sicknesses that are given over by the Physitions. Some there are that heale vlcers, some being drunke, fortifie the internall parts, and remedie the infirmities of the lungs and other inward vessels. Some restraints and stop bloud: In bricfe, they are no lesse different in their vse, then in their savour.

CHAP. II.



Waters in generall are either standing, or slow, or are collected, or have diuers veines; some are sweet, some are various in taste, other some harsh or salt, or fit for medicin: of which, we say, some are of brimstone, some of yron, and some of allume. Their sauer sheweth what their property is. They have besides these, many

other differences; first, in respect of touch, being either colde or hote; then in regard of weight, being all either light or heavy. Again, in respect of colour, some there are that are pure, some troubled, blew and shining. Likewise in regard of their effect and wholsomnesse, for some are healthsome and profitable, others are deadly, and some there are that conuert into stone. Some are subtil and thin; others, thicke, fat, and oyley; some nourish, some passe by without helping him any waies that drinketh of them; some being drunk, cause fecunditie.

CHAP.

Of the originall
of waters, and
their causes.

How the sea
furnisheth
them.

Their diuers
effects.

What their
diuersity and
taste is.

CHAP. III.



The position of the place is the cause why eyther the water standeth or floweth; it runneth when it passeth by steepe and bending places, in the plaine it is still and standing: sometimes by a contrary wind it is driven and caused to mount. Sometimes it is gathered together, and runneth not: It is engrossed by the meanes of showres, and is naturall in respect of her fourse; yet is there no cause to the contrarie, but that the Water may spring and bee multiplied in one place. Which we obserue in the lake *Fucine*, into which all those waters are deuied that fall from the neighbouring mountains: Besides this, great and many hidden Waters it containeth, which obserue their colour, although the Winter-floods flow into them.

Of their situation.

CHAP. IV.



Erst of all therefore let vs enquire if the earth be sufficient to continue the course of Riuers, from whence there issueth so much water: we wonder that the seas receiue not any encrease, by reason of so many Riuers that discharge themselves into it. And no lesse wonderfull is it, that the earth feeleth no alteration and damage by those so many waters that issue from it. What is it that hath so filled it, that thee can discharge so much out of her secrets, to furnish at all times? What reason soeuer we haue deliuered of Riuers, the same will we propose as touching brookes and fountaines.

Whence issue so
many waters as
mee see.

CHAP. V.



Diuers think that the earth receiue againe into her whatsoeuer waters she hath sent out, and that the seas encrease not hereby, because they conuert not that which floweth into them to their vse, but deliuer it out incontinently: for the Sea-water by an vnknowne way passeth thorow the earth, & discovereth it selfe againe, and then secretly returneth, and is strayed, and deprauid in his passages, and being beaten by the diuers ingates, and cauities of the earth, laies aside its saltnesse, and changeth the prauitie of his sauer, by passage through so many different channels, and at last becommeth sweet water.

If the earth gi-
ueth and recei-
ueth the waters.

CHAP. VI.



Some think that whatsoeuer Raine waters the earth entertaineth, doe afterwards fall againe into the riuers. And to strengthen their opinion, they say, that there are verie few riuers in those countries where it seldome rayneth. And therefore, say they, the deserts of *Ethiopia* are dry, and that there are few fountaines to be found within the heart of *Africa*, because the nature of the ayre is extremely hote, and for

If Raine be the
efficient cause of
waters.

for the most part it is alwaies Summer. These places then that have neyther herbes nor trees, but are sandie, are verie little or neuer watered with Raine, which if they fall, they sodenly drinke vp. But contrariwise, it is well knowne, that *Germanie*, and *France*, and *Italie*, their Neighbour, abound in Springs and Riuers, because they haue a moist Aire, and a Summer that is not without Raine.

CHAP. VII.

THou feelt that many things may be vrged against this opinion: First, I who am a very diligent digger of Vineyards, affirme this vnto thee, that there is no Raine so great that wetteth the earth aboue tenne foot deepe. All the humiditie consumeth it selfe in the vpper crust thereof, and descendeth not to the lower parts: How then can the Raine furnish the Riuers with water when as it doth but wet the vpper part of the earth? The greater part hereof is carried into the Sea by the channels of Riuers. The earth drinketh vp a verie little, and keepeth it not, for eyther she is drie and consumeth that which falleth vpon her, or is wet, refusing that which the heauen too lauidly powreth vpon her. And therefore Riuers increase not vpon the first Raines, by reason that the rock earth drinketh it all vp. Moreover, are there not Riuers that issue out of rocks and mountaines? What increase should the Raines giue them that streame along the rocks, and find not any earth to stay vpon? Adde hereunto, that in drie places in those pits which are digged two or three hundred foote deepe, there are found sources of liuing waters in a depth, whither the Raine cannot penetrate; so that you may know that there is no celestiall or reserved humour there, but onely pure and springing water. This very argument refuteth the opinion of those that alledge that some Fountaines are scene to cast out water on the tops of mountaines; whence it appeareth, that waters mount vp on high, or that they are produced there, considering that all raine-water falleth downward.

CHAP. VIII.

Riuers thinke that as in the exterior part of the earth many vast marshes extend themselves, besides great and nauigable lakes; and as the seas are stretched out thorow the huge spaces of earth, and are infused into the vallies, so the interior parts of the earth abound in sweet waters, and that they flow no lesse then the Ocean, and the armes thereof doth with vs, nay rather so much the larger, the more the earth stretcheth out on high; and therefore from that deepe abundance the Riuers proceed, and are deriued; which why wondrest thou that the earth feeleth them not when they are taken from her, when as the Ocean hath no sense of them when they are added to him?

CHAP.

*The refutation
of the former
opinion.*

*That the waters
flow from some
hidden places
under the earth.*

CHAP. IX.

Any like of this cause: They say that the earth hath some secret ca-
vities in her, and much spirit, which necessarily waxing colde, and
being oppressed with a weightie obscuritie, at length becommeth
slow and without motion; and finally, changeth it selfe into wa-
ter. Euen as the change of Ayre is the cause of shadow amongst
vs, so in the earth, the ayre produceth the water. It cannot long time continue
aboue vs, because it is weightie and still. Sometimes it is attenuated by the
Sunne, sometimes it is dissipated by the windes, by means whereof we see, that
there are great spaces betweene Raines. But all that which is vnder earth, to
make the aire turne into water is alwaies the same, perpetuall obscuritie, con-
tinuall cold, vnexercised thicknesse; alwaies therefore will these yeeld causes to
fountaines and flouds: if wee agree that the earth is mutable, yet all that the
shall thrust forth is thickned, because it is not conceiued by a pure and free aire,
and consequently is suddenly conuerted into water.

CHAP. X.

You see now the first causes, how waters are bred vnder the earth:
Adde hereunto also if thou wilt, That all is made of all, aire of wa-
ter, water of aire, fire of aire, aire of fire. Why therefore should
not earth be made of water, and water of earth? which if it be
changeable into anything, may be changed into water, nay most
of all into it. Both of them resemble one another, both of them are heauie and
thick, and are lodged together in the Center of the world. Earth is made of wa-
ter, and why should not water be made of earth? But there are great Riuers:
But when thou feelt how great they are, consider againe from how great a
thing they come. Againe, thou wondrest that although some float incessantly,
and others flie with a maruailous swiftnesse, yet neuer haue they want of new
water. And what wilt thou say, that whereas the windes impell the ayre, yet
notwithstanding it faileth in no part, being not carried in a certaine channell as
Riuers, but turneth by a sodaine and spaciouse motion through this vast extent
of the heauens? Art thou not amazed to see that there is not one drop of water
left, after so many billows that haue beaten against the rocks, and shores. There
is nothing deficient that returneth into it selfe. The elements doe nothing else
but turne and returne. That which the one loseth, the other getteth: And
nature examineth her parts as it were in a ballance, for feare lest if there were
too little on the one side, and too much on the other, the world should fall in-
to ruine. All things are in all things, not only the aire passeth into the element
of fire, but is neuer without fire. Take away heat from it, it will freeze, it will
grow thicke, and hard: The aire is changed into water, yet in such sort that be-
fore that time it was not without humour. Both aire and water are made by
earth, yet is shee neuer lesse without water then without aire. And therefore
the passage through both the one and the other is more easie, because he is al-
readie intermixed with those elements through which the must passe. The
earth then hath humiditie, and this she expresth. She hath the aire likewise,
which is thickned by the shadow of Winters cold, to the intent to produce hu-
miditie: She is changeable into humour, and vseth her owne nature.

*If aire being
conuerted to wa-
ter vnder earth
be the efficient
cause of waters.*

*Whether water
proceedeth from
the earth.*

*Of the transmu-
tation of one ele-
ment into an-
other.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

*1789 Rivers and
fountaines are
dried up some-
times.*

WHat therefore, saiest thou, if the causes be perpetuall whereby Rivers and fountaines rise, why are they sometimes dried and sometimes issue from those places where they were not? Oftentimes their passages are intercepted by the trembling and motion of the earth; and ruines cut off their issues, and by restraining the waters, enforce them to seek new passages, yea and to inforce their way, or else to breake forth their way in another place by reason of some earthquake. It falleth out almost ordinarily amongst vs, that the Rivers that haue lost their head, first spread themselves, & afterwards hauing lost their way, do that which *Theophrastus* saith, hapned in the Mountaine called *Corycus*, in which, after an earthquake, there brake forth diuers fountaines that were not discovered before. But some think that by diuers other interuenient accidents, the waters are deriued and drawne from their accustomed courses. The time hath been when there was no water to be found in the Mountaine *Hemus*, but when as the French men being besieged by *Cassander*, had retired themselves into those parts, and had cut downe the woods, there appeared a great quantitie of water which the trees had retayned for their aliment: which being cut downe, that humour that was wont to be consumed in nourishing them, began to spread it selfe. The like (saith he) hapned also about *Magnesia*. But if I may speake without any offence to *Theophrastus*, this matter is vnlikely. For the most part those places that are shadowed, are fullest of water, which would not come to passe if the trees dried vp the moisture, that haue their nourishment so neere: but the force of Rivers springeth from beneath, and hath farre more extent and humour then the rootes can containe. Furthermore, the trees that are lopped deserue more humour, not only to maintaine their being, but also for their increase. The same man saith, that about *Arcadia*, which was a Citie in *Crete*, the Fountaines and Lakes dried vp, because the Citie was ruined, and the land ceased to be manured: but after it began to be husbanded, the waters returned againe. By reason of this drynesse, they thinke that the earth is hardened, and that remayning vnmanured, it could not yeeld forth water. Whence cometh it therefore that we see many fountaines in the Deserts and those places that are no waies put in vse? In briefe, wee finde that there are many places in diuers countries which haue been tilled vp by reason of those waters that haue bene found in them; and that other some haue not begunne to make shew of sources, because they haue not bene husbanded. For by this shalt thou vnderstand that it is not raine-water that presently deriueeth from a fontaine those vast floods, that are fit to beare great ships of burden, because that both in winter and sommer these floods haue their equall course from the beginning vnto the ending. Raine may make a torrent, but not a River, that streameth and floteth with an equall tide betwixt his brincks and banks. The raines make not the water, but excite the same.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.



It vs (if it seeme good vnto thee) examine this matter more nearely, and thou shalt see that thou art far from thy reckoning, if thou consider the true originall of riuers: vndoubtedly it is the abundance of perpetuall water, and such as neuer drieth vp, that is the cause of a River. If therefore you aske mee how water is made, I will intreat you also to answer me how aire or earth is made: if there be foure elements, a man cannot aske of thee whence water is, for it is the fourth part of nature: why therefore wonderst thou that so great a portion of Nature may alwaies spread something out of it selfe? Even as the aire which is the fourth part of the world moueth the winds, so the water moueth brookes and riuers: if the winde be a flowing aire, every river is a flowing water. I haue giuen him sufficient force, since I haue giuen him the name of an element: for thou knowest that that which proceedeth from it cannot faile.

*What is the true
cause of Rivers.*

CHAP. XIII.



After, as *Thales* saith, is the strongest of all the Elements, and in his opinion it is the first, because that all things haue been created of water. For we likewise are either of the same opinion, or iumpe in the conclusion. For we say that it is the fire that occupieth the world, and conuerteth all things into himselfe; which vanishing and being gathered into it selfe, and afterwards being extinct, there remaineth nothing in the nature of things but water, and that in fire the hope of the future world is inclosed: so the fire is the beginning of the world, and water the ending. Dost thou wonder that Rivers may alwaies issue from this Element, which was in stead of all, and out of which all things were? This humour in the disposition of all things was reduced to the fourth, and so placed, that it might suffice both to produce floods, riuers, and fountaines. That which followeth is a foolish opinion of *Thales*, for he saith that the Globe of the earth is sustained by water, and carried after the manner of a boat, and fluctueth in his mobilite, at such time as it is said to tremble; it is not therefore to be wondered at, that there is sufficient water to make Rivers, considering that all the world is in water. But hisse away, and contemne this elde opinion. For thou art not to thinke that water entereth by certaine cruells into this World, and worketh out a pompe.

*The opinion of
Thales as touching
water.*

CHAP. XIV.



The Egyptians made foure Elements, and then of euery one of them two, male and female. They suppose the ayre to be the male because it is winde, female because it is obscure and still. They call fire masculine, because it burneth with a flame; feminine, because it shineth without hurting by touching. The stronger earth they call male, as for example, stones, and rocks: they assigne the name of female, to that which is manuable and fit to be employed.

*The opinion of
the Egyptians as
touching the
number of the
Elements.*

Aaaa

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

How and from
whence the wa-
ters proceed.



Hence is the Sea? From the beginning it was so made, hee hath vaines whereby he is impelled, and floweth. As the way of the sea is vast and hidden, so is that of the milder waters, which no course of any river whatsoever may drie vp. The reason of the forces of the same is hidden. There issueth no more from it then there is superfluitie; we approue some of these opinions, but consider besides these, that which ensueth. I consent that the earth is gouerned by Nature, and that it hath some resemblance with our bodies, wherein there are vaines and arteries, the one to containe the blood, the other the spirit. In the earth likewise there are such waies, whereby the water runneth, and others, whereby the winde whirleth, which Nature hath so formed according to the resemblance of our bodies, that our Ancestors haue called them vaines, which are the sources of waters. But as in vs, besides the vaines, there are diuers sorts of humours, either necessarie, or superfluous and sticking; the braines for the head, the marrow for the bones, the muscles, the excrements of the eyes, the nerves in the ioynts to procure a more easie motion: so are there diuers sorts of humiditie found in the earth. Some being ripened, are hardened as metalls, amongst which avarice hath digged vp gold and siluer. There are others likewise which are changed into stone. In some places the earth and water melt themselves, as we see in *Bithumen*, a clammy, limie, and pitchie substance, and in others. This is the cause of waters that are bred according to the ordinance of Nature. But as in our bodies, so oftentimes in the earth the humours are corrupted, either a stroke, or some shaking, or the age of the place, or cold, or heate offend Nature: so a sulphurous earth will draw a certaine humour, which sometimes will continue long, sometimes little. Even as therefore in our bodies when a vaine is opened, the blood floweth so long, vntill there be no more, or vntill the orifice of the prick be shut, and hath a cicatrice; or in any other sort the blood be stopped: in such sort in the earth, when the vaines of the same are open, the brooks or rivers spread themselves. That only is to be considered how great the orifice is, and how the water is consumed: sometimes it is dried vp by some impediment, sometimes it vniterh it selfe, as it were, in a cicatrice, and followeth that way which the hath made: sometimes this masse of earth, which, as we said, is immutable, ceaseth to conuert the humiditie into nutriment: sometimes the conduits that are dried are filled againe, eyther in assembling their owne force, or gathering it from others. For oftentimes those things that are void, being set neere vnto those things that are full, draw the humor from them, which passeth easily into another thing. Oftentimes the earth drieth it selfe, and afterwards becommeth moist. The same falleth out vnder earth, which happeneth in the clouds, that the earth thickeneth her selfe, and engendereth an humiditie so waightie, that she can no longer containe it. Oftentimes she gathereth a thin and dispersed liquor like vnto dew, which is gathered from diuers places into one. Those Masters that make fountaines, call it the sweat of the earth, because that certaine dropes are exprest thorow the straitnesse of the place, or are drawne by cunning. In this place there needeth much humiditie for a little source. But as touching the greater rivers, they proceed from verie great causes and conceptions, sometimes they flow mildely, if the water hath onely carried her selfe by her owne waight: sometimes with vehemencie and great noyse, if the ayre be intermixed, and pulsh it forth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

But why are some fountaines for sixe houres space full, and sixe houres drie? It were but labor lost to name all those riuers which swell for diuers months, and are small for certaine other. It is not now needfull to seeke out a reason for euery one in particular, since I may yeeld the same reason for all riuers in generall. Euen as the quartan ague commeth at an houre, the gowt hath a certaine terme; and purgation, if nothing hinder it, keepeth his critique day, and the female produceth her fruit in a prefixed time: so the waters haue their pauses both to ebbe and flow. But some spaces are lesse, and therefore more notable, some greater and no lesse certaine. Why should a man wonder hereat, when as thou seest the order of things disposed by degrees, according to assignations. The Winter hath alwaies kept his course. The Summer is warmed in due time. The changes of Autumne and Spring obserue their vsuall customes: both the Solstice and Equinoctials haue reference to their daies. Vnder earth the Laws of Nature are lesse knowne vnto vs, yet are they not lesse certaine. Belieue that thou seest as much vnder earth as aboue. For there are, most spacious denues, infinite and great retreats, and large spaces betweene the mountaines that are hangd here and there. There are a number of hollowes and bottomlesse pits that haue swallowed vp whole Cities, and haue hidden strange ruins in their depths. These caues are full of aire, (for there is nothing void in the Vniuers) and in spacious and obscure pooles, likewise, there breed certaine creatures (although confused and deformed) as if ingendred in a blind and fat aire, and in waters ouergrowne with mud, diuers of which are blinde, as Moales and Rats that are bred vnder ground, who want light, because they haue no need thereof. From thence likewise, as *Theophrastus* thinketh, fishes are drawn forth in some places.

Of the flux and
reflux of some
fountaines, and
the increase and
dcrease of some
rivers in certain
seasons.

CHAP. XVII.

Here are many things in this place will come vnto thy minde, which a man may terme after a merry sort, both incredulous and fabulous; that a man should go & fish with his pick axe, and not with nets and hookes. I expect that some one should go a fishing in the sea. But why may not fishes as well haunt vpon the earth, as we trauele the Seas? In the end we will change our abode. Doeſt thou wonder at that which I haue spoken? How farre more incredible are the workes of excesse and dissolution, as often as the list to falsifie and surmount Nature? Fishes swim in the chamber, & vnder the verie table the fish is taken, that is dressed and serued in presently to the talbe. A Barbel newly taken is not delicate enough, if it dieth not in their hands that are invited to dinner. They are shut vp, serued in, and shewed in pots of glasse, at which time men take pleasure in their colour, when they are readie to die, which is changed diuerſly, when as the fish beginneth to wax weak, and beateh her selfe to deatn by little and little. Some they kill in *Garrum*, or pickle, and dresse them liuing. Where are they then that thinke it impossible that a fish should liue vnder the earth, and be digged qwt, and not taken? How incredible would this seeme vnto them, that a fish swims in pickle, and that it was not killed for supper, but in the midst of supper, and made much sport, and sed the eyes before it satisfied the belly?

After some dig-
ression he touch-
eth the vniuersi-
ted variety of
disolute men of
his time, in re-
spect of their
life.

Aaaa 2

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

*He continueth
his reprofa-
gation mens ex-
cesse.*

Et vs giue ouer this dispute, and suffer me to censure this excesse. There is nothing more faire, fairest thou, then to see a Barbel die. At such time as the struggleth for life, first there appeareth a rednesse, and afterwards she is covered all with palenesse, which are equally varied, and the face of the colour is vncertaine betwixt life and death. O long idlenesse of sleepe and sluggish dissolution: too late hath shee beene awakened, too late hath shee knowne, that she was deprived and defrauded of so great a good. Yet fisher-men enioyed this so great and goodly spectacle, having the meanes to see such a fish dead and sodden for their table. We wondered to see them so dainty, that they would not touch the fish, except it were taken the same day, which, as they said, should taste of the sea it selfe. Therefore were they carried in poste, and in cuerie streete whole companies made way for rippers, that puffed and cryed out as they ranne, to make way. But to what height is excesse grown? That fish that is caught and killed to day is reputed rotten. I will not trust thee with a matter of so great importance, I will haue it brought me aliuie, and I will see it die. The stomackes of the belly-gods are leazed with this loathing, that they cannot taste a fish, except they haue seen it swimming, and dying at their banquets. The more that excesse and furious desires of superfluities made them ingenious, the more also did their furie, condemning all viduall matters, inuent daily some new subtiltie and magnificence. We haue heard it spoken, that in times past the Barbel that was taken amongst rocks, and in stony places, was a daintie dish. But now we heare them say, that there is nothing more pleasing, then to see a Barbell die. Giue me the glasse bodie into my hands, that I may see it leape and quier. When it hath beene much and long time praised, it is suddenly taken out of that cleere fish-pool, then every one as he is cunninger shewes his opinion. See how this rednesse appeareth more tintured then Vermilion. Behold what veines he discouereth on his sides, you would say his belly were of bloud? What cleare and blew colour hath he discovered at one time? Now he stretched out himselfe, and becometh pale and of one color. But amongst all these deuicers, you shall finde none of them that will sit by his friend that lies a dying, no man will haue the hart to see his father yeeld vp the ghost, although he hath wished his death heartily. Who is he amongst all these gourmands, that followeth a dead man of his family to the fire? He will abandon his parents & friends at the last houre, yet notwithstanding they assembl themselves together to see a dying fish? For in their opinion there is nothing more faire. I cannot chuse but gird at them sometimes, and vse some tart and rude termes in respect of these men, who when there is any question of kitchen-work, are not content with their teeth, throats, and bellies to feed their excesse, except they surfet with their eyes.

CHAP. XIX.

*The difference
of waters vnder
the carib.*

Vto returne vnto my purpose, take this for a certaine argument, that in the hollow places of the earth, there are a great abundance of hidden waters that breed much corrupt and muddy fish, which if at any time they breake forth, bring with them an immeasurable troupe of fishes horrible to sight, and filthy and vnwhole-

vnwhole-

vnwhole some in taste; truly at such time as a great quantitie of this water issued out of the earth in the country of *Caria*, neere to the City of *Lorina*: All they died whosoever did eate of those fishes that were drawne out of that River which before time was vnknowne. Neither is this to be wondered at; for such fishes as these, because they had beene long time shut vp, were become great, fat, and long, but flyme, and fatned in the darknesse, and had neuer seen the light, whence commeth the wholefomenes of all victuals. That fishes may breede in the hollow of the earth, it appeareth, because that Eeles are taken in hidden places, in troubled waters and pits; which yeeld a meat of hard digestion, by reason of their sluggishnesse, especially when they are taken in those places where there is so much mud, as they may wholly bury themselves therein: so then the earth hath not only veines of water, which by their current may make riuers, but also flouds of great extent, whereof some runne alwaies vnderneath the earth, vntill such time as they discharge themselves in some gulle, some appeare vnder some lake. And who knoweth not that there are certaine pooles which appeare without bottome? Whereto rendereth this? to shew that the great riuers haue a continuall matter to maintain them, whose extremities are not to be touched as they may be in springs and fountaines.

CHAP. XX.



Hy then haue waters diuers tastes? for foure causes. The first is of the earth thorow which the waters are carried. The second, by reason of the agreement and conueniency of the same. The third of ayre, which is transformed into water. The fourth of corruption, which hapneth vpon diuers occasions. These causes giue diuers fauours and properties vnto waters. These giue the vertue to heale infirmities, these yeeld a stinking dampe, and a pestilent vapour; these lightnes or heavinesse, or too much heate or colde. It importeth also to know whether they passe by the veines of sulphure, nitre or bitume. If they be corrupted by some dangerous minerals, a man cannot drinke of them without the hazard of his life. Therefore it is that *Ouid* saith:

*The Cicones haue such a floud, that being drunke, doth change
Their bowels that doe drinke to stone, or else to marble strange.*

This is a medicin, and hath a mud of that nature, that it both agglutineth and hardneth that wherupon it is applied. Euen as the dust of the territory of *Praxætel*, if it toucheth this water is turned into stone; so contrariwise, this water if it toucheth any thing that is solid, it cleaueth, and is affixed thereunto. Thence is it that such things as are cast into this lake, are forthwith drawne out as hard as stone. The like whereof falleth out in some places of *Italie*, where if a man shall cast a reed, or the leaues of trees into the water, thou shalt draw them out in few daies in the forme of stone: for the wise incloseth the body on euery side, and by little and little taketh hold and hardneth it. This will seeme lesse wonderfull and strange vnto thee, if thou obserue how these white and sulphurous waters are hardned and congealed about their channels and pipes. Some such cause haue these lakes whereof whosoever drinketh, as the Poet saith,

Growes furious, or else falls to Lethargie.
Aaaa 3

It

*Pestilent fishes,
and why.*

*The causes of
the diuers fa-
uours of waters.*

*Examples of
marvellous wa-
ters.*

It hath the like force that Wine hath, but more vehement: for euen as drunkenesse vntill it be dried is madnesse, and by the weight thereof driueth him that is drunke into sleepe: so the sulphurous vertue of this water hath some more powerfull venome in it by meanes of the corrupted Ayre, whence followeth eyther furie or lethargie, the like euill hath the riuer *Lyncesim*.

*Which who so drinks, although his draught be small,
Stumbles as if pure Wine had made him fall.*

CHAP. XXI.

*If the Ocean
creates these diuers
effects in waters.*

They that haue lookt downe into some deepe gulfs, doe dye; so fodaine is the venome which killeth those Birdes that doe but ste over it; such is the ayre, and such the place from whence this deadly water distilleth. But if the venome of that ayre and place be lesse vehement, the euill also is in some sort lenified, it onely debilitateth the nerves, and stupifieth them, as it were with drunkenesse. Neither doe I wonder, that the place and ayre doe infect the Waters, and maketh them like vnto those regions, by which, and from which they come. The fauor of the pasture appeareth in the milke, and the force of the wine is extant in the vinger; there is nothing that hath not some taste of that from whence it was taken and bred.

CHAP. XXII.

*Of the Ocean
created in the
beginning of
the world.*

Another kind there is of water also, that as wee thinke had his beginning with the world, which if it be eternall, so is this likewise, and if it hath any beginning, it likewise hath a beginning with him. Aske you me what this is? It is the Ocean with all those other seas that eyther flow from it, or wash the borders of it. Some are of opinion that certaine Riuers, (whose nature cannot be expressed) haue had their beginnings with the world, as *Ester* and *Nilus*, and other spacious floods, and such as a man cannot reckon in the ranke of others, nor deriue them from the same source.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Diuersity of terrestrial
waters.*

This is therefore the diuision of waters, according to some mens opinions. After these, there are celestiall waters, which the clouds poure downe from aboue. Amongst the terrestriall Waters, there are some (if I may so speake it) that swim and flow aboue the earth, other some there bee that are hidden, whereof wee haue yelded a reason.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Some there are that yeeld diuers reasons why certaine waters are hote, and others so boyling, that they can be of no vse, except they be cooled by the Ayre, or tempered by the mixture of cold water. *Empedocles* thinketh that the water is hote by those fires which the earth couereth and concealeth in diuers places, especially if they runne vnder that soyle by which they take their passage. Wee are wont to make certaine Dragons and Serpentes, and diuers other fashions of vessels, in which we fasten diuers litle Pipes of thin brasse bending downwards, to the end that the water distilling and turning oftentimes before the fire, may get issue in such space of time wherein it may take heate. It therefore entrencheth cold, and floweth out hote. *Empedocles* is of this opinion, that the same is done vnder the earth, to whose opinion they condescend whose Bathes are warmed without fire. A warme Ayre is infused thereunto, which serueth in steade of fire. This running through the Pipes warmeth the walles and vessels of the Bath, as if fire had bene set neere vnto it. In briebe, the colde water is by this meanes changed into hote, neither doth the euaporation draw any fauour, because it passeth thorow closed and couered places. Some thinke that these waters that either passe by or enter these places that are full of sulphure, draw their heate by the benefit of the matter thorow which they passe, which appeareth by their smell and taste; for they yeeld the quality of the matter which hath warmed them; and lest thou shouldst wonder at this accident, poure me but water vpon quick-lime, and it will burne.

*Why these are
hote waters.*

CHAP. XXV.

Diuers waters are deadly which neither offend in odour nor in taste. About *Nuacris* in *Arcadia* there is a Riuer which the Inhabitants of the place call *Syxx*, which deceiueth strangers, because both in sight, and in smell, it resembleth others, such are the Poysons of most canning Poysoners, which cannot be discouered but by death: but this water whereof I haue spoken a litle before corrupteth with incredible swiftnesse, neither is there any remedy for it, because that as soone as it is drunken, it thickneth and hardneth as plaster doth in the water, and closeth vp the bowels. There is likewise a certaine venomous water in *Thessaly* about *Tempe*, which both wilde beasts and all kind of cattell doe dye from, which pierceth both Iron and Brasse, such force it hath to mollifie those things that are hard. There are no Trees that grow about it, nor any hearbs but it killeth them. In some Riuers there is a wonderfull propertie. For some of these there are, which being drunke do tincture and dye the flocks of sheepe, and within a very short space those that were blacke carrie white Woolle; and those that came with white fleeces returne with blacke. The like effects likewise haue two Riuers in *Betia*, whereof the one is called *Melas*, that is to say, black, by reason of his operation; yet both of these issue from the same Lake, though they haue different effects. In *Macedonia* likewise, as *Tropaeus* saith, there is a fould, whitherto they that desire to haue white sheepe driue their flocks, which the longer they haue drunk, the more deeply are they dyed and

*Of venomous
and deadly wa-
ters.*

*Notable Exam-
ples.*

*Pliny saith this
certain in the
cond Blacke.*

The cause of such effects.

Of stones and other solid things that float about the water.

The reason of the marvellous life of Cutillas.

There are infinite secrets in Nature, whereof a man cannot give a reason.

and turned into white: but if they have need of a browne colour, they have a ready and free Dyer, for they driue the same flocke to the flood *Cerona*. I haue modern Authors that write, that there is a Riuer in *Galatia* that blacketh all that which is sleept in it; that in *Capadocia* there is another that changerh the colour of Horses onely (& not other beasts) causing their haire to be spotted with white. It is well knowne that there are some lakes that beare them vp, who cannot swim. There was in *Sicily*, and at this day there is in *Syria* a pond, on the top whereof whole Bricks doe swim, and although heauy things be cast into the same, yet cannot they sinke vnto the bottome. And the cause heretofore is very manifest. Weigh me a thing whatsoever it be, and counterpoise it with water, if the water bee more weighty it will beare vp the thing that is lighter then it selfe, and will raise the same aboue her the more lighter it is, and that which is more weighty will descend. But if the weight of the water, and the thing thou counterpoisest with it be equall, the shall not draw it to the bottom, neither shall it wholly swim aboue the water, but it shall bee carryed on euen with the water, yet shall swim as it were halfe drowned, and eminent in no part. Thence cometh it that some peeces of timber sometimes float wholly aboue the water, other some are halfe within the water, & others sinke to the bottom. For when as the weight of the wood and water are equall, and that the one thing yeeldeth in no sort to the other, that which is more weightie descendeth, and that which is lighter is carryed on the top of the water. But we esteeme the heauie and light, not according to our owne estimate, but in comparison of the thing that should carry and beare vp the same. When as therefore the water is heauier then the body of a man or a stone, the suffreth not that which is more lighter to sinke vnto the bottome. Whence it cometh to passe that the stones themselves float vpon the water, yea, euen those that are hardest & most solid. For there are many Pumice stones & such as are light, whereof certaine Islands in *Lydia* are composed, the which for this cause swimme in the Sea, if a man will beleue *Theophrastus*. For mine owne part I my selfe haue seene an Island in the Lake of *Cutillas* that floated, another in the Lake of *Vadimona*, another in the Lake of *Station*, swimming vpon the water. The Island of *Cutillas* hath Trees and Herbes, growing on it, although the water beareth it vp, and is driuen hither and thither, not onely by a strong winde, but by euery gentle gale whatsoever. Neither remaineth it eyther by day or night in one place, so moueable is it vpon euery breath of wind. There are two causes hereof: the weight of the medicinable water, and consequently more heauie; and the matter of the Isle which is apt to be carryed, which hath no solid bodie, although it nourish Trees. For haply the far humour taketh hold of, and bindeth together the lighter trunks, and those leaues that are scattered in the Lake. Therefore although there be some stones in the same, yet shalt thou finde them spongie and hollow, such as those are which a thicke water collecteth and breedeth about the brinks of some medicinable Fountains, which are engendered of the foame that is made by the excrements of the water, that gather themselves together. That thing of necessity must bee light, which is made of another thing that is windie and void. There are some secrets whereof a man can yeeld no reason; as why the water of *Nilus* maketh women fruitful, in such sort that it hath opened and disposed to conception the Matrice of some women, that hath bene closed by long sterilitie; why likewise some waters in *Lycia* retain the seed conceived by women, who had their Matrice euer open. For mine own part, I number these things amongst those that are vnder

discretely

How Cryfall is made.

Why some Riuers increase in Summer.

Other diuers accidents in Riuers and Fountains.

discretely and rashly published. Some beleue that there are certaine waters that breed the scab in mens bodies, or that powred on the skin or drunken, the leprosie, and other white and deformed spots; which vice they ascribe to that water that is gathered of dew. Who would not thinke that those waters that are turned into Cryfall are most weightie; yet is it farre otherwise; for this falleth out in the lightest waters, which the cold very easily congealeth, by reason that they are no waies thicke. But whence this stone is made, it appeareth very plainly by the name which the *Gracians* giue the same, for they call it *hydrastus*, as well the transparent stone as the Ice, whereof it is supposed that the Cryfall is made. For the celestiall water hauing very little earthly substance in it, when it is growne hard by the continuance and vehemencie of the longer cold, is thickened more and more, vntill such time as (all ayre being excluded) it shutteth in it selfe, and that humour which was is made a stone.

CHAP. XXVI.

IN Summer some floods are increased, as *Nilus* (whereof wee will render another reason, in a more conuenient place.) *Theophrastus* writeth, that in *Pontus* there are certaine Riuers that increaseth in the Summer time, whereof hee iudgeth that there are three causes; first, because at that time most of all the Earth is apt to be changed into Winter; next, because there are some huge showers that fall in a more remote place, whose waters streaming along by secret passages, are silently discharged into the same; thirdly, if the entry be beaten with continuall windes, and the flood bee beaten, the water remounteth backe againe, and seemeth to increase because it is not powred forth; the fourth reason is from the Planets, for these in some moneths vrge more then in other some, and dry vp the floods; in other places being farther off, they draw and consume lesse, in such sort, that that which is lessened in one season is increased in another. There are some floods that manifestly fall into some bottomlesse pit, and so are swallowed vp from our sight: some are consumed by little and little, and after some intermission returne againe and re-assume both their name and course: the cause is manifest, there is some vacuities vnder the Earth. But all water by nature descendeth downward, and is carryed into a void place. The Riuers therefore that are receiued thither make their secret course, but as soone as any thing that is solid meeteth with them, and stayeth them, by working a passage in that place where they finde the least resistance, they renew and pursue their former course.

So when as *Lycus* is drunke vp and drayned
By yawning Earth, at last he mounts againe
Farre from the place where first it was contained,
And springs and floats within another maine:
And now drunke vp, straight with a silent course
Sliding along, he spends his floods vntamed
Amidst the Greekeish Ocean, and his source
Is in that place proude *Erasinus* named.

The

The flood *Tygris* doth the like in the East; it is swallowed vp, and after hauing made a long iourney vnderneath the Earth, at last in a farre remote place it riseth againe vndoubtedly the same. Some Fountaines at a certaine time cast out their excrement, as *Arethusa* in Sicilia doth from hie to hie yeares, in Summer during the Olympian games: from thence springs that common report, that the Ruer *Alpheus* passeth from Achaia thither, and runneth vnder the Sea, without discovering her selfe, or breaking forth vntill such time as she hath attained the Sicilian shore. Therefore in those dayes when the Olympique Games are solemnized, the excrements of those beasts that are sacrificed, being cast downe the streame, found their issue and appeare there. This, my dearest *Lucilius*, hast thou expressed in thy Poeme: the like hath *Virgil* done, speaking to the Fountaine *Arethusa*;

*So grant the gods, that whilst thy milder maue
The swift Sicilian streame doth undermine,
That bitter taited Doris neuer haue
The meanes to intermix his maue with thine.*

There is a Fountaine in Cheronefe of Rhodes, that after a great space of time powerth out from her bottome certaine ordures, vntill such time as it is wholly and intirely purified. The like to this doe diuers other Fountaines in other places, which vomit out not onely their mud and the leaues of Trees, but also all other things that are cast thereinto. The like doth the Sea in euery place, whose nature is this; to discharge whatsoeuer carkasses or vnclanenesse it hath in it vpon the shores. Some parts of the Sea doe the like in some seasons of the yere, as about Messina and Mylas, at which time he casteth vp vpon the sands, I know not what excrement, like vnto dounge, & boyleth and ripleth, exhaling a stinking odor; whence the fable riseth, That the Horses of the Sun are stabled there. But there are some things whereof it is a hard matter to yeeld a reason: and as touching this, which is now in question, although some haue diligently obserued when this purgation is made, yet is there no certainty thereof; so that the neereft cause can hardly be found out, but onely the generall, which is, that all still and inclosed waters purge themselves ordinarily, for excrements cannot stay in those which haue a current, that carryeth and rauisheth all things with it. Those that pulh not to their shores that which is false into them, haue a dreame that is lesse or more violent. But the Sea draweth from her bottome, and casteth vpon her shores the bodies of the dead, the wrecks of Ships, and those small things that she receiue, purging her selfe as well in faire weather as in stormie.

CHAP. XXVII.

BVt this place moueth me to demand, when the destined day for the Deluge shall come, how the greater part of the Earth shall be covered with waters? Whether it shall be done by the vertue of the Ocean? Whether the water that appeareth shal raise her selfe against vs? Whether the violent raines shall fall without intermission, or if the Winter hauing driven away the Summer shal breake the clouds, and powre downe abundant waters; or if the Earth shall more largely extend

*The causes of
the purgation of
these Riuers.*

*The description
of a Deluge that
runneth in the
whole World.*

all her waters, and shall discover new Fountaines, or whether there shall be diuers concurrent causes to one so great a desolation, so as the raines shall fall in great abundance, the Riuers shall exceed their bounds, the Seas forsaking their ordinary limits shall couer the earth; and all waters gathered together, shall run in one company, with a deliberation to extinguisht Mankind. Thus it is; nothing is difficult vnto nature, especially when she hasteth to her end in the creation and beginning of things she vseth her forces sparingly, and dispense her selfe by fallacious increases, but when she intendeth ruine, she suddenly employeth all her forces. How long time is there required from the day of the Conception of a Cilde, vntill the time he forsaketh his Mothers wombe: with how great labours is he brought vp from his Cradle? And what care must there be had in breeding and bringing vp this little bodie? But how suddenly and without labour is he brought to nothing? An age buildeth Cities, but an hower destroyeth them. The wood that hath flourished long is made ashes in a moment. All things stand and flourish vnder a proud care, and are dissolved quickly and suddenly. All that which nature would alter in the estate of things that are created, sufficeth to ruinate Mankind. When as therefore this necessity of time shall come, the Destinies moue many causes at once, and without a great conculsion of the world so great a change cannot be made as some think, amongst whom is *Fabianus*, First of all the immeasurable raines fall, & the Heauen is wholly couered, without any appearance of the Sunne: a thicke, moylt, darke and continuall fogge inuiroeth the Earth, and casteth not to diffill; neither Vines or Corne attaine vnto their maturitie: all seeds are lost in the Earth, the fields are couered with such Hearbes as grow in Marishes and Plashes, expecting as yet some greater desolation; for the rootes are loosened, the Trees fall, the Vine and euery other plant hath no more hold of the Earth that is soft and fluid. It sustayneth no more by the meanes of the waters, either Herbe or Grasse: Famine presseth all men, and they enforced to seeke their sullenance after the manner of the Ancients beate downe and shake downe the Burgens and Acornes of the Holme and Oke, and all such that in such necessities a Tree may furnish, being shaken or beaten with stones. The rotten houles fall vnto the ground, the foundations sinke being mouldred and loosened by moylture, the whole Earth is glutted with water, and in vaine doe men labour to vnderprop that which falleth to ruine. For euery foundation is in a slippery place, and in a muddy ground there is nothing stable. After that the flouers increase more and more, and those snowes that were gathered in ages begin to melt. A headlong torrent, falling from the highest Mountaines, carrieth and hurleth away whole woods that haue no fetled root, and tumbleth these stones that are walked away from the Earth with the rest. It drowneth Villages, carryeth away troops of beasts, and those little Cabbans that it meeteth withall, and then assaulteth the greater houles. Afterwards it ouerturneth Cities and draweth away with it the inhabitants, inclosed in their own walls, who know not whether they shall sinke vnder their houles, or perish in the water; so sudden is the accident that either should oppress or drown them. Afterwards, being increased by some other torrents that ioine themselves with her, they ouerflow all the Champaine. Finally, being twolne and ouer charged by the ruine of diuers Nations, it layeth hold on all things. As touching the Riuers that are spacious in themselves, and are rauished by the torrents, they forsake their channels; what think you will become of Danubius, the Rhine & Rhosne, which in their channels haue a torrent that runneth maruellous swiftly? What can they doe.

when

all

when after they haue overflowed their bounds they are made new Riuers, and hauing broken the Earth haue got themselves a new passage? With what violence floweth the Riuer of Rhine when it falleth into the Champaine countries, & finding an extent sufficient to weaken his waues, fillethe himselfe euery way with water, as if he were inclosed in some streight channell? And Danubius likewise at such time as he not onely beateth the foot, but also the midst of the Mountaines, yea, approacheth the very tops of the same, bearing with it not onely the moistened sides of the Mountaines, but the Rockes that are hurried downe, and the Promontories of great Regions, which by reason of the weaknesse of their foundation are separated from the Continent. At length, finding no passage, or bound wherein to containe it selfe, it swelleth on euery side, and swalloweth vp at once a whole extent of Countries & Cities. Meane while the Raines continue, the Heauen thickeneth more and more; and thus by course of time the euill is augmented. The precedent obscurity becommeth black, fearefull and terrible, and night is incessantly beaten with dreadful lightnings, which the Heauen darteth one after another: the Sea seemeth to be enraged being increased by the access of so many floods, and too much restrained at such time as the was within her bounds. The shores stand no longer, they exceed their limits, the torrents permit them not to enlarge themselves, and push backe the floods, wherof the most part as it were arrested by a barre that is not sufficiently large, get passage from the one side vnto the other, and make a new Sea, and make the Champains resemble a standing poole. At that time as farre as the eye may aime there is nothing that can be discouered but water. All the noise cometh from the bottom, and the waters are the highest aboue all things; onely in the tops of Mountaines there are certaine shallow places, where men save themselves, with their wiues and children, driuing their cattell before them. All traffique and entercourse betwene Nations ceaseth, because the water hath filled all the Vallies. In some the highest place, the remainder of Mankind maintaineth themselves, who being reduced to this extremitie had this solace, that their feare was translated into stupidity, being so astonished that feare could not hurt them. In briefe they were touched with no sense of griefe (which loseth his force in him that is miserable, aboue the sense of euill.) So then the Mountaines resemble Isles, and increase the number of the Cyclades, as the most ingenious Poet most wittily specifieth, saying, as the greatnes of the thing required him,

All things were Sea, nor had the Sea a shore.

Except he had reduced so much vigour of wit and plentie of matter to triuall toys, saying,

*The Wolfe his head amongst the sheepe did reare,
And waltering wanes did furious Lions beare.*

This is to exceed measure, to iest and wanton it in the ruine of the World. Hee spake mighty things, and began to set downe the Image of so great a confusion, when he said,

*Th' vnbridled floods run through the Champaine Plaines,
And mighty Towers lye buried vnder floods.*

It was magnificently spoken if he had taken no care what Sheepe and Wolves did. But can any one swim in such a Deluge and overflow? And were not the beasts drowned as soone as the Waters had layd hold of them, and carryed them

them away? Thou hast conceived the Image and description of this disorder, as great as it should be: if the Heauen it selfe fall, endure it. Thou shalt know that which becommeth thee, if thou set before thine eyes the whole World floating in water. Let vs now returne vnto our purpose.

CHAP. XXVIII.



Here are some that think that the Earth may well be beaten with excessive raines, but not drowned. Those things that are the greatest fault bee violently strooken: the raine will spoyle the Corne, the haile will beate downe the Fruit, the Riuers will over-flow their bounds, and yet will not forsake their Channels. Some there are that attribute this ruine to the over-flow of the Sea. It cannot be that a Deluge should proceed from the violence of Torrents, or Raines, or Riuers. When the end of the Earth is neere, and that it pleaseth Nature that all Mankind should perishe, I grant that contiguall and immeasurable raines fall from the Heauens: that the Northerly winds are suppressed, that the Southerly blow: that the Clouds, the Tempests, and Riuers increase.

*Yet harmes doe more increase,
The Corne is waht away vpon the Plaine;
The Plough-man spends his Vowes, and toyles in vaine;
All what the yeare could yeeld for paine or cost,
Is drown'd in Water and the labour lost.*

It was not necessary that the Earth should be offended, but only hidden. After these beginnings the Seas increase, but beyond measure, they spread their waues more largely then euer the greatest Tempest did. The winds themselves that raise them at their backes, entangle themselves with the waues of the Sea, which breake themselves vpon the shores that are farre estranged from sight. Afterwards when they had enlarged themselves, made a new Sea, from the depth of the greatest Sea there ariseth a new flood, which bringeth with it a mischief farre greater then the former; for euen as the matter of the Aire and the Etheriall Region is very ample, so is that of the water, which aboundeth maruellously in her secret places, the being sufficiently mooued (for the floods are the Ministers of Destinie) makes the waues swell wonderfully, and animateth her selfe violently. Then riseth thee to an incredible highnesse, and mounteth aboue the highest and most assured retreates of men. It is no difficult matter for the Element of water to raise it selfe aboue the highest tops and Promontories of the Earth. For if a man measure by the eye the crest of the highest Mountaines, he shall finde that the Sea equalleth them in height; for the Globe of the Earth is equally round. These caviities and plaines are such, that on euery part they make an Orbe, wherein are comprehended the Seas which make a part thereof, and fulfill the round. But euen as hee that catcheth his eyes a long way, deceiuerth himselfe and cannot deprehend the places which by little and little bow downward, so can wee not comprehend the bowings of the Seas; and all that which wee see seemeth to be a plaine, yet is it round and like vnto the Land. Therefore also is it that the Sea swelleth not much, but incontinently slideth away, because it is enough for her to rise a little,

*If the earth may
be drowned with
waters.*

*Whence proceedeth
a Deluge,
according to Seneca's
and the Stoicks opinion.*

In what season
the flux and re-
flux of the Sea
is greatest.

God speaketh of
terrors by Pa-
gans mouths
that which is af-
firmed in Christi-
an Beliefe.

ele cyther to equall or surmount the rest; neither slippeth thee away from the banks where the is lowest, but from the middelt, where the great assembly of Water is. Burenen as the fluxe and refluxe of the Sea is accustomed to bee the greatest, during the Equinoctiall, in the time of the coniunction of the Sunne and Moone; so the Deluge that is sent to couer all the Earth, and which shall be the greatest and most violent that men are accustomed to see, draweth a more infinite abundance of water with it, and neuer abateeth vntill it hath surpassed and couered the tops of the highest Mountaines. The fluxe and refluxe of the Sea increaseth and decreaseth in some place more then a hundred miles, and neuer faileth but keepeth alwaies the same order; for it increaseth and decreaseth by measure. But in the time of Deluge, it neither keepeth measure nor rule. How, commerth this to passe, sayest thou? In such sort as the end of the World shall be by an vniuersall fire. Both the one and the other shall come to passe at such time as it shall please God to giue a beginning to better things, and giue an end to the old. Fire and Water haue the Dominion ouer terrestriall things. From them proceed the beginning and end of all things. As oft then, as it pleaseth the Heauens that things shall be renewed, the Sea shall overflow vs, in such sort as the fire from aboue shall lay hold on all things, when by another end he would bring all things to nothing.

C H A P. XXIX.



Some thinke that the Earth is shaken also, and that the ground being broken open, there appeare new heads of Riuer, which cast forth more abundance of Waters, as from a place that is as yet full. *Berosus* that hath interpreted *Belus*, saith, that this is caused by the motion of the Harres, and maintaineth it so assuredly, that he sticketh not to set downe the time of the end of the World, as well by fire as by water; affirming that the Earth shall be burned at such time as all the stars which now hold diuers courses shall meete in the signe of *Cancer*, so settled and placed in the same point, that a man may draw a direct Line thorow all their Centres & Circles; that the Deluge shall couer the Earth, when as the same stars shall assemble and meere together in *Capricorne*. Under the one is the longest day in Summer, and the shortest day of Winter vnder the other. These signes are of great efficacy and power, which vpon the changes of the yeare cause such moments: for mine owne part I reiect not any of the causes (for one alone cannot cause so much mischiefe) annexing vnto them that which the Stoicks thinke. Whether it be that the World be a spirit or body, by the disposition of Nature, it contrayneth in it Trees, Plants, and all that which it ought to doe and suffer, from the beginning of the World vnto the end thereof, no otherwise then in the seed are inclosed all the parts of the body of a man which should be formed. The Infant that is borne in his Mothers Wombe, hath the rootes of the Beard and Haire he shall weare one day. In this little Masse likewise are all the Lineaments of the body, and all that which Posterity shall discover in him. So the originall of the World hath no lesse containeth the Sunne, the Moone, the reuolutions of the Starres, the birth of liuing Creatures, as the causes of the change of terrestriall things. In them hath beene the Deluge which cometh by the order of Heauen, euen as Winter and Summer doe. It shall not therefore be done by raine, neither by inundation of the Sea, neither by quaking

He continueth
to speake of the
causes of Deluge
in his sent, and
according to o-
ther mens opi-
nions, but by the
signe of Nature
the transcendent
knowledge is dy-
rect in the know-
ledge of true Christi-
anite.

king of the Earth, but with all these accidents which shall assist Nature, to the end that her determinations should be accomplished and executed: yet astouching the principall cause, it shall proceed from the Earth it selfe, which as we haue said is changeable, and must resolute her selfe into water. When as therefore the end of all things shall be come at such time as the parts of the World must perill and be dismantled, in such sort as they may be moulded anew, and made better then before, there shall more water be made then euer there was: for now the aliments are distributed to every one according as it is behouefull. There must sometyme at that time ioyned it selfe with another, to the end that such things that subsist in counter-weight should be troubled and confused by the inequality that should happen. The most shall be found in the water, that hath nothing more for the present, then that which is necessarie to enuiron the Earth, and not to drowne it: if you will adde any thing thereunto, it must needly discharge the same in another place. How shall it then be, that the Earth as being least powerfull, shall sinke vnder that which is more strong? Shee shall beginne at that time to rot her selfe, and afterwards being moistened to melt her selfe into humour, and to fall to mud. At that time the Riuer shall mount aboue the Mountaines, and shall shake them with a mightie force, and afterwards shall swallow them without noyse. All the Earth shall vomit out waters, the tops of the Mountaines shall breake forth in Fountaines. Euen as the wholest parts of the body become sick, and those that are neereft to an vicer wax vicerated: so the mightiest Regions of the Earth converted into water shall melt themselves likewise, and shall distill from all parts. The Rocks shall cleaue in sunder to giue passage to the waters that shall assemble themselves to make a Sea. The Streights of the Venetian & Sicilian Seas shall be no more, Charybdis and Scylla shall not be spoken of. The new Sea shall swallow vp all these Fictions, and the Ocean that at this day beguirteth the remotest parts of the Earth, shall then be in the midst of the Waters. What shall then bee? The Winter shall domineere ouer all other seasons, the Summer shall be no more, and euerie Starre that before time dryed vp the Earth shall haue no more heate or effect. All the names of particular Seas, as that of Caspium, Eritrea the red, the Mediteranean, the greater Seas, and others shall perill, being all of them intermixed together, & all that which nature had disposed in parts, confused in one: neither Rampiers nor high Towers shall warrant any man. The Temples shall no wayes profit the Suppliants, nor the high places of Cities, because the water shall ouerake those that flie, and beare them away out of their strongest Towers. It shall flow from East to West, and one day shall bury all Mankind, ouerturning all that which Fortunes fauour hath cherished so long time, all that which is so much raised aboue the common, the great Palaces, Riches, Magnificence, and mightie Monarchies.

C H A P. XXX.



Things as I haue said are easie vnto Naturee, specially those things which shee hath resolved to doe from the beginning, whereunto she cometh not suddenly but determinately. But from the first day of the World, as from his informed vnitie, shee came to take this habitude which wee see shee hath, shee prefixed the day wherein the Earth should bee drowned, and to the end it might not bee an en-

The Paradox of the Stoicks as touching the vniuersall Deluge, and the end of the World, refuted by the celestiall verities contained in Moyses where a promise was made to the Patriarch Noe, that there should be no more any vniuersall Deluge.

This prediction is wholly false.

Another error that the earth is made to bee drowned, because of an vniuersall Deluge, whereas God by Moyses speaketh expressly to the contrary.

terprise of difficult execution as if it were a new Worke: the Seas long since haue exercised and fashioned themselves thereunto. Seest thou not how the fouldes of the Ocean runne towards their banks, as if they sought libertie? Hast thou not obserued how the floud hath advanced it selfe, and put the Sea in possession of the Earth? Doeſt thou not perceiue how the Sea doth nothing but some and tempest against the bounds which restraine it? What danger is there in that part where thou hearest such a tumult, and from whence issue so many Riuer with so great noyse, where Nature hath lodged so much Water to assaile vs on euery side, when shee thinkest fit? Is it not true, that in digging the Earth wee find water, and when as either vndermined by avarice, or pushed forward by another cause, wee haue digged and searched a little deeper, sometimes a bloudie death ensueth? Furthermore, there are certaine Lakes vnder the Earth that are maruellous great, and much hidden Sea; besides a great number of Riuer that streame thorow certaine passages vnder Earth. There shall bee therefore on euery side certaine courses of this Deluge, some part of the waters floting thorow the Earth, others about the same, these being long times bridled and restrained shall finally get the vpper hand, and shall ioine their flouds with the Riuer, and the Pooles with the Marishes. The Seas shall fill the brims and mouthes of all Fountaines, and shall enlarge them. Euen as the belly in emptying it selfe wasteth our bodies, as the forces are dissipated by sweat; in like sort, the Earth shall melt it selfe, and other causes ceasing, shall find a meanes to plunge and drowne it selfe in it selfe: so thinke I that so many great things shall confound themselves together, neither shall there be any long delay in the ruine. When as once the World shall remit any thing of his course and diligence, and the accord which is betwixt the parts thereof shall be shaken, incontinently the clouds shall breake forth, the waters beneath shall issue from their bottomlesse Caves to cover the Earth. There is nothing more violent, more hard to be slayed, more rebellious, or more pernicious to those that would restraine the same, then a violent water. Shee shall vse the liberty which was granted her, and by the commandement of Nature she shall fill all that which shee trauerseth and enuiroweth. Euen as the fire issuing from diuers places suddenly setteth all on fire, the flames conspiring and assembling together to make one body; so in a moment the Seas that are vented and powred forth, shall come and ioine in one, but the waues shall not rage alwaies thus: but after that Mankind shall be ruined, and beasts likewise bee brought to confusion, whose natures men had taken vpon them; the Earth shall suck vp the waters and constrain the Sea to returne within his bounds, and to tempest in his channell. The Ocean being driven farre from our limits, shall be chased into his caves, and the ancient order shall be re-established. Euery living creature shall be engendered anew, and the earth shall bee inhabited with innocent men, and borne to better hap. But Mankind shall not perseuer long in this integrity; it shall onely be for as long time, as men shall be new; wickednesse shall incontinently flie into the midst of them. Vertue is hard to be found, therefore it requireth a Guide and Gouernour: but as touching Vices, men learne them without a Master.

The end of the third Booke of the Naturall Questions.

Understanding this of time to come, it is a meer fable, it was once so Noahs time, and shall bee no more.



OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS,

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,

Dedicated to LVCILLIVS.

The fourth Booke.

THE PREFACE.



Thou art much delighted (my *Lucilius*, the best of men) in Sicily and in the gouernment of the same: because as thou writest vnto me, it is full of repose, and without trouble. But it will please thee farre more, if thou wilt containe thy selfe within thy limits, and makeſt not that an Empire, which is but a Procuration and Gouernment. I doubt not but thou wilt carry thy selfe in this sort; I know how farre thou art estranged from ambition, and how familiarly thou art addicted and delighted in honest retrement and studie of good Letters. They that cannot support and containe themselves, haue need of the conuersation of men, and multiplicity of affaires. But thou accordeſt very well with thy selfe: neither wonder I that few men are partakers of this so great good: wee are all of vs too imperious and troublesome to our selues. Sometimes wee cherish our selues too much, otherwhiles too little. To day our hearts are puffed vp with pride, to morrow Couetousnesse tormenteth vs: now are wee prostituted by vaine pleasures, anon after burned with cares and trauaile, and that which is worst of all, wee are neuer alone and retired to our selues. Wee must needs therefore bee in continuall debate, being accompanied by so many enormous vices. Doe therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which thou wert accustomed to doe: separate thy selfe as much as thou

Bbbb 3 canſt

What contentment a virtuous man receiveth by him.

*The Payson of
flatterie a tale
for great men.*

canst from the communitie, neither permit thy selfe to bee accosted by Flatterers, for these are their Crafts-masters in bewitching the greater and richer sort. Thou shalt hardly escape them, although thou take heed of them. Believe mee, they will entrap thee, if thou betray thy selfe to their Treasons. Flatteries have naturally this force, that they are pleasing, although they bee reiected; and being oftentimes excluded, at last they are entertayned. Repulse maketh them encrease, neither is there any disgrace or out-rage that can tame them. That which I shall speake is incredible, and yet very true. A man is hit most of all in that place where he is most open, and baply he is therefore hit because he lyeth open. Dispose thy selfe therefore in such sort, that thou mayest be assured that thou canst not be touched, that thou mayest be impeachable: when thou hast carryed the charyest eye, he will strike thee thorow those armes that thou reputest the most assured. Some one will vse his flattery secretly and sparingly, another openly, counterfeiting the Foole in all mens sight, as if that his simplicitie were not cunning. *Plancus*, who had bin one of the cunningest Sycophants before *Vellens* time, said that we ought not to flatter secretly, nor with dissimulation. In vaine, saith he, is flattery, if it be obscured. The Flatterer getteth very much when he is discovered, and more likewise if he blush after he hath beene taunted. Thinke that thou shalt meete with a great number of such as *Plancus* was, and that it is not a sufficient remedie against flatterie, to refuse to be prayled. *Crispus Papienus* (whose equall I neuer knew in subrill discovery of all things; especially in distinguishing and curing vices,) oftentimes said that we onely put to the doore against flatteries, but shut them not out, in such sort as we are wont to put to against our the-friend, which if he thrust it back it contenteth vs, and more gratefull is it, if thee breake it open. I remember that I haue heard the great Philosopher *Demetrius* lay to a certaine Slaue that was enfranchised, and was become veevy rich, that the shortest way for him to heape vp great wealth, was that day wherein he had repented himselfe that he had a good conscience. I will neuer, saith he, enue your practises, but will teach them that haue need, the meanes how to escape shipwrack, how to flye from those contentions that happen betwene buyers and sellers, not to trust to the incertainty of a countrey life, to retire themselves from the exercise of lesse certaine pleadings, *Item*, in what manner likewise they may not only easily, but ioyfully enrich themselves, and impouerish those that are at their ease and quiet. I will sweare (saith he) that thou art higher then *Fidus Annæus*, & *Apollonius Pictæ*, although thou hast but a mean & crooked stature, as the imcopoled *Thyræas* had. If I say that thou art the most liberrall man amongst all others, I shal not lie: when as it may seem that thou hast giuen all men that which thou hast left. So is it, my *Lucilius*, the more that flattery discovereth it selfe, the more wicked, impudent, and outrageous it is, and the sooner it deceiveth. For we are now growne vnto that madnesse, that he that flattereth vs little, seemeth to be a man of no honesty. I was wont to tell thee that my Brother *Gallio* (whom no man loued but hartly, neither loued he any man but entirely) knew not other vices, and likewise hated this. Thou hast tried him euery waies. Thou hast begun to admire his great & excellent spirit aboue all others, who rather wished to be cursed, then to do any thing worthy shame. But he suddenly retired his foot. Thou beganst to praise his frugality, hee cutt thee off in the beginning. Thou beganst to admire his humanity, & vnaffected affability which rauished those that heard them in passing by, & greatly obliged those to who they were addressed. For there is no man liuing more agreeable vnto another man, then

*A goodly touch
again, a foolish
rich man, and a
Comedie against
auarice.*

*The payson of
Gallio, Seneca
craues Braker.*

*How we ought
to entertaine a
Flatterer.*

*How a man
ought to proue
himselfe.*

then this man vnto all men, whilst in the mean space the power of his naturall goodaies is such, that it fauoreth no waies of art or simulation. There is no man but will suffer that a publike good should be imputed to him. And in this place likewise hee resisted thy flatteries, in such sort as thou exclaimedst that thou hadst found a man that was armed against all attempts, whom euery man would entertain into his bosom. Thou didst confesse that thou didst so much the more admire his prudence and pertinacie in auoiding ineuitable euils, because thou wert in hope that thy words should be entertained with an open care, although thou flatteredst, because thou spakest the truth. But so much the rather learned he to resist them the more. For the truth is alwaies assailed by those things that haue a resemblance of truth. Yet will I not haue thee displeased with thy selfe, as if thou haddest done amisse, or as if my Brother presumed that thou pretendedst to test with him, or to circumueat him. Hee discouered thee not, but repulled thee. Conforme thy selfe to this example: when as any Flatterer cometh vnto thee, say vnto him, Goe I pray thee, and carry these flattering speeches (which are accustomed to leape from one Magistrato to another, that haue these Apes and Sergeants marching before them) to some one that will pay thee with the like, and taketh pleasure to heare all that which thou wouldst speake vnto him. I will deceiue no man, neither can I be deceiued. I would be praised by you, if you were not accustomed to praise the wicked. But what needest thou to bring thy selfe into that snare, that Flatterers should touch thee so neerly? Let them be farre estranged from thee, when thou desirest to be praised well. Why shouldst thou be indebted to any for it? Praise thy selfe, and say: I haue addicted my selfe to the studie of the Liberrall Sciences, although pauerie perwaded me to the contrary, and withdrew my thoughts thither, where my studie might returne me present gaine. I aymed my thoughts at little profit-breeding Poetrie, & addicted my selfe to the hole some studie of Philosophy. I haue shewed that euery man is capable of vertue, and struggling thorow the obcuritie of my birth, and measuring my selfe not by my condition, but my minde; I haue equalled my selfe with the greatest. The enmitie of barbarous *Caius*, could not driue me from my sincere intentions. *Messallus* & *Narcissus* (vnhappy Conspirators against euery man, enemies a long time of the publike weale, before they were foes to their priuate fortune,) could not crosse my resolution. I haue hazarded my neck to maintaine mine honour, I haue not spoken that word, that was against my conscience. The care I alwayes had, was for my friends and not for my selfe, and my feare, that I was not so true a friend as I should be. I neuer wept womanish teares, neither after the manner of a suppliant haue I lifted vp my hands to any man. I haue done nothing that either was vnworthy a man, or a good man. Being greater then mine owne perils, and ready to encounter with those that threatned me, I gaue thanks vnto Fortune that would found me, how highly I prized faith. So great a thing should not cost me so little. She kept me not long in suspence, for the things that were in ballance were not equall, that is, whether it were better that faith should perish for me, or I should perish for it. I haue not violently thrust my selfe into a desperate resolution of death, whereby I might discharge my selfe from the fury of mighty men. I saw with *Caius* torments, I saw fires. I knew in times past, vnder him, that humane affaires were brought to that estate, that it was recounted amongst the workes of mercie to be simply flaine. Yet thrust I not my selfe thorow with my sword, neither cast I my selfe head-long into the Sea, to the end that the World might see that I would not dye, except it were to remain faithfull. Consider

The meane to
repaine lycori-
se, and to satis-
fie vertue.

sider moreouer my courage, that could not be corrupted with bribes, and that in this rule conflict of Auarice, I haue neuer soyled my hands with foule lucre: Moreouer, my sobrietie, my modestie in words, my affability towards my inferiours, the reuerenced haue borne my Superiors. Hauing said all this, aske counsell of thy selfe if thou hast spoken truth, or told a lye: if truth, then art thou prayd before a great witnesse: if a lye, without witnesse thou hast expost thy selfe to laughter. But some one might thinke, that either I would surpriſe thee or proue thee: beleue which thou wilt, & begin by me to feare all others. Cait-by that Verse in *Virgil*,

Faith is secur'd in no place. —

And that which *Ouid* saith,

*Throughout the World EYNNIS changeth round,
As if adrest and sworne with fellow rage,
To leane no sinne vnſought for in this age.*

Or that of *Menanders* (for who hath not whetted the greatnesse of his wit against this, detesting the consent of Mankind that tendeth vnto vice?) All, faith he, liue otherwise then they should, and the Poet hath leaped into the Seane as if hee were a Clowne: he excepteth neither old nor young, nor woman, nor man, and addeth that every one without exception doth euil, and that wickednesse is growne to the full. We ought therefore to flye, and to returne into our selues, nay more, we are to depart from our selues. Although the Sea separateth vs, I will assay to make thee partner of this good, that is, in lending thee my hand at such time as thou knowest not what way to take, and making thee to attaine to a place more secured: and lest thou shouldest haue a sense of thy solitude, I will deuise with thee from this place as often as I may. Wee will be one in that part wherein we are best: we will counsaile one another, not depending vpon the presence of him that heareth. I will leade thee farre from Sicily, to the end thou shalt not yeeld too much credit to Historie, beginning to please thy selfe as often as thou shalt say in thy selfe, I haue this Prouince vnder my government, which hath sustayned and broken the Armies of the mightiest Common-weales of the World, when the honour of a long Warre hath remayned for many yeares in suspense, at such time as thee saw the forces of foure Princes gathered together in one place, namely, of all the Empire, hauing taken away the prosperitie of *Pompey*, wearied that of *Cæsars*, translated that of *Lepidus*, and surpris'd all the rest, that were present at the strangest spectacle that may possibly be thought; whereby all mortall men may learne how sudden the fall is from high to low, and by how many diuers wayes Fortune causeth the power of this World to decline. For at one time shee hath scene *Pompey* and *Lepidus* cast from their high degree to a lower, but by different meanes, considering that *Pompey* fled before *Cæsars* Armie, and *Lepidus* his owne.

The sweete tone
betwixt Seneca
and Lucilius.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.



Vt to the end I may wholly draw thee from thy selfe, although Sicily hath in it and about it many wonders, yet will I not for the present entremidle with any questions concerning thy Prouince, but will draw thy thoughts another way. For wee will now deuise together vpon that which wee haue touched in the former Booke, whence it is that Nilus floweth and encreaseth in the Summer Monethes. The Philosophers haue leſe in Writing, that Nilus and Danubius reſemble one another, alleaging that the ſource

He entere hinto
discourſe of the
increaſe of Ny-
lus in Summer.

of Danubius is vnknowne, and that it is more great in Summer then in Winter. Both the one and the other haue appeared to bee falſe: for wee finde that the head-ſpring thereof is in Germany, and it beginneth likewise to increaſe in Summer, (yet Nilus alwayes remayneth in his accuſtomed meaſure) that is to ſay, about the firſt heates, at ſuch time as the Sunne growing more hote about the end of the Spring-time, cauſeth the Snowes to melt; which Danubius hath confumed, before that Nilus beginneth to increaſe: Danubius decreaſeth during the reſt of the Summer, and returneth to his greatneſſe in Winter, according to which it is meaſured.

CHAP. II.



Vt Nilus increaſeth in the heart of the Summer time after the Equinoctiall, before the riſing of the Dog-ſtarre. Nature hath ſet this famous ſlood before the eyes of all Mankind, and hath diſpoſed it in ſuch ſort that it ſhould ouer-flow Egypt, eſpecially at ſuch time as the Earth, being parched by the moſt burning heats, ſhould draine out the water from the depth, and ſhould draw as much as the drinneſſe of the whole yeare required. For in that part which inclineth towards Ethiopia, it raineth not, or if ſometimes certaine raines doe fall, yet recomfort they not the Earth which is vnaccuſtomed to raine water. Thou knoweſt that Egypt hath no other hope but in the water of Nilus, by meanes, whereof the yeare is either fruitfull or barren, according as Nilus hath exceeded his bounds either more or leſſe. There is no Labourer in that Countrey that liſteth vp his eyes vnto Heauen; wherefore then may I not ſport my ſelfe with my Poet, and and alleage vnto him his *Ouid*, ſaying,

In what time of
the Summer the
increaſe is made.

*The Herbes ſo IVPITER make no request
To ſend them raine from Heauen to wet their Creſt?*

If a man could comprehend from whence Nilus beginneth to increaſe, hee ſhould finde likewise the cauſes of the increaſe thereof: but hauing run thorow the great Deſerts, it ſpreadeth it ſelfe into Mariſhes, whence comming to diſgorge himſelfe into diuers Currents that run here and there; firſt he beginneth

The poſſible and
conſeſ of Nilus.

to

The Cataracts of Nilus.

to assemble them all together about Phylus, which is a stony Iland full of Mountaines hard to be landed at in any part, begirt with two Rivers, which mixe themselves in one, and fall into Nilus, whence they take their name. Nilus more large then violent, round about this place being discharged from Ethiopia and running thorow the sands, that make a way vnto those which traffique in the Indian Seas, is receiued into Cataracts a famous place, by reason of the maruailes that are scene therein. In this place Nilus raiseth it selfe amidst high Rocks and such as are hollowed and diuided in diuers parts, employing in this place all his forces. For the stones he meeteth withall breake him, in such sort as he attempteth to escape by the streights. In every place where it findeth any breach or resistance, it stoteth and gathereth together his waters which hee had carried along without any noise, and passeth with violence and vehement overflow thorow the most difficult passages, being no more like vnto himselfe, because in these streights it rouleth wholly troubled and muddy. But coming to beate vpon the Rockes, it someth, and at that time the iniurie of the place, and not his nature, maketh him change colour. Afterwards, hauing surmounted all that which hindereth him, hee falleth suddenly and plainly into a maruellous depth, with such a noise as astonisheth the Inhabitants of the countrey round about, who hauing bin planted in those places by the Persians, and being vnable to endure the continuall thunder that deafened their eares, went and encamped themselves in places more remote, and better for their rest. Amongst the wonders of this Riuer, I haue heard a great report of the incredible boldnesse of those who abide in those quarters. Two men ship themselves in a little Boat, which the one of them guideth, and the other emptieth. Hauing long times balanced amidst the troubled waues of violent Nilus, they goe and retyre themselves into some narrow Channels, by which they escape the dangerous passages of the Rockes, where leaping into the midst of the streame, they gouerne the Boate that is turned ouer them with their hand, and diuing their heads downward (to the great amaze of all the Inhabitants that behold and bewaile them with bitter teares, thinking that they are swallowed vp in this gulfe of waters,) they flew themselves againe, and appeare very farre off from the place where they diuided so swiftly, as if they had bene pushed forward by some Engines; receiuing no other harme by the violent fall of this furious streame, but that it bringeth them to still water. The first increase of Nilus is obserued about the Isle aboue mentioned. A little further off it is separated by the meanes of a Rocke, which the Grecians call *Abatos*, on which no men set foot except it be the Priests of that place. These stones first of all feeles the increase of Nilus. Farre off from this there appeare two Rockes, which those of the Countrey name the *veines* of Nilus, from whence their issueth a great abundance of water, but not sufficient to couer Egypt. When any festiual day commeth, the Priests cast in their money, and the Gouernours their Jewels of God in that part of Nilus. The which becoming more mightie in all mens sight, runneth by a deepe and large channell, yet not so great as hee might well haue, if it were not restrained by the Mountaines that hem it in on euery side. Finally, he getteth liberty about Memphis, and hauing the Champion at his command, hee maketh diuers Rivers, and entereth into channels made by hand running thorow all Egypt, in such measure as they could wils, who diuert the streame. From the beginning hee deuident himselfe into two armes, and then reioyning his waters, hee issueth forth after the manner of a Lake or troubled Sea. His violent course relenteth by reason of the extent of the

A rocke whence the first increase of Nilus is perceived.

In what place he getteth his freedome.

the Prouinces, ouer which he is spread, embracing both on the right and the left hand all Egypt. As much as Nilus increaseth, so much is there hope of fertilitytie, neither doth the computation deceiue the Husbandman, it is so answerable to the measure of the floud, which seemeth to fatten the landy and thirly earth, vpon which he powreth his streame, and dischargeh his mud all at once: for hauing his waters troubled, he leaueth the thickest in dry places, and such as are exposed to heate; afterwards he manureth all the desert field with all the fat which he hath brought with him, aiding the Territory by his inundation. & by his glewing and clammy fatnesse, in such sort as all that which is not watered, remaineth barren and desert. Encreasing beyond measure he hurteth. By this reckoning behold a marvellous floud, which whereas many other small Rivers doe but wash and walle the Lands, this diminisheth them nothing, but contrariwise fortifieth them: for by the meanes of his mud he fatteneth and bindeth the sands: so that Egypt ascribeth not onely his fertilitytie, but his good territorie also to the same. It is a goodly thing to behold Nilus when it hath couered the Champion. The fields are hidden, the Vallies are couered, or appeare not but in forme of Isles. There is no traffique in the Midland places, except by Boats, & the lesse the people see of these fields, the more reioice they. But when as Nilus containeth himselfe within his bounds, he floweth by seven mouthes or channells into the Mediterranean Seas, and which foucer of these mouthes thou wilt consider, it is but a Sea. True it is, that it spreadeth some other little armes in other shores which haue no name. Besides there are found in this riuer diuers Monsters as huge & cruel as those in the Sea, which may suffice to make it known what Nilus is, considering that he containeth such creatures, and feedeth them abundantly, & hath place large enough to containe them. *Babylus* an excellent man, & one of the learnedst in this world, writeth, that at such time as he gouerned Egypt, with the greatest mouth of Nilus, called *Hereacleotica*, hee had this pastime to behold a great troope of Dolphins coming from the Sea, & another troop of Crocodiles coming out of Nilus, as it arranged in battell to encounter one another, and that the Crocodiles were overcome by the Dolphins, which are peaceable fish and bite not. The Crocodiles haue a marvellous hard and impenetrable backe, so that other creatures that are more great and dreadfull cannot hurt them, but their bellies are soft and tender. It was in this place that the Dolphins pierced them with the fins and bristles they had on their backs, in such sort as they cut out their bowels, and made them sinke: many were dispatched in this sort, the rest as being put to flight, returned themselves swiftly against the streame of Nilus. The Crocodile hath this propertie, that he sleeth before those that run after him, & runneth after those that fly him. Neither do the Tentyrites get the better of them, for any priuiledge of generosity they haue aboue the other Egyptians, but for their contempt and temeritie. For they willingly hunt the Crocodiles, and call a snare ouer them as they flie, by means whereof they draw them to them: but diuers of these Tentyrites that haue not sufficient courage to pursue the Crocodile resolutely, are deuoured by them. *Theophrastus* saith, that the water of Nilus was somewhat salt for the space of two yeares vnder the Reigne of *Cleopatra*, that is to say, in the tenth and the eleuenth yeare Nilus flowed not; which signified according to the report of the Diuines, the change of the State vnder the Government of two, which were *Antiochie* and *Cleopatra*, vnder whom the Kingdome was reduced into the forme of a Prouince. *Calimachus* is the Authour that in times past the Nile was nine yeares without watering Egypt. But now

The mouthes or channells of Nilus.

The maruils contained in the same.

A combat betwene the Dolphins of the Sea, and Crocodiles of Nilus.

The properties of the Crocodiles.

The causes of the increase of Nilus in Summer according to the opinion of the Ancients, which is false.

now let vs consider the causes of the increase of Nilus in Summer, and let vs beginne with the most ancient. *Anaxagoras* saith, That the snowes that are moulted vpon the Mountaines of *Aethiopia*, run and discharge themselves in Nilus. All antiquity followeth the same opinion. *Aeschilus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides* haue taught no lesse. But that this is false it appeareth by many Arguments. First of all, That *Aethiopia* is a Countrey extremely hote, it appeareth by the tawny colour of the Inhabitants, and by the testimony of the *Troglodytes*, who haue their houses vnder Earth: the Rockes and stones are as they were on fire, not only at mid-day, but also in the euening: the sand is so hot, that a man cannot walke vpon it, the Silver waxeth Lead, the soder or ioyning of the Images dissolues, there is no couerture of any enriched matter that can endure. The Southerly wind that cometh from that Countrey is extremely hot. Those brafts that hide themselves in the winter, liue continually abroad. In the time of least heat, the Serpents creepe abroad. In *Alexandria* likewise, farre distant from these excessive heats, it snoweth not, neither falleth there any raime on the highest places. How can it then be, that in a Countrey that is exposed to so great heats of the Sunne, there should any Snowes fall all the Winter time? Truly there should some other Mountaines be covered therewith, and namely those of *Thrace* and *Caucasus*. But those Riuer that streame along from the Mountaines, swell about the Spring time, and vpon the beginning of Summer, and afterwards decrease in Winter. For in the Spring time the Snowes are melted, & about the first daies of the Summer the Sunne dissipateth the rest. The *Rhine*, the *Rhodes*, *Danubius* and *Caystre*, are small in Winter, but great in Summer: The Northerne Mountaines are charged with very much Snow. The *River Phasis* that runneth in those quarters should increase then, if towards the Summer time the Snowes could make the Riuer swell. Furthermore, if such were the cause of the increase of Nile, it should be very great in the beginning of Summer, because the Snowes are at that time entire in great heapes. But Nilus floweth proudly for foure moneths space, and is alwayes in the same estate. If thou wilt beleue *Thales*, the Sea against the entrances of his chanel, by means of which repulse hee floweth backe againe and encreaseeth not, but because hee cannot haue further passage, he swelleth and ouer-floweth in euery place where he may make his way. *Euthymenes* of *Marselles* accordeth hereunto, saying, I haue sailed in the Atlanticke Sea, thence floweth Nilus more greater, as long as the *Etiopians* blow, for then the Sea being pressed by these winds repulseth them against their streame. When such windes cease the Sea waxeth calme, and Nilus that returneth backe hath lesse force. Then is the Sea water sweete, and the Monsters in the same resemble those of Nilus. Why therefore? If the *Etiopians* make Nilus to swell, why doth the encrease thereof begin, before these winds rise, and continue after they are laid? Whence likewise cometh it to passe, that it is not more great at such time as they blow more rudely? For hee neither riseth nor falleth, whether they blow more or lesse, which would come to passe if he increased by their forces. Furthermore, the *Etiopian* winds beat vpon the shores of *Egypt*, and Nilus streameth against them; contrariwise he would issue from the places whence they came, if he tooke his originall from them. Besides, he would flow from the Sea pure and blue, not troubled and dirtie, as he doth at that present. Besides infinite testimonies speake wholly to the contrarie of this opinion. Then was there place for falsehood to preuaile, when the Coasts were vnknewne. It was lawfull for them that spake to publish their fables. But

The opinion of *Thales*, according to the increase of Nilus.

Euthymenes opinion.

The examination of these opinions.

at

at this day all the coast of the Sea is frequented by their ships who traffique; none of which say, that the water of Nilus is blew, or that the sea hath any other taste then it hath vually; which likewise Nature forbiddeeth to be beleued. For the Sunne draweth that which is most light, and sweet. Besides, why encrease it not in winter? Since at that time the windes being more violent then they were accustomed, might moue the Sea? For the *Etiopians* are moderate. Furthermore, if he were deriued from the Atlanticke Sea, he would at one time fill all *Egypt*. But he encreaseeth by degrees. The Philosopher *Oenopides* of *Cbios* saith, that in winter the heat is hidden vnder earth, by means whereof the dens are hot, and the fountain water is warme, by reason whereof the veins of the earth are dried by internall heate. But in other Countries the floods encrease by the means of raime. But the Nile, because he is not alighted by any other raime he waxeth the lesse, and then encreaseeth in summer, at such time as the inward parts of the earth are cold, and the fountaines are fresh and coole. But if this were true, the riuer should encrease, and all the fountaines should be full in summer. I say, likewise that in summer time the heat is not greater vnder earth. The water, the lower causes, and the fountaines are warme, because they receyue not the ayre that is cold without; so then they haue no heate, but they driue out cold. From the same cause proceedeth this, that they are fresh in summer, because the aire being remote and seuered from the same, and afterwards warmed, attaineth not so farre. *Diogenes Apollinaris* is of this opinion, that the Sunne draweth humiditie vnto him, which is sucked vp from the sea, and other waters by the drier land, so that that it cannot be that one earth should be drie, and another moist, because all is perforated and full of passages. Those things that are drier doe sometimes borrow from the moister, and if the earth receiued not from other parts, long since had it fallen to dust. So then the Sunne draweth the waues, but the meridian regions are those that haue most need: when the earth is dried, the draweth more humiditie vnto her. Euen as in lampes, the oyle runneth thither where it consumeth, so the water runneth into that part, whither the vehemencie of heat and of the parched earth calleth it. Whence then is the drawne? From those parts that are alwaies cold, that is, from the Northern parts whence the floweth. For this cause the Pontique sea powreth her streame continually into that which is the lower, not by ebbs and floods after the manner of other seas, but tending and running alwaies violently towards that part. If this were not, if that which euery one wanteth were not supplied, and that which were excessive were not sent backe againe by the same waies, the earth should percede-meale be brought to dust, or drowned in the water. I would willingly demand of *Diogenes*, since that this sea and the riuer ioyne themselves together, why the riuer in all countries are not more bigge in Summer time? The Sunne scorseth *Egypt* more then all other Regions, and therefore Nilus encreaseeth the more: But in other Countries likewise there is some encrease of Riuer. Furthermore, how cometh it to passe that some places are wholly drie, since that all the earth draweth vnto her the humiditie of other Countries, and so the more, by how much the drie earth shall be exposed to the Sunne? Finally, whence cometh it that Nilus is sweet, if his water floweth from the sea? For there is no Riuer more sweet in taste then Nilus is.

An answer to *Oenopides* opinion.

The examination of *Diogenes Apollinaris* opinion.

An instance that reprooeth *Diogenes* in new absurdities.

Cccc

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

How the Haile
is made.

I should maintaine that haile is made as Ice is, (the whole cloud being frozen) I should vnder take a thing that were ouer-headie. Therefore number me amongst those witnesses of the second note, who deny that they haue scene, but auow that they haue heard it. Or at leastwise I will doe that which the Historians doe. For they when they haue fayned many things according to their owne fancie, will not maintaine any one thing of consequence, but adde these words, I referre my selfe to the credit of the Authors. *Possidonius* will answer for me, as well in that which I haue already entreated of, as in that which followeth. For he will affirme that the haile is made of a rainy cloud converted into water, as boldly as if he had bin present at the making. But why haile is round, thou thy selfe maist know without a matter, when as thou shalt obserue, that euery thing that droppeth gathereth it selfe into a round, which likewise appeareth in glasses, which gather a kind of dew from our breath, and in pots that are powred out, and in euery other light thing, as in the leaues of herbes and trees, if any drops cleaue vnto them, they are alwaies round.

Possidonius
opinion.

*What is more hard then stone? more soft then water?
Yet hardest stones by softest drops are pierced.*

Or as another Poet saith:

The drops that fall doe pierce the stone.

And this hollownesse is round also, whence it appeareth that the water hath some resemblance with the stone that it holloweth, for it maketh a hole in the same, that is answerable to her form and habitude. Furthermore, although the haile were not such, yet in falling it might grow round, and tumbling so long thorow a thicke aire, take an equal forme on euery side, which the snow cannot do; because it is not so solide, but is rather spread abroad, and falleth not from any great height, but taketh his originall from the lower region of the ayre, so that it commeth not from an aire farre distant, but falleth from a place neere at hand. Why may not I giue my selfe as much libertie as *Anaxagoras* did, where as free libertie should be amongst no men more then amongst Philosophers? Haile is nought else but suspended Ice. The snow is a sort of congelation hanging in the frost. There is such a difference betwixt Frost and Ice, and snow and Ice, as betwene water and dew.

The difference
betwene snow
and haile.

CHAP. IV.



Auing resolved this question, I might repose my selfe, but I will giue thee full measure, since I haue begun to be troublesome vnto thee, I will relate whatsoever it be, that may grow in question vpon this matter. The question is then why it snoweth in Winter, and hayleth not, and after that the colde hath bene broken by a milder weather, the haile falleth? Although thou thinkest that

Why it snoweth,
but haileth not
in Winter.

that I am deceiued, yet account I it for true, which I apprehend in my minde, which permitteth it selfe to beleue: these trifling tales, wherein men are accustomed to nip our tongues, and not to pull out our eyes. In winter the Aire freezeth, by means whereof it resoluth not himselfe into water, but into Snow, to which the Ayre is more neerer. In the beginning of the Spring there followeth a great change of weather, and the Aire being become more warme, there succeed more greater raines. Vpon which occasion our Poet *Virgil* saith,

When as a shoure-bearing Spring

Discouereth it selfe, the change of the Ayre being opened, and resolved euery wayes by the assistance of the season, is farre more vehement. For this cause the Raines fall more weightie and thicke, but they continue not. The Winter hath lent, and thicke showers, which we see oftentimes happen when the snow falleth amidst a rare and thinne Raine. We say that it is a snowie day when it is cold and the Heauen is covered: contrariwise, when the Northeast wind bloweth and governeth the Aire, the Raines are more small; but when the Southerly wind raineth, the raine is more strong, and the drops greater.

CHAP. V.



That which is resolved by our Stoiques, neither dare I speake, because it is but weakly grounded, neither must I let it passe. For what euill is it to write any thing that is presented vnto vs? For if we will exactly examine, and make a diligent scrutiny of all things, it were better to be silent, since there is scarcely any thing that is maintayned by the one, that is not impugned by the other. For there are very few things without contradiction. They say therefore that all that which is frozen about Scythia and Pontus, and to the Northward, dissoluth in the Spring-time: that at that time the Riuers thaw, and that the Snowes wherewith the Mountaines are covered, melt; by means whereof it is verie like, that the colder winds engender such a change, and intermixe themselves with the Aire of the Spring-time. They further adde that which I haue not yett tried, nor haue the will to doe the same; and I counsell thee that if thou wilt know the truth thereof, not to make triall in this sort if the snow be cold. Marke what they say, that they that tread vpon the firme and hard Snow haue not so much cold in their feet, as those that tread vpon the Snow that is newly falne. If they speake true, all that which commeth from the Northerly places (when as the Snow is distributed, and the Ice is broken) ryeth and constraineth the warme and moist Aire of the Southerne parts: and therefore when it should raine the vehemencie of the cold will make it fall into haile.

The opinion of
the Stoicks upon
this point.

CHAP. VI.

*Of those that
foretell when it
shall haile.*

N Cannot temper my selfe, but that I must needs discover all the follies of our Stoicks, who affirme that there are some men so well experienced in the obseruations of Cloudes, that they can foretell when it shall haile, hauing the means to comprehend the same, by long vse, by obseruing the colour of the Clouds, after which haile hath followed so many times. It is an incredible matter that in the Citie of Cleone there were certain men chosen to this end vpon the common purse, which were named *χαλασφύλακες*, that is to say, obseruers of the haile. When these had giuen the signe that haile would suddenly follow, what expectest thou, that men should run to their Clokes, or their Leatherne Peltsches? Nay rather, every one sacrificed for himselfe a Lambe or a Puller; and forthwith those Clouds declined another way, after they had tasted some litle of the blood. Dost thou laugh at this? Behold cause of more laughter; it there were any that had neither Lambe nor Puller, hee drew his owne blood, wherein hee neither hurt himselfe nor any other man. And to the end that thou shouldest not thinke that the Clouds are cruell and desirous of blood, one of them with a sharpe Pen-knife pricked one of his fingers, and offered his blood: hereupon the haile fled away as well from his field that had sacrificed thus, as from those Pastures whose Master had the meanes by more greater offerings to prevent the eminent euill.

CHAP. VII.

*Whether there
bee any reason in
this prediction.*

SOME seek a reason hereof. Other some that are more wise say, that it is impossible to covenant with the haile, and to redeeme the tempests by their diminutue presents, although the gods are pacified by such meanes. Some there are that hold, that they of Cleones thought, that there was some secret vertue in blood, to turne away and repulse the Cloud. But how may so great power be inclosed in so little blood as to mount so high, & to cause a resentment in the Cloudes. The shortest way was to say, that all that was no other thing but a fable, & a lie: yet they of Cleones punished those that had not the care to foresee and provide against tempests, because by their negligence their Vineyards were beaten, or their Corne laid. And amongst vs, in the Law of the twelve Table it was forbidden, that no man should enchant another mans fruit. The ancient Idiots and those of little iudgement, beleued that the Inchanters caused the Raines either to faile or fall; but it is a thing most euident, that they cannot do it, yea, and so manifest, that the cause hereof is not to be examined in any Philosophers Schoole.

CHAP. VIII.

*In what Region
of the Aire the
Snow is made.*

ET one thing will I adde more, and if thou wilt be content to fauour and applaude it. They say that Snow is made in that Region of the Aire that is neerest vnto the earth, and that hath most heat, for three causes: the first is, that every exhalation of the earth, whereas it hath much heat and drie within, it is so much the more hotter the

the newer it is: the second, that the beames of the Sun reflect vpon the earth, and reuerberate backe to themselves; the which redoubling warms all that which is neerest to the earth, the which hath more warmth, because it feeleth the Sun twice: the third cause is, that the higher parts are more beaten by the windes, but whatsoeuer are lowest are lesse beaten by the windes.

CHAP. XVIII.



O these may a man adde the reason of *Democritus*: the more solid a body is, the more suddenly receiveth it heate, and keepeth it the longer. Therefore if you see a Vessel of Brasse, or Glasse, or Silver, in the Sunne, that of Brasse is warmed soonest, and keepeth the heate longest. Hee expresseth the reason in this sort: It must needs be that the pores and passages of those bodies that are closed, solid and thicke, should be more lesse then the rest, and that the Aire that entreteth should be farre more subtil. It followeth then, that as the Stoues that are lesse spacious, and the smallest Ovens are soonest hote; so the pores and passages that are hidden, and cannot be obserued by the eye, doe more speedily entertaine the heate, and because they are so narrow, deliuer ouer this heate more slowly then they haue receiued it.

*Democritus
reason annexed
to the precedent.*

CHAP. X.



Hese long Prefaces bring vs to the point that now is in question. All Aire is more thicke, according as it is more neere vnto the Earth. As in the water, and in all humiditie, the Lees are found in the bottome; so in the Aire, those things that are most thicke are alwaies lowest. But wee haue already proued that all things, the more their matter is thicke and solid, the more long time and more effectually keepe they the heate they haue receiued: but the more the Aire is raised and estranged from the ordures of the Earth, the more pure and neat it is; by meanes whereof it retaineth not the Sunne, but letteth it passe as thorow a void place, and therefore is it that it warmeth lesse.

*The lower Re-
gion of the Aire is
more darksome
and lesse pure.*

CHAP. XIV.



Ontrariwise, some say that the tops of the Mountaines, being neere vnto the Sunne, should be also more hote. But in my opinion they decieve themselves in this, that they thinke that the Appennine, the Alpes, & other renowned Mountaines, by reason of their height haue their heads so high, that their tops may feele the neighbourhood of the Sunne: vndoubtedly these Mountaines are high, if a man compare them with vs that are men; but when thou shalt consider the whole Vniuers, every one may perceiue that both Mountaines and men are things very base. The one compared with the other haue the vpper hand, and together they are nothing. Neither is there any thing, how high soeuer it bee raised, that in comparison with the whole should be esteemed any thing; & if it

*Why the tops of
the highest Moun-
taines haue lesse
sense of the heate
of the Sun then
the Vallies.*

Cccc 3 were

were otherwise, we would not say, that al this circuit of the earth is but a boule. The properties of a boule is to be round in all equality. Consider this equality in a Ball; the stiches, the corners and little holes that appeare therein, hinder not a man from saying that all the parts are round. But as these spaces hinder not this Bal to have a round figure, so in al the globe of the earth & in the highest Mountaines (whose tops are nothing if they bee compared with the whole round) the same ought to be considered. He that saith that the highest Mountaine, because it is nearest to the Sunne, should be more warmed, may say also that a great man should haue more heate then a little man, and that heat ought to be rather in the head then in the feete. But whoeuer hath considered the World according to his measure, and remembreth himself that the earth is the center or point of this great Circumference, shall know that nothing may be so high in the fame, that by that meanes it may haue more sense of the effect of the Sunne, and of those other Celestiall fires, as if hee were more neerer vnto them. These Mountaines that we behold, and these high Tenarifes that are covered with perpetuall snow, are notwithstanding in the bottome. True it is, that a Mount which is raised high is neerer the Sunne then a Valley, but in such sort is it, as one haire is greater then another: for after this manner one Tree is said to bee neerer Heauen then another; which is false, because betweene those things that are little there cannot be any great difference, but whilst they are compared one with another. When we come to the comparison of a mighty body, it skils not how much the one is greater then the other, because although it be with a great difference, yet are they called small.

C H A P. XII.

BVt to returne to our purpose, by reason of the reasons aboue mentioned, diuers haue bin of the opinion, that Snow is made in the lowest Region of the aire, by means whereof it is soft, because it is gathered of a colde, that is lesse rigorous then that of other regions. The neighbouring aire hath too much cold to conuert it selfe into water & raine, & ouer little to be hardened into haile. Of this moderate cold, (& not too much intended) are the snowes made by the means of thick waters.

C H A P. XIII.

WHy, saiest thou, dost thou prosecute these follies so earnestly, whereby thou shalt neither become more learned, nor more better? I thou tellest me how snowes are made, where it concerneth thee farre more to let vs vnderstand why snowes are not to be bought. Thou wilt tell me to plead against dissolution: this is a daily and a fruitlesse bawle; yet let vs chide at it: although I be like to get the vpper hand, yet let her overcome vs fighting and struing against her. What then? Thinkest thou that this inspection of nature auaieth nothing to that which thou intendest? When we aske how snow is made, and say that by nature it is like vnto frost, that it containeth in it selfe more aire then water; thinkest thou not that they are reproched hereby, because they buy not true water, but a farre more baser thing? But let vs rather inquire how Snowes are made, then how they

is in the Snow
is soft.

After the solution
of this question
the entrails
into conserue a-
gainst the Epi-
curians: who
this World, who
abuse Snow.

they are kept, because not contenting our selues to poure out our olde Wines, and to dispose them according to their sauours and age, we haue found out the inuention how to keepe snow, to the end it might overcome Summer, and defence it selfe against the heat of the year, by the coldnesse of the place; what haue we attained by this diligence? Forsooth this, to buy water that collieth vs nothing. It grieveth vs that we cannot buy the wind and the Sun; or for that the aire commeth so easily to present himselfe to the rich & more delicate sort, who could be contented to buy the same. O how impatiently endure we that Nature, the mother of all, hath left a thing which might be ended to be common to all! This which she would haue flow and lie open to all men, this which she hath made publique, to the end that all men might drinke thereof to entertaine life; that which she hath largely and happily dispensed for all, to serue the common vse of men, of sauage beasts, of birds and all other liuing creatures; that haue the most idle, that hath dissolution (ingenious in her own mischiefe) drawn vnto a price; so is nothing pleasing vnto her except it cost deere. This was the only thing that equalled the rich with the common sort, in which only they could not exceede the poorest. For him was this deuised, (whose riches are troublesome to himselfe) to feed his dissolution euen in water. I will tell you whence it came to passe that no running water seemed cold enough for vs. As long as the stomack is found, and capable of conuenient nourishment, & is filled but not ouerpressed, it is content with naturall supplies, it feeleth not the heate of the time, but his inward distemper; when as continuall drunkennesse encampeth in his bowels, and the noble parts are inflamed by a cholerick humor that seizeth the stomacke, men seeke necessarily for somewhat that may temper that heat which waxeth more violently by those waters that are powred on it, and the remedie increaseth the sicknesse. And therefore not in Summer onely, but in the depth of winter, they drinke water for this cause. What is the cause hereof, but an euill intestine, the intrailles rotted and spoiled by excesse, to which no intermission hath bin granted, to concoct & digest that which they had thrust into the, but some haue heaped on their dinners those nightly banquets, which haue lasted till the next day morning, gormandize and drunkennesse plunging as it were into a gulf, mens stomacks charged with abundance and diuersities of wines and meates. Besides this, intemperance that hath no intermission, hauing greedily deuoured all that which was presented vnto him, becomes mad, and inflameth it selfe alwaies in a new desire to follow his traine. Although therefore they garnish their Chambers with Tapestry and other Ornaments, and with huge fires conquer the vehemencie of the colde, yet notwithstanding their stomacks cloyed and weakened by their proper heate, seeke some solace to refresh themselves. For euen as we cast cold water vpon their faces that faint and are in a swoone, to the end we may reuiue them; so the entrails of these dissolute men, wholly stupified with so much excesse, feele nothing, except you awake them with these extreame colde drinks. Hence commeth it that they content not themselves with snow, but steep their Ice in store of fresh water, as if the thicknesse thereof gaue them some more certaine refreshing. And this yee is not taken from that which groweth aboue, but to the end it may haue more force, and a more vehement colde, they draw it and digge it out of the deeper places. Therefore is it, that these delicacies haue more priks then one, and there is traffique both of water and Ice, according to the diuersities of the seasons of the year, to the great dishonor of the buyers and the sellers. The Lacedemonians banished Perfumers out of their Citie, and commanded them

A pleasant and
fit comparison,
to show the mi-
series of the
dissolute.

*A lively descrip-
tion of belly-
pains, and how
great was Seneca's
admiration
hated himself
all this.*

suddenly to depart out of their confines, because they wasted their Oile. What would they haue done if they had seene the shops and store-houses for Snow, and so many Horles appointed to carry this Snow, whose color and fauor they alter by the meanes of the straw wherein they keepe it? But good gods, how easie a thing is it to extinguish wholesome thirst? But what can dull and dead iawes, stupified with burning meats, fee? Even as nothing is cold enough for them, so nothing is hote enough: but they thrust downe the scalding morsels, speedily drowned in their sawce, halfe smoking, into their stomacks, to the end they may extinguish them with snowie Potions. Thou shalt see certaine leane fellows, armed against the cold vp to the chinne, pale and ill disposed, that not onely swallow downe, but also eate Snow, calling great morsels of the same into their cups, fearing lest in forbearing their drinke a little, it should waxe warme. Thinkest thou that this is thirst? It is a Feuer, yea, so malignant that it is neither discovered in touching the repulse, nor by the colour that appeareth in the face. But intemperance an invincible euill, of soft and fluid becoming hard and stupid, burneth the heart it selfe. Knowest thou not that all things lose their force by custome? Therefore this Snow, in which at this day you that are delicate, are as it were plunged, by vse and continuall seruitude of the stomacke hath gotten this priuiledge, that it obtayneth the place of water. Seeke out now some other thing that is more cold, for an ordinary and accustomed freshnesse and coolenesse is as much to you as nothing.

The end of the fourth Booke of the Naturall Questions.



OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS,

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,

Dedicated to LVCILLIVS.

The fifth Booke.

Wherein
Is intreated of the matter and motion of the
Windes and Ayre.

CHAP. I.



The Wind is fluent Ayre. Some haue defined it thus: The Wind is an Ayre which is fluent in one part. This definition seemeth to be more exact, because the Ayre is neuer so immoueable, but that in some sort it is agitated. So say wee that the Sea is calme, when it is but gently moved, and inclineth not ouer-much to one part. When therefore thou readest,

When as the Sea was calme vnbate by Winds:

Know that it is neuer so still, but that it hath some slight ripling, and is said to be calme, because it forceth not a streame neither this way, nor that way. The same may a man iudge of the Aire, that it is neuer immoueable although it be quiet and calme. Which thou mayest conceive by this: When the Sun penetrateth into any closed place, we see certaine little bo-

dies

*Hippocras lib.
de flatib. trad
Valerolus: pon
tus, and Aristotle
dies opinion in
a Meccorol: c.
wherein he high-
ly axeth the ac-
tion: but
Seneca in this
place first des-
cribeth what winde
is.*

dies carryed now athwart, some vpward, some downeward, and diuersly encountering together. He shall therefore scarce diligently enough comprehend that he would, that saith: The flood is the agitation of the Sea, because when it is calmed it is stirred likewise. But beyond exception shall he be that shall define it thus: The flood is the agitation of the Sea into one part. So in this thing also, whereof we most of all now debate, he shall not be excepted against, that carryeth himselfe so as he saith: The wind is a fluent Aire into one part, or the winde is fluent Aire with violence; or the force of the Aire that flecteth into one part, or a course of the Aire a little more vehement then ordinarie. I know what may be answered for that other definition, what needest thou to adde this, Aire flowing into one part? For whatsoever flecteth, flecteth into some part. No man will say that the water floweth, if it be only moued in it selfe, but if it tendeth toward some part. There may bee therefore somewhat that may moue and not flow, but contrariwise it cannot flow except it be into one part. But if this breuitie be sufficient to defend vs from reproofe, let vs vse this. But if any man be more circumspect, let him not spare his word, by whose adiecti- on he may exclude all causill. Let vs now come to the matter it selfe, because we haue sufficiently disputed of the forme.

CHAP. II.

whereof wind is
composed.

DEMOCRITVS saith, that when there are many of these small bodies which he calleth *Atomes*, in some void streight, there followeth winde: contrariwise that the estate of the Aire is calme and peaceable, when in much void there are *Atomes*. For euens as in the Market-place or street, as long as there is but little company, a man may walk without tumult: but when as companie meeteth in a streight, their groweth quarrell, because they ibrong and iustle one another: so in this space wherein we are inuironed, when many bodies haue filled a small place, it must needs be that in encountering one with another, the one should bee pushed by the other, which push them backe againe, and that they should bee confused together, and compress one another. From thence commeth wind, when as those two bodies that were at debate are fallen downe, and after they haue long time stoted and remayned in suspence, incline themselves. But where there are few bodies in a great extent, neither can they iustle one another, nor be impelled the one by the other.

CHAP. III.

Refutation of
Democritus
Argument in the
former chapter.

NOW false this opinion is thou mayst gather hereby, because that when the Skie is cloudie and the Aire is thicke, there is no winde stirring. But at that time diuers bodies are assembled together, whence proceedeth also the thicknesse of the Clouds. Adde hereunto that about Riuers & Lakes fogs fall very oftentimes, & consequently many bodies pressed & conioined together, & yet there is no wind. And sometimes so great a myst is spread abroad, that scarce one man can see another, though they stand nere together, which should not come to passe except many bodies had enclosed themselves in a little space. But no time wanteth

teth wind more then that which is foggie. Adde hereunto now that which flecteth out on the contrarie side, that the rising Sunne ordinarily attenuateth the thicke and moist Aire vpon his rise. And then doth the winde rise when as the bodies are set at libertie, and that their presse and multitude is resolued.

CHAP. IV.

NOW therefore how sayest thou, are the winds made, since thou confessest that they are made? Not after one manner: for sometimes the Earth pulseth out of her Causes a great abundance of Aire, oftentimes when a great and continuall exhalation driuerth vp on high, that which she had depressed, this change of intermixed Aire is turned into wind: for this neither can I be persuaded to beleue, nor to conceale, which some men doe hold, that as by the meanes of our meate, wind is caused in our bodies, which cannot burst forth, except it be by violent sneezing, or likewise sometimes by discharge of the belly with some noyse, or making an escape which is not heard: so this spacious nature that maintaineth all things, in changing nature produceth winds. It is good for vs that she digesteth alwayes, otherwise we might feare some stinke or more vncleannesse. Is it not therefore more truly said, that from all the parts of the Earth, there necessarily arriue a great number of these *Atomes*, which being heaped together, and afterwards attenuated by the Sunne, it hapneth that the winde is made, because that all that which enlargeth it selfe in a narrow place, doth require a greater space?

Wind is made in
diuers sorts.

CHAP. V.

WHAT then? thinkest thou that the euaporations of the Waters and Earth are the onely causes of the Wind? That the granitie of the Ayre is caused by these, and afterwards is resolued by violence, when those things that stood thicke, (as it is needfull) by being extenuated, strue to get a greater space? For mine owne part I iudge the cause to bee so. But that which is the more truer and firmer cause, is, that the Aire hath a naturall force of moouing it selfe, which it hath of it selfe, as other things haue, without hauing any need of conceiuing ought from another. Thinkest thou that the force of motion hath beene giuen vs, and that the Ayre hath beene condemned to remaine idle, and without agitation? considering that the water ceaseth not to haue her motion, although the winds be calme, for otherwise she could not breed fishes. We see likewise that Mosse and other herbes grow in the waters, and float aboue them.

The Aire hath in
it selfe a naturall
faculty of motion.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

*It hath something
small in it selfe.*

Here is somewhat therefore vitall in the water. Speake I it onely of the water. The fire that consumeth all things, createth likewise somethings, and (that which cannot seeme to be true, and yet is very true) there are certaine living creatures that are engendered in the fire. The Ayre likewise hath some such like Vertue, and therefore sometimes it thickeneth, sometimes it spreadeth and purgeth it selfe, sometimes it closeth, it openeth, and restryaeth it selfe. There is therefore such difference betwixt the Aire and the Winde, as there is betwixt a Lake and a Riuer. Sometimes the Sunne it selfe is the cause of Winde, either by melting the cold Ayre, which he findeth thicke and closed in it selfe, or by purifying and dilating it.

CHAP. VII.

*When and from
whence the
winds proceed.*

We haue spoken of the Windes in generall, now let vs beginne to treat of them severally. It will haply appeare how they are made, if it shall appeare when and whence they proceed. First therefore let vs examine those Winds that rise before day, which either are raised from some Riuer, or Vallies, or Gulfes. There is none of them continueth, but falleth when the Sunne is mounted somewhat high, or is not carried about the sight of the Earth. This kind of wind beginneth in the Springtime, & passeth not the Summer. And from thence most of all commeth it, where there are many Waters and Mountaines. The Champions although they abound with waters, yet say I, that they want this breath which standeth in stead of Winde.

CHAP. VIII.

*Whence strong
winds are cau-
sed.*

Now then is that Wind bred which the Grecians call *typhonus*; what soever the Riuer & Marishes cast out of themselves, (the which is much and continuall) is in the day time the nutriment of the Sunne, and by night is not exhausted, but being inclosed in the Mountaines, is gathered into one Region; and when as it hath filled the same, and is vnable to contayne it selfe in it selfe, it breaketh forth, and goeth into another part, and hence commeth the Winde. It inclineth therefore towards that part, which inuieth it with more free passage, and thorow the spaciousnesse of the place, into which being gathered together it may runne. The prooffe hereof is, that it riseth not before midnight: for this collection beginneth to be made a little before day, and being as it were accomplished at such time as the light appeareth, it seeketh to discharge it selfe of the weight, and thither especially tendeth, where there is most Ayre, and a great and spacious extent. The Sunne likewise at his rise reflecting vpon the cold Ayre, in some sort addeth forwardnesse to it: for euen before hee appeareth, he prevaileth by his light, although his beames doe not dissipate the Ayre, yet prouoketh he it, and stirreth it by sending his light before: for when hee himselfe ap-

pea-

peareth, the one are rayed vp into the ayre, the other are dissipated by little and little, in such sort as they are not permitted to blow, except in the morning; their vigor vanisheth vnder the force of the Sunne. And if they be strong about the morning, about mid-day they waxe weake, and these small windes neuer passe mid-day. There are some likewise that are verie feeble, and more short, according as their causes are more or lesse powerfull.

CHAP. IX.

But why are these windes more violent in the Spring-time, and in the summer? for in the two other seasons they are verie mild, and scarcely fill the sayles of shippes. Because the Spring is moyster, and a greater euaporation is made from diuers waters and places, which by reason of the moist nature of the heauens are full and ouercharged. But why is it that these vapours are so great in the Summer time? Because such daily heat continueth after the setting of the Sunne, and continueth for the greater part of the night, and draweth to it selfe that which is without, and attracteth with violence all that which the earth is accustomed to render of it selfe, but it hath not sufficient force to consume and dissipate that which it hath drawne: for this cause, the earth and water push out these little Atomes which are accustomed almost ordinarily to issue out, not onely by heate, but also by the reuerberation of his beames. The Sunne is the efficient cause of the winds: for the light that foregoeth the rising of the Sun doth not as yet warme the ayre, but onely reflecteth vpon it, which being stricken vpon, retireth it selfe on the one side, although I auerre not that this light is without heate, considering that it is made of heate. It may be it hath not so much heat, that it may actually appeare, yet notwithstanding it performeth his duty by deducing and attenuating these things that are thicke. Besides, those places, which by some iniquitie of nature are so closed that they cannot entertaine the Sunne, are notwithstanding lightened by a drye and heauie light, and are lesse colde by day then by night. By nature likewise euery heat drieth and disperseth away from it all cloudes. It followeth therefore, that the Sun doth the like. For which cause some are of the opinion, that the wind bloweth from thence whence the Sunne parteth. But that this is false, it appeareth hereby because the winde drieth ships into diuers climates, and such as trauell by Sea with full saile, sayle against the Sunne rise, which should not come to passe, if the winde were alwaies carried by the Sunne.

*Whence it com-
meth that such
a winde is more
violent in the
Spring and
Summer.*

*Whence the winde
bloweth from
the place whence
the Sunne de-
parteth.*

CHAP. X.

The Etesian windes likewise (which are alledged by some in way of prooffe) serue them little for their purpose. I will first declare what their opinion is, and afterwards why it disliketh me. The Etesians (say they) blow not in the winter, because in the shorter dayes the Sunne is sooner set before the colde be ouercome, and therefore the snowes both fall and are hardened. In the summer time they beginne to blow, because the dayes are longer, and the beames of the Sunne directly beate vpon vs. It is therefore like to be true, that the cloudes being thar-

*Why the windes
that are called
Etesians blow
not in the sum-
mer, and during
the number of
certaine dayes.*

D d d

ken

ken with great heate, push forth humiditie, and that the earth (discouered and discharged of the Snow) produceth the vapors more freely; whence issue more imprecions in the ayre to the Northward, then otherwise, which are carryed into places more sweete and temperate: so doe the Etesians inforce themselves, and therefore is it that they beginne in the Solstice, being vnable to endure the rising of the Dogge-starre, because that alreadie the colder part of the Heauen hath powred much of his humour into the same. But the Sunne hauing changed his course, draweth more directly towards vs, inuiting one part of the ayre, and repelling the other. Thus the gale of these Etesians breaketh the forces of Summer, and defendeth it from the violence of the hottest moneths.

CHAP. XI.

I Will now performe that which I promised; Why the Etesians helpe them no waies, neyther yeeld any confirmation to this cause; wee haue said, that about the spring of the day, there ariseth a little wind, which is laid as soone as the Sunne meeteth with it. And therefore is it why the Marriners call the Etesians idle & delicate, because they know not how to rise early, as *Gallien* saith. They beginne the most times to blow when that little mornings breath beginneth to calme, which would not come to passe if the Sunne were the stirrer of them as he is of the lesser winds. Furthermore, if the length and greatnesse of the day were the cause that they blew, they should be heard before the Solstice at such time as the dayes are long, and the snowes are melted; for in the moneth of Iuly all the earth is discouered, or at leastwise there are very few things that lie vnder the snow.

CHAP. XII.

T Here are some sorts of windes which the clouds that are broken, and fall, push before them; these windes doe the Grecians call *inaptyas*, which, in my opinion, are made after this manner. When as a great inequality & diuersitie of bodies which are cast forth by terrestriall vapours, mount on high, and that the one of these bodies are drie, and the other moist; it is to be beleued, that from so great a contrarietie of bodies that incessantly striue one against another at such time as they are assembled, there should certaine hollow Cloudes be composed, and that there is betwene them some distances, full of narrow holes, such as are in flutes: In these distances there is a subtill and thinne ayre, that incloseth it selfe, which being tossed vp and downe therein, and in the end warmed by a constrained and interrupted course, becommeth hereby more strong; and seeking for a place more large, breaketh all that which incloseth it, and issueth like a wind, which for the most part is stormy, because it cometh from above, and falleth vpon vs with a great violence; because it cannot spread it selfe euery wayes, but contrariwise trauelleth verie much to finde an issue, enforcing his way before him, and as it were by a violent combate. Ordinarily this wind endureth not long, because it breaketh the receptacles of those Cloudes wherein

If the Etesians
and other winds
are stirred by the
Sunne.

Of the windes
called Ecephy
and how they
are made.

it was caryed: sometime it issueth with a great noyse, but not without thunder and lightning. Such winds are of more vehemencie and longer continuance, if they carrie with them other violent winds intermixed with them: and such as issue from the same way, and striue to vnite themselves with them, euen as Torrents flow in a measurable greatnesse, as long as euery one hath his particular course, but when as diuers of them meet together in one, they surpass in depth, breadth and swiftnesse, the greatest Riuer that flow incessantly. The same way in all likelihood falls out in stormes, which of themselves continue not long time, but when they haue assembled their forces, and when as from diuers parts of the Heauens, the Aire being pressed, assembleth it selfe in one place, they both gather more forces, and continue longer.

CHAP. XIII.

S Often a resolu'd cloud maketh the winde which is dissolued in diuers sorts. Sometimes the Aire which is inclosed, searching to find a vent, strugleth in such sort that it breaketh all that collection of Clouds that detaineth it; sometimes the heat that hath bene occasioned by the Sunne, sometimes the intershocke of Clouds, as it hapneth when two great bodies encounter and crush one another. In this place it may be demâded (if thou thinkest it fit) whence that storme is raised, which is accustomed to happen in Riuer, which fleeing onward without interruption seeme peaceable and milde and make no noyse: but when they encounter with any Rocke on this or that side of the Riuer, they recoyle and turne their Waters into round Circles which cannot bee diuided; so that in whirling about they sucke vp themselves, and make a Gulfe: so the winde as long as nothing resisteth it, extendeth his forces: but when it is beaten back by any Promontory, or if by constraint of the places it be gathered into some straight and crooked Pipes, it oftentimes turneth and returneth it selfe into it self, and maketh a Gulfe like vnto those Waters, which as I said, are conuerted and whirled about. This winde turning it selfe, and inuironing one and the same place, and mouing it selfe violently in diuers circles & rounds, is a whirlwind, which if it grow more strong and furious is inkindled, and maketh that flying fire, which the Grecians call *aptyas*. This is a fiery storme. These winds for the most part being broken from the Cloudes discover all dangers, whereby whole Herdes of beasts are carryed away in the fields, and whole Ships are tossed and drowned in the floods. Some winds also engender diuers others, and pushing the Aire into some other places, then those whereupon they were formerly cast, spread themselves here and there. I will tell you likewise that which is come into my memory; euen as the drops of raine in the beginning make not the Earth slippery, but when they are gathered together, and re-inforced, then is it said that they flow and fleet: in like case, as long as the motions of the Aire are light and agitated in diuers places, it is not wind as yet; it beginneth to bee, when he hath mingled all his motions together, and hath made a mightie body. It is the measure that putteth a difference betwixt the Aire and the Winde, for the Winde is a more vehement breath, and the spirit likewise a lightly flowing Aire.

The manner how
the winds break
from the Cloudes
that inclose them

Dddd 2

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

*That there are
winds likewise
which breake
from the caues
and hollow places
of the earth.*



Will repeat now that which I said at the first, that the winds issue from Caues and hollow places of the Earth. The Earth is not made and fashioned of one whole massive piece from the top vnto the bottome, but is hollow in diuers places:

Suspended on obscure and hollow Caues.

Somewhere she hath voides without any humour. There likewise if no light shew the differences of the aire, yet will I say that the clouds & mists consist in obscuritie. For neither are these about the Earth, because they seeme so to bee, but because they are, they so seeme. There notwithstanding also are they for this cause, because they are not seene. Thou mayest know likewise that there, doe flow certaine Riuer, no lesse great then those that wee see, the one stealing along sweetly, the other violently and with roaring noyse, by reason that they fall downe headlong from craggie and stonie places. What then, wilt thou not confesse also, that there are Lakes vnder the Earth, & that there are certaine Pooles, whose waters stand continually without issue? Which if it bee so, it followeth also that the Aire is burthened, and by his burthen bended, and raiseth the wind by his vrging forward. We shal know well then that these winds shall be produced, in obscure places, out of these clouds vnder earth, when they haue gathered so much forces that either may suffice to breake thorow the resistance of the Earth, or occupie some open passage for these windes, and that by these Caues they may be conveyed amongst vs. But this is most manifest, that vnder Earth there is a great quantitie of Sulphure & other Minerals, that serue to enkindle fire. The Aire searching issue by these Caues, after it is very much agitated, must of necessity in this great presse, expresse and cause the fire to issue. Afterwards the flames being spread more at large, if there remained any Ayre that was still, the subtiltie thereof gaue it motion, and there with great noyse & cracking found, it seeketh passage. But I will entreat hereof more exactly when I shall speake of, and debate of the trembling of the Earth.

CHAP. XV.

*A digression
wherein he
treateth of Ri-
uers and Pooles
vnder-ground.*



Ermit mee now to tell thee a pleasant Tale. *Alepidotus* reciteth, that in times past *Philip* caused certaine Workemen to bee let downe in Desert Mines, to see if there were any thing to bee gotten, and in what estate all things were, and whether the Auarice of our Predecessors had left any thing for those that were to succeed. These men descended with many lights, and remaynd there for many dayes, and finally being wearied with walking, they saw great Riuer, and Poole of a marvellous length like vnto ours, but not inclosed and restrained with any Earth to bound them in, but spread and extended abroad, which made them afraid. Itooke great content to reade this; for I vnderstand that our Age is sicke, not onely of new vices, but also of those which the Ancients haue taught, and that it is not of late time that Auarice hath digged into the veins of Earth and Rocks, seeking in the darknes the ruine of Mankind.

And

*An inuention a
gainst auarice.*

And as touching our Ancestors, whom wee praise so much, they likewise (whose vertues we complaine that we cannot equally) being led by hope, haue opened and digged downe mountaines, and haue found themselves buried vnder the ruines, and vnder the gaine they had made. There haue been Kings long time before *Philip* of *Macedon*, that haue searched out the verie bowels of the Earth to finde out Silver; and forsaking the free ayre, haue slid downe into those caues, where there was no difference betwixt day and night, leauing the clearnesse of the day behind them. What great hope could this be? What necessitie hath bowed a man towards the earth, who was made vpriight to behold the Heauens, that he hath digged, and drowned himselfe in the heart of the Earth, to draw out Gold, which is as dangerous in the searching, as in the keeping! For this hath he vndermined the earth, and vnder hope of an vncertaine prey couered in dyrt, (forgetfull of his time, and forgetfull of his better nature) hath he sequestred himselfe. There is no dead man to whom the earth is so waightie, as to those vpon whom auarice hath cast so waightie a load of earth; from whom she hath taken the light of heauen, and whom she hath buried in those bottomlesse pits, wherein this payson was hidden: Into those places durst they descend, where they haue found a new disposition of things, the earth suspended, the windes blowing in an obscure voyd, the dreadfull sources of waters that streamed along, a profound and perpetuall night; yet for all this they feare Hell.

CHAP. XVI.



Vt to returne to that which is now in question. There are foure Windes, diuided into East, West, South, and North. All the rest which we call by diuers names are numbered vnder these:

*Of the foure
principall winds,
and whence
they come.*

*EVVS retired towards the mornings rise,
And to the Nabathean Kingdomes flies,
Breathing on Persia, and those mountaines bye,
That are expos'd to PHOEVS rising eye.
Milde ZETHVS the evening hath possesst,
And beates vpon the warmer shores of West.
But horrid BOREAS doth the North invade:
And bends his stormes against the Scythian glade:
Where contrarie, the Southerne winde againe
The Mooned traile doth moist with clouds and raine.*

Or if thou haddest rather comprehend them in shorter words, let them be assembled in one tempest (which can no waies be.)

*EVVS and NOTVS tempest both together,
And stormie AFRIK haits (to helpe them) thither.*

And the North-wind which had no place in that conflict. Some imagine that there are twelue Windes. For they diuide the foure parts of the Heauens into three, and giue two adiuncts to every one of the foure principall winds. According to this manner, *Varro*, a verie diligent man, hath ordered them; and not

*Of twelue winds,
according to
Iam.*

D d d 3

with

Their names.

without cause: For the Sunne neither riseth nor setteth alwaies in one place, but the one is the rising, and the other the setting Equinoctiall; for there are two Equinoctials, the one Solstitiall, and the other hibernall. We call that *Subsolanus*, that riseth from the Orientall Equinoctiall: the Grecians call it *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀριαντοῦ*. *Eurus* issueth from the Orient of winter, which we haue called *Fulgiurus*. And *Liny* so termeth it in that vnfortunate battell of the Romans, wherein *Hannibal* let the rising Sunne and wind in the eyes of his enemies, and by the assistance both of Sunne and wind, got the victorie. *Varrus* surnameth it a *to Eurus* after this manner. At this day the Latines vse indifferently both the one and the other. The wind that bloweth from the Orientall Solstice, is called *Caurus*, or *quadrans* by the Greekes, and the Latines haue no other name. The west Equinoctiall kndeth *Fauonius*, which they that vnderstand not the Greek wil tel thee is *Zephyrus*. From the Occidentall Solstice proceedeth *Corus*, or according to others, *Argestes*, which I think not, because that *Corus* bloweth violently, and maketh a storme in some part; *Argestes* is ordinarily slacke, equall, and common as well to those that go, as to those that returne. *Africus* that is both sterme and repelluous, departeth from the Occident of Winter, and by the Grecians is called *skl*. To the Northward, the highest is Aquilon, that in the midst Septentrion, & *Traciacus* is the lower, which hath no other name amongst the Latines. From the Meridionall axis riseth *Euronotus*, then *Notus*, in Latine *Anster*; after these, *Libanotus*, which amongst vs is without a name.

CHAP. XVII.

That there can be at twelue principall winds.



Agree that there are twelue winds, not because there arise so many in every country (for the inclination of the earth excludeth some) but because there are no more in any place. So say we that there are six cases, yet mean we not, that every nownt hath six cases, but because there is no nowne can haue more then six. They that haue proposed twelue winds, haue followed this reason, that there are as many winds as there are parts of the heauen, which is diuided into five circles, which passe thorow the Cardines of the world, that is to say, the Northerne, Solstitiall, Equinoctiall, Hibernall, and Meridionall; to which is annexed a sixth, distinguishing, as thou knowest, the superiour part of the world, from the inferiour. For there is alwayes a halfe about, and another beneath. The Greekes haue called this line which is partly covered, and partly discovered, *Horizon*, we *Finitor* or *Finitus*. To this must we adde the Meridian circle, which diuideth the Horizon by straight angles. Some of these circles goe sloape-wise, and trauesse the others. But it is necessarie that there should be as great differences in the ayre, as there is in the parts. So then the Horizon diuideth the five above-named circles, whereof it maketh ten parts, five to the Eastward, and five to the Westward. The Meridian circle, which encountereth with the Horizon, addeth two parts. If the ayre haue twelue differences, so many windes maketh it. There are some that are proper to certaine places, which go not from one place to another, but bond themselves towards that which is next, without blowing from one end of the world to another. *Arabulus* molesteth *Apulia*; *Iapix*, *Calabria*; *Sciron*, *Athens*; *Catagus*, *Pamphilia*; *Circius*, *France*; whole inhabitants cease not to giue him thanks, although he breaketh their buildings, as if they were bound vnto him for the bountie of their aire. At such time as the Emperour

Augustus

Augustus sojourned in France, he vowed and builded a Temple to this wind. It were an infinite matter if I should entreate of all other winds in particular, since for the most part, there is not any Region that hath not some winde, that both breedeth and ceaseth in it, or about it.

CHAP. XVIII.



Amongst other Workes of diuine prouidence therefore, a man may likewise wonder at this, as a matter worthy of admiration. For the hath not out of one cause, both found out, and disposed the winds diuersly: but first of all, to the end the might not suffer the aire to stand still, but by continuall agitation make it profitable & vitall to those that should vse it. Again, that free might minister raines vnto the Earth, and bridle excessive stormes. For sometimes they bring on Clouds, sometimes seuer them, to the end that the raines may be distributed thorow all the World: Auster driueth it into Italy, Aquilo casteth it into Africa; the Etians suffer not the cloudes to stay with vs. The same windes in the same season when we haue drought, water India and Ethiopia with continuall raines. But why? could a man store vp his Corne, were it not that the wind assisted him to driue the chaffe from that which was to be reseeded? Except there were somewhat that caused it to increase, and that breaking the earre and spike that holdeth the graine hidden and covered (which the Laborers call the husks) should open the same? Is it not a great good, that the hath giuen vs the meanes to be able to traffike and to merchandize with forren Nations? This is a great benefit of Nature, except the fury of men converted it to their iniurie. Now that which in times past was spoken by the greater part of people by *Cesar*, that a man could scarcely say whether it were more expedient for the Commonwealth, if this man had liued, or had neuer bene, may be at this day said of the windes. So much the necessity of them, and the profit that they bring, counterpoiseth the euils, which the furie of Mankind hath inuicted to his own ruine by this meanes. For such goods cease not to be good of their own nature, although they are become hurtfull through their wickednesse that abuse the same. The eternal prouidence of God, (who is the gouernor of this world) hath not giuen this charge vnto the winds to agitate the aire, neither hath hee lodged them in all parts to cense the same, to the end wee should couer a part of the Sea with vessels charged with armed Souldiers, or that we should seek out enemies in or beyond the same. What madnesse is it that possesseth vs, and maketh vs to seeke out a meanes how to murder one another? Wee embarke our selues to fight and seeke out danger, we hazard our selues to finde out hazard. Wee adventure on vnertain fortune, we combat against the violence of a storme, which no humane power is able to surmount, and runne vnto death without hope of sepulture: yet should this be nothing, if we might attaine peace hereby. But now when we haue escaped so many hidden rockes, and the ambushes of a Sea full of shoales, impetuous billowes, and sands, into which a head-long winde driueth those that sayle: when we haue passed thorow dayes covered with skwaling Clouds, horrid nights full of Raine and Thunder, and seene the vessels broken and battered by the winde: What shall bee the fruit of this labour and feare? What Hauens shall entertaine vs, being wearied with so many euils? It shall be warre, and the enemy that attendeth vs vpon our descent; the Nations

why the winds haue bene created and lodged in the Ayre.

How man haue abused the blessing of God bestowed vpon vs by the wind.

we

*Does Nature
govern the dispo-
sitions of humane
peace.*

we shall murther, and shall kill a part of the Conquerours armie, with burning of those Cities that were builded for perpetuall. Why call we the people to armes? Why lette we men of warre, intending to arrange our battells in the middle of the sea? Why disquiet we the seas? Is not the Earth great enough for vs to die in? Fortune handieth vs too delicately: she hath giuen vs too hard bodies, & too happie health. There is no accident that may hurt vs. Every one may measure his yeares, and pursue them vntill old age. Let vs then enter vpon the sea, and prouoke the fates that forbeare vs. Wretched men what seeke you? Death; which euery where attendeth you, and alwayes is at hand? He will finde you euen in your beds, but let him finde you alwayes innocent; he will possesse you in your houses, but let him take hold of those that practise no euill. But what other thing is this, but meere rage, for a man incessantly to carrie his dangers about him, and to thrust himselfe amongst new and vnknown dangers, to enter into choller without any offence, and thereupon to treade all things vnder foote that a man meeteth withall, and after the manner of sauage beasts, to murther him that a man hateth not? Yet beasts bite cyther for reuenge or hunger sake; but we that are prodigall both of our owne and other mens blood, trouble the seas, lanch our ships, commit our securitie to the waues, with for faure Windes, whose felicitie is to be carried speedily to warre. How farre haue our euils rauished vs that are euill? Is it a litle matter for vs to play the fooles in our owne countrey? So the foolish Persian King sayled ouer into Greece, which he conquered not, although he couered the Countrey with souldiers. So would *Alexander* enquire, when he was beyond the *Bactrians* and *Indians*, what was beyond that great sea, & would be angry if he should leaue any thing behind him. Thus Couetousnesse wil deliuer *Crasus* into the *Parthians* hands. He shall not feare the execrations of the *Tribune* that calleth him backe, nor the stormes of a long voyage, nor the lightnings which enuironing *Euphrates*, foretold him of his fall, nor the gods that made head against him; In spite of heauen and earth, he will runne and seeke out gold. It were therefore some reason, to say that Nature had greatly fauoured vs, if she had forbidden the windes to blow, to the end to bridle the forces of humane furie, by slaying euery one in his owne countrey. For if there followed no other good, at leastwise no man could be borne, but to doe euill to himselfe, and his owne. But now it is a small matter to play the mad-man at home, we must goe farre off, and torment others. There is no countrey so farre off vs, but it may send vs much miserie. What know I, whether any Powerfull and vnknown Prince, made proud with his owne greatnesse, shall sallie out of his owne Countrey with armed hand? or whether he riggeth some navy, intending to cause some trouble? whence know I whether such or such a winde may bring armes against me? It were a great part of humane peace, if the seas were closed; yet can we not, as I said a litle before, complaine against God our Creator, if we abuse his benefites, and make them contrarie vnto vs. He gaue the windes to keepe the temperature both of heauen and earth, to call forth and suppress the waters, to nourish seeds and fruits of trees; which the agitation of the windes, together with other assistance do ripen, drawing nutriment to their vpper parts, and encreasing them, lest they shold wither. He gaue the winds to know the furthest parts of the earth. For man had bene an vnskillfull creature, and without great experience of things, if hee had bene shut vp within the confines of his owne countrey. He gaue the winds, to the end that the commodities of euery countrey might be common, not to the end they should carry legions & horsemen,

nor

The strange vanities of Xerxes and Alexander.

In what sort men abuse the windes.

God is the author of good, though men employ his blessings to the contrarie.

nor transport men to pernicious Wars. If we weigh the benefites of Nature according to their deprauidnesse that vse them, we haue receiued nothing but to our owne misery. What profiteth it a man to see, to speake? Nay, whose life is not a torment? Thou shalt find nothing of so manifest profit, which error cannot transferre to the contrary. So Nature intended, that the windes should bee good, but wee haue made them euill. There is not one but pulseth vs towards some euill. Every one setteth sayle to diuers ends and intentions, but no man aymeth at the iust cause; for diuers euill concupiscences make vs embarke, therefore we set sayle to some euill end: *Plato* speaketh well to the purpose, and he it is, that must be produced before vs, as a witnesse in the end of our dayes, that we prize our liues basely for things of small value. But (my deare *Lucilius*) if thou obserue their folly well, that is to say, our owne (for we are of the company) thou wilt laugh; yet more when thou shalt bethinke thy selfe, that life is gotten by those things, wherein life is consumed.

The wicked enuy nothing but to their owne confusion.

A notable censur of our vanities.

The end of the fifth Booke of the Naturall Questions.



OF NATVRALL
QUESTIONS,

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,

Dedicated to LVCILLIVS.

The sixth Booke.

Wherein

He intreateth of the motion of the Earth.

CHAP. I.



WE have heard (my *Lucillius* the best of men) that Pompeias a renowned Citie in Campania, having on the one side the Surrentinian and Sabiane shores, on the other side the Herculan, and which the Sea beguirteth with a pleasant Gulfe, made as it were artificially, was shaken by an Earth-quake, not without the prejudice of those Countries that bordered vpon the same: and that the same happened in Winter time, which (as our Ancestours assure vs,) is exempt from such danger. This Earth-quake happened the fift day of February, when *Regulus* and *Virginus* were Consuls, which brought a marvellous ruine into Campania, which had beene neuer well assured from that danger: yet had it not before that time encountred with any such misfortune, and in great feares had beene oftentimes preferred; for a part of the Citie of Hercule is false to the ground, and that which as yet standeth, is not well assured. The Colonie of the Neucernis also, as it hath not suffered some generall destruction, so is it not without complaint. Naples likewise hath privately lost much, but publickly nothing, being lightly touched with a great euill. As touching some scattered

Farmes,

*The wonderfull
earth-quake
that happened in
Campania in Se-
necaes time.*

*The effect of this
Earth-quake.*

*There is nothing
assured under
Heaven.*

*How vain are
the hopes which
men apprehend
on all so great
incertainties.*

*Consolations and
remedies against
the same.*

Farmes, they haue bene almost all of them shaken, but not offended by this Earth-quake. They adde hereunto, that fixe hundred flockes of Sheepe were throcken dead, and that Statues haue bene riven in sunder, and moreover, that some persons lost their wits, and ranne about the firestes like madde men. The proceesse of this enterprised worke, and the circumstance of the season require vs to examine the causes of these accidents. Wee ought to seeke out comfort for those that are dismayed, and extinguish mightie feare. For what securitie can a man promise himselfe if the World it selfe bee shaken, and the most solid parts thereof quake? If that which is wholly immouable and settled, (to the end it may sustayne all other things on it) bee shattered here and there? If the Earth loseth that which she hath proper in her, which is to bee firme; whereupon may wee assure our dismay and feare? What retreat shall there be for our bodies? Whether shall they retire in danger, if feare is swift and be drawne from the bottome of the Earth? All men are amazed with feare hearing the houses crack, & when the mine hath giuen a signe, then euery one flieth head long from the place, and forsaketh his home and household-goods, & felleth himselfe in the open fields. What retreat discover we? What succour appeareth if the World it selfe fall into ruine? If the that keepeth and sustayneth vs, whereon our Cities are builded, which some haue said to be the foundation of the World, sinketh and trembleth; what support, or rather what solace may a man hope for, when as feare it selfe hath lost the meanes of flight? Is there any assured retreat or firme safegard, say I, either for a mans selfe or another? I may repulse mine Enemy from the breach; high Rampiers and Bulwarks will stay great Armies from approaching very easily. The Heauens preferre vs from shipwracke: the roofoes of our houses resist the violence of raging raines, and defence vs from the continuall fall of showers: the fire followeth not those that flie it: the houses vnder ground, and deepe digged Caves serue for a shelter against Thunders and the threatnings of Heauen. The Lightning penetrateth not the Earth, but is repulsed by a little obiect of the same. In the plague time a man may change his habitation. There is no euill but may be avoided. Neuer did Lightnings burne vp whole Nations. The pestilent Aire hath desolated Cities, but not destroyed them: this euill extendeth it selfe euery way, and is vnauidably greedie, and publicly harmful. For it not onely deuoureth Houses, or Families, or private Cities, but ouerturneth whole Nations and Regions, and sometime couereth them in her ruines, sometimes hideth them in a bottomlesse Gulfe of confusion. Neither leaueth it so much whereby it may appeare that that was at leastwise, which now is not. But the Earth extendeth it selfe about noble Cities, without any appearance of the former condition: neither want there some men that feare this kind of death, more then any other, whereby both they and their Houses are swallowed vp, and are carried away alicie from the number of the liuing, as if all sorts of death conducted vs not to one and the same end. Amongst all other Rites that Nature pretendeth in Iustice, this is the principall, that drawing neere vnto death wee are all equal. There is no difference therefore whether a stone crush me, or a whole Mountain smother me; whether the burthen of one house fall vpon me, or I breath my last vnder a little heape of the dust thereof; or whether the whole Earth hide my head; if I die by day and before all men, or if some obscure and vast yawning of the earth couer me; if I fall alone into such a bottomlesse pit, or if many Nations keepe me company. What care I if they make a great noyse about me when I shall depart? The death is alwaies death in what part soeuer I meete it. Let

vs

vs therefore fortifie our courages against this ruine, which neither can be auoyded nor prevented. Let vs listen no more to those men, who haue renounced Campania, and who after this accident haue forsaken the Countrie, and vow that they will neuer visit that Region againe; for who will promise them that this or that ground shall stand vpon better fondations? All places of the earth are of the same stuffe, and if as yet they are not moued, yet are they mouable: Haply this night, or the day before this night, shall deuide this place like wise, wherein thou liuest more securely. Whence wilt thou know that the condition of these places is better, on which Fortune hath already spent all her forces, and are assured for euer by the ruine which they haue suffered? We decaye our selues if we thinke that there is any part of the earth exempt from this danger. All of them are subiect to the same Law. Nature hath made nothing, which is not exposed to change: this thing faileth at one time, and that at another. And euen as in great Cities, now this house, now that is suspended; so in this world, so one Region is shaken, straight another. Tyre in times past was defaced by ruines. Asia lost twelue Cities at once. The last yeare Achaia and Macedon haue bene endamaged with this euill (whatsoever it be) that hath now afflicted Campania. Fate maketh his circuit; and if for a time hee forget some things, at last hee reuiliteth them. He afflicteth some more rarely, and others more often, but leaueth nothing exempt and free from euill: hee subiecteth not vs onely that are men, that haue but a little handfull of life, but Cities also, extents of countries, shores, and the Sea it selfe. Meane while we make our selues beleue that these corruptible things are eternall, and thinke that our good hap which we enioy, & which passeth away more lightly then the wind, shall haue some waight or stay in this or that. And they that promise themselves that all things shall be perpetuall vnto them, cannot remember that the earth it selfe, on which we trade, is neither firme nor stable: for this accident is not onely incident to Campania and Achaia, but to euery ground, to bee brittle, and to be resolued vpon diuers causes, and to be ruinated in part, although the whole remaine.

*All countries
are exposed to
earthquakes.*

CHAP. II.



What do I? I had promised to set downe comforts against dangers, and behold I denounce perils euery way; I denie that there is any thing, which both cannot perish nor cause ruine, which may be euer in eternall repose: but contrariwise, I maintaine also that this ought to serue for the greatest assurance that may be found, because a feare without remedy is a meere folly. Reason shaketh off wise-mens feare, imprudent men gather great securitie in their desperation. Think therefore that this is spoken vnto mankind which was said vnto those men, who thorow a sudden captiuitie stood amazed amidst the flame and the enimie:

*The true assurance against
dangers, is to remember that we
are exposed to dangers.*

*The onely helpe to those that are in thrall,
Is counted this, to hope no helpe at all.*

If you will feare nothing, think that all things are to be feared: look about you, vpon how slight causes we are shaken and ouerturned. Neither is our meate, nor our drinke, our sleepe whole for vs, except it be in some

Eccē

mea.

*The smallest
dangers being
sufficient to end
us, why should
we feare any
whisper as ap-
pearance offer-
eth it selfe the
end is one.*

measure: you see now that our bodies are vaine, fluid, infirme, and easily destroyed. Vndoubtedly this one danger were enough, that the earths tremble, that they are instantly dissipated, and swallow that which they themselves sustain. He priset himselfe verie much, that feareth the lightning, the shaking and openings of the earth, whence as he knoweth that the fensle of his owne infirmities, maketh him feare his owne flegme. Behold how we are made: but truly we haue bene framed of so solid a matter, and are become so high that we cannot perish, except the parts of the world be moued, except the heavens thunder, except the earth sinke. A little pain, not of the whole finger, but of one side of the naile of our litle finger, or a chap killeth vs: and shall I feare the tremblings of the earth, whom a litle thicke spittle choketh? Shal I feare that the Sea shall breake from out his bounds, and that the foulds (with a course more greater then accustomed, by assembling more waters) should attempt to drowne me; when as a potion hath strangled some, that slippeth downe the contrarie way into the throat? What a fond thing is it to feare the Sea, when thou knowest that thou maiest perish by a litle drop? There is no greater solace and remedie against death, then to know that we must die; and against all dangers that enuiroin and astonish vs, to remember that we beare an infinite number of perils in our bosomes. For what madnesse can there be more, then to swound when we heare it thunder, and to hide our selues vnder earth for feare of lightning? What is more foolish then to feare the sudden fall and overthrow of mountains, the ouerflowes of the Sea, being cast without his bounds? When as death meeteth with vs in all places, and accometh vs on all sides, and there is nothing so litle, but is of sufficient force to exterminate mankind. Neither should these accidents confound vs, as if they contained in them more euill then an ordinary death: but contrariwise, since we must needs depart out of this life, and at one time or other breath our last, it should be a contentment for vs to die by some notorious meanes. We must needs die sometime, where soeuer it be. Although this earth that sustaineth me remaineth firme, and containeth it selfe within his limits, & is not shaken by any incommodity, yet shall she couer me one day. What skils it then whether I couer my selfe, or that the earth of it selfe couer me? She openeth her selfe thorow the maruailous power of an vknowne euill, she yawneeth and maketh me sinke, and swalloweth mee in her immeasurable depth: What then? is it a more gentle death to die in the plaine? What cause haue I to complaine, if nature will not permit me to bee buried in an ignoble place? and if she cast a part of her selfe ouer me? My friend *Vagellius* wrote very wittily in that worthy Verse of his;

*If I must fall, this thing wish I,
That I may fall downe from the skie.*

The same will I say; if I must die, let it be when all the world is shaken: not that it is a thing lawfull to wish the ruine of the world, but because it is a great solace against death, to see that all the earth must one day haue an end.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

This likewise shall profit much, to presume in minde that the gods doe none of these things, neyther that their indignation is the cause, whence this agitation both of heauen and earth proceedeth. Such accidents haue their causes; it is not by commandement that they rage thus, but euen as our bodies are afflicted with euill humours, so both heauen and earth haue certaine defaults, and euen then when they seeme to doe vs harme, they endamage themselves. But because we vnderstand not the true causes, all accidents seeme terrible vnto vs, and because they happen very seldome, we are thereby affrighted the more. Those euils that are ordinarie are more easily endured, but those that are extraordinary, astonish the more. But why seemeth any thing a noueltie vnto vs? It is because we comprehend nature by the eyes, and not by reason, and thinke no waies on that which the may doe, but onely on that which shee hath done. Therefore are we worthily chastised for this negligence, being terrified by those accidents which wee call new, when as indeed they are not, but onely vnaccustomed. What then? Feele we not our mindes seized with religious feare, and finde we not the common sort dismayed, to see the Sunne lose his light, or the Moone (whose obscuritie is more often) when she hideth her selfe wholly, or in some part; and farre more if we see pillars of enflamed fire thwarting the aere; a greater part of the heauens on fire, if wee see crinite Comets and diuers Sunnes, if we behold the starres by day-time, the sodaine fires running from one part to another, and leauing after them a great light. We behold none of these things without feare, and when as to be ignorant is the cause of feare, thinke you it a small matter to be instructed how you should not be afraid? How farre better were it therefore to seeke out the causes of these changes, by applying the mind diligently thereunto? For there cannot any one more worthy subiect be found out, whereon a man should not onely fixe his studies, but spend them also.

*Of the naturall
causes of earth-
quakes.*

*whence it com-
meth to passe,
that we thinke
extraordinary
accidents for no-
uelties.*

CHAP. IV.

Et vs therefore seeke out what the cause is which moueth the earth from her botrome to the top, that impelleth the weight of so massiue a bodie, what it is that hath so much force to bee able to lift vp so vnweildie a burthen; whence cometh it that sometimes she trembleth, and sometimes being loosened sincketh, now renteth her selfe into diuers parts, now appeareth long time open, sometimes closeth her selfe sodainly, presently swalloweth vp great Riuer, anon after disgorgeth new, discovereth in one place the veins of hot water, in another cold: vomiteth sometimes fire by a new vent of a Mountaine or Rock: otherwhiles choketh and shutteth vp those that had flamed and burned for the space of many yeares. She moueth a thousand miracles, produceth diuers changes, transporteth mountaines, maketh mountains of plaines, swelleth vp the vallies, and raiseth new Ilands in the Sea. To know the causes of so many accidents, is a thing worthy to be discussed. But what commoditie sayst thou will there grow hereby? The greatest in this World, which is the knowledge of nature. Although the consideration of this matter bringeth many commodities with

*The causes of di-
uers tremblings,
and yawnings of
the earth, and
other such great
accidents.*

Eccc 2

it,

What profit the search into nature yieldeth a man.

it, yet containeth it nothing in it selfe more excellent then this, that the worthnesse thereof wholly possideth the mind: that is fixed thereupon; and it is not the gaine, but the miracle that is observed therein, that maketh it venerable. Let vs consider then what the cause might be, why such things happen, the contemplation whereof is so pleasing vnto me, that although in times past, during my younger yeares, I published a Treatise of earthquakes, yet had I a mind to trie and assay, whether age hath added any thing cyther to my knowledge or diligence.

CHAP. V.

Diuers opinions vpon the causes of earthquakes.



Others haue thought that the cause of earthquakes was in the aire, some in the impressions of fire, some in the earth it selfe, and other some in the aire. Some haue said that two or three of the elements were the cause, some haue imputed it to all. Some of these haue said, that one of these in their knowledge was the cause thereof, but which they knew not: But now let vs examine euerie particular. This before all things must I needs say, that the opinions of the ancients were both grosse and feeble. They wandered as yet about the truth. All things were new to those that spake of it first, but afterwards they were better polished and discovered, and if any thing be found out, yet for all that we ought to ascribe and attribute the honour to them. It was the enterprise of a high vnderstanding, to diue into the secrets of nature, and not content to behold her outwardly, to contemplate her inwardly, and to descend into the secrets of the Gods. He hath helped very much in the finding it out, that hath hoped that he might find the same. Our ancients therefore are to be heard with some excuse: nothing is consummate in the beginning: neither in this thing only which is the greatest and most intricate of all others, wherein like wise when as much is performed, yet euery age shall finde what to doe: but in euerie other businesse also, the beginnings were alwaies farre from perfection.

CHAP. VI.

Whether waters be the cause of earthquakes.



It hath not bene maintayned by one, nor after one manner, that the water is the cause of earthquakes. *Thales Milesius* is of the opinion, that all the earth floateth, and is carried about the water, whether it be that wee call it the greater Ocean, or the great Sea, or any simple water of another nature, or a moist element. By this water, saith he, the earth is sustained as a great ship, which weigheth verie much vpon the waters that beare it vp. It were a superfluous matter to set down the reasons why he thinketh that the most weightie part of the world cannot be sustained by the aire which is subtil and light: For the question is not now about the situation thereof, but of the trembling of the same. He alledgeth for one of his reasons, that the waters are the cause of the quaking thereof, because that in all extraordinarie motions, there issue almost ordinarily some new fountaines: as it hapneth almost ordinarily by some ships, which if they be inclining to one side; and shew their keele aside-long, gather water; which (if it happen that the burthen they beare be ouer-waightie) either spreadeth it selfe about,

The reasons alledges by Thales to proue this, with Senecaes answers.

raiseth it selfe more higher to wards the right, or towards the left. Wee neede no long answer to shew that this opinion is false. For if the water sustayned the earth, sometimes the whole earth should be shaken, and haue continuall motion, neither should we wonder that it is agitated, but that it stayeth settled. She should not tremble in a part, but wholly: for neuer is a ship shaken to the halles. But the earthquake is not of the whole, but a part only. How then can it be, that all that which is carried is not wholly agitated; if that which is not carried is agitated? But why appeare new waters? First of all the earth hath oftentimes trembled, and yet no new source hath euer discovered it selfe. Again, if for this cause the water brake forth, it would spreade it selfe on both sides of the earth, as we see it hapneth in Riuers, and in the Sea, that when the ships lie at road, the increase of the waters appeareth, especially about the sides of the Vessell. Finally, there should not be so small an eruption made as he speaketh and the pompe should not yeeld water as it were by cleit, but a great deluge should be made as if from an infinite water that beareth the earth.

CHAP. VII.



Also, some haue imputed the motion of the earth to the water, but vpon a different cause: They say that diuers kinds of waters tunne thorow the whole earth: and that in some places the waters are perpetual, great, and navigable, although it raineth not. On the one side Nilus is very great, and violent in the Summer time; on the other, Danubius, and the Rhine, passing thorow peaceable and hostile Countries, the one brideling the incursions of the Sarmatians, and separating Europe from Asia: the other repelling the Almaines, which are a warlike Nation. Adde herunto the spacious Lakes, the pooles enuironed by nations that know not one another, the Marishes that neuer as yet ship hath thoroughly sailed thorow, nor the inhabitants that border thereupon haue euer visited and searched. After this, so many fountaines, so many sources, whence are vomited both from above and beneath the earth, so many Riuers in so great number. Besides these so many furious torrents, whose forces dure as little as they are sodaine and violent. Such is the nature and appearances of waters, especially of those that are in the earth. There likewise are diuers currents of maruailous swiftnesse, which spend themselves into bottomlesse pits: and others more gentill, which are spread abroad by spacious channells, where they flow peaceably without any noise. But who will denie that they are contained in vast receptacles, and that in diuers places they remaine in repose without stirring? I neede not long time insist vpon this prooffe, that there are many waters there, where all are. For the earth would not suffice to produce so many floods if shee had not abundance in store. This being thus; it must needs be that sometimes a Riuer swelleth inwardly, and that in breaking his bounds he runneth violently against that which resisteth him. By this meanes there shall bee some motion made of some part against which the flood inforceth it selfe, and against which it will beate vntill such time as it hath a decrease. It may be that the Riuer exceeding his bounds, eateth away some quarter of the Countrey, and carrieth with it a masse of the earth: which beginning to be dissolued, all the rest which is about is shaken and followeth after. But that man ouer-trusteth his eyes, and cannot extend his minde further then the eye of his bodie, that be-

Other reasons of those who after Thales haue thought, that the water is the cause of the trembling of the earth.

recueth not, that in the cauities of the earth there are gulches of the spacious sea. For I see not what thing may hinder, but that there is a shore vnder earth, and that by hidden channels, there is a Sea, which therein (it may be) hath as much and more place then those which we see. The reason is, that the earth and the sea, that is discovered to our sight, ought to be as it were covered with so many Creatures as we see. Contrariwise, the Regions that are hidden, desert, and without inhabitants, receiue the waters more freely, which nothing hindreth to flow, and to be agitated by those windes, by the whole aire, and the whole distances of places. A forme being raised there, and more violent then ordinary, may more rudely shake some portion of the earth which it encountreth with. For in our quarters likewise many places farre distant from the Sea, haue been beaten with a sudden accessse and flood of the same; and the flood that is conceiued to come a farre off, hath invaded those country-houses that are builded about vs. Vnder earth all the Sea may haue his ebbe and floate; which cannot be without some shaking of the earth, which is about the same.

CHAP. VIII.

THinke that thou wilt not very much debate and doubt, whether there be riuers and a sea hidden vnder ground: for from whence doe they issue, and come vnto vs, except that it be because the water is inclosed in his source? Tell me when thou seest the course of the riuer Tigris raised, and the water thereof dried vp by little and little, and not all at once, and the losse appeareth not, but it is diminished vntill such time as it is wholly dryed, whether thinkest thou that it goeth, when as thou seest it issue, as violent, spacious, and deepe as it was in the beginning? And when thou seest the Riuer *Alpheus*, which the Poets haue so much renowned, lose it selfe in Achaia, and after hauing trauersed the sea, discover it selfe in Sicilie, where with a liuely source it driueth out the pleasant fountaine of *Archeuia*, what thinkest thou? Knowest thou not that amongst the reports that are made of the Riuer of Nilus, and the ouerflow thereof in Summer time, that it is said that it issueth from the earth, & that it increaseth not by the waters of the ayre, but by those waters that spring from vnder the earth? I haue heard say by two Centuries, whom the Emperor *Nero* (a friend of all vertue, but a boue all, of veritie) had sent to discover the source of Nilus, that after a long iourney, accomplished by the assistance of the King of *Aethiopia*, who had recommended them to diuers other Kings; they came vnto certaine marishes of infinite extent, the inhabitants of which country knew not the end thereof, and no man durst promise himselfe to discover the same, by reason that the hearbes and waters were so tyed together, that it was impossible for a foote-man to trauel; much lesse for a Boar, because the Marishes being full of mud and flags, could not beare the vessell wherein there was any more then one man. They adde moreover, that they haue seen in marishes two rocks, from whence the water falleth abundantly. But whether it be that such water be called the source or increas of Nilus, or that he hath his beginning there, or that he is deriued from farther places, thinkest thou that it mounteth not from some great Lake vnder earth? It must needs be that these rocks haue their waters deriued from diuers places, and gathered vp on high, which discharge themselves in such abundance, and so violently.

CHAP.

He saith that
there are abun-
dant waters vnder
the carth.

Neroes praise
during the first
years of his
Emire; but
how much alter-
ation breedeth
great auaritie,
where the coun-
sellers are flat-
terers, religion
paganisme, de-
light impie?

CHAP. IX.

Here bee some that iudge fire to bee the cause of this motion, yet consider they this cause in diuers fashions. Amongst the rest *ANAXAGORA* thinketh that the Ayre and the Earth are almost shaken by the same cause. When as in the inferiour part the windes encountreth and breaketh the thicke Ayre, and gathereth it into Cloudes with the same violence as Fogges are deuided, and that this shooke of the Cloudes, and the course of scattered Ayre produceth Lightning; the fire that is inclosed, runneth against that which is before him searching issue, and piercing thorow that which resisteth him, vntill such time as either by some streights hee findeth a passage to dart it selfe towards the Heauens, or maketh himselfe way by force and violence. Some say that the cause is in the fire, but they are not of opinion that it is for this reason, but for that beeing couered in diuers places, it burneth and consumeth all that which it meeteth withall. And if the things that are eaten thereby happen to fall, then is it that there followeth a disuention of the parts, which are disuentioned of their stayes, and finally, a totall ruine, because nothing presenteth it selfe to sustayne the burthen. Then are the openinges and vast yawnings of the Earth discovered; or else when the parts of the same haue long time declined, they which remayne intyre beginne to dissolue. Wee see the like hereof happen amongst vs as oftentimes as the fire hath taken hold of some quarter in the Citie, when as the beames and principals are burned, or that the maine Timber that sustayne the House are sunke, then the House being shaken falleth to the ground, and so long time shrinke they, and are vncertaine, vntill they haue found some place to stay vpon.

CHAP. X.

ANAXIMENES sayth, that the Earth her selfe is the cause of her motion, neyther is there any thing extrinsically that impelleth the same, but that into her, and from her fall certaine parts which the water dissolueth, or the fire eateth, or the wind shaketh; but although these three cease, yet ceaseth she not to haue something, by means whereof this reuulsion and diminution is made. For first of all, all things decline by succession of time, and there is nothing that is exempted from the hands of age which ruinaeth the strongest and most solid things. Euen as therefore in old Houses, some things fall although they are not strooken, when as they haue more weight vpon them then force to beare it: so falleth it out in this vniuersall bodie of the Earth, that the partes thereof are dissolued by age, and being dissolued, fall and breede a trembling in the vpper parts. First, whilst they separate themselves (for there is no great thing that is dissolued without the motion of that whereunto it cleaueth); then when they are false they rebound backe againe after the manner of a Ball, which falling from on high vpon the Earth, is many times strooken vp, and maketh diuers bounds. But if they happen to fall into some great Poole, the water that is mooued by the fall maketh that tremble which is round about, and it is the weight that

The examination
of their opinion
who hold that
the fire is cause
of Earthquake.

The opinion of
Anaximenes,
that the earth it
selfe is the cause
of her motion.

fal-

fallerh from on high that causeth this present shooke, and that spreadeth it euery wayes.

CHAP. XI.

Another opinion
of those that
think the Earth-
quake is caused
by fire.

Here are some that assigne this trembling to the fire, but otherwise; for when as in diuers places they are hote and boyling waters, it must needs be, that a mighty vapour is turned vp and down without issue, which by the multiplication thereof re-inforceth the Ayre; which being animated and prouoked, rieth that which is opposit; but if it be more remisse it doth nothing else but moue. We see that water someth when fire is put vnder it. That which this fire doth in this water, that is included in a straight and narrow Vessel; by farre more wee may thinke it may doe it, when with violence and great abundance, he causeth great quantities of waters to boyle. Then agitateth hee by the vaporation of the waters that ouerflow, whatsoeuer he beateh vpon.

CHAP. XII.

Whether the
winde be the
cause of Earth-
quakes.

MAny and the greatest learned men are of the opinion that the winde is the cause of Earthquakes. *Archelaus* who hath carefully examined the opinions of the Ancients, saith thus: The windes are carried thorow the caviities of the Earth, afterwards when all spaces of the same are filled, and that the Ayre is thickned as much as may bee, that winde that commeth after presseth and expresth the former, and first of all by redoubled strokes pusheth it forward, and finally, casteth it out. This seeking for a place, runneth here and there, and enforceth it selfe to breake his bounds. Thus commeth it to passe that the Earth is shaken by the winde, which striueth and seeketh for a passage to get out at; when as therefore an Earthquake is like to follow, first, there goeth before it a tranquillity and calme of the Ayre, and the reason is, because the power and vertue which was accustomed to moue the windes, is detayned vnder Earth. And now likewise in this Earth-quake of Campania, although it were in Winter time, & in a troubled season; yet so it is that some dayes before it happened, the Ayre was calme and peaceable. What then? Was there neuer Earthquake when the windes blew? Very seldome haue two windes blowne at once: yet can it bee, and it is wont to be; which if we admit, and that it appeareth that two windes may blow at once, why might it come to passe that the one should agitate the higher Ayre, and the other the inferiour?

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Ou may number amongst those of this opinion *Aristotle* and his Scholler *Theophrastus*, a man not so excellent and diuine as the Grecians make him, yet of a pleasing, fluent, and vnaffected Discourse. I will discouer vnto thee both their opinions: there is alwayes some euaporation from the Earth, that is sometimes dry, sometimes intermixed with humidity. This exhalation issuing from beneath, and carryed vp as high as it might; when as shee hath not a farther place by which shee may finde issue, recoyleth backe againe, and enfoldeth her selfe in her selfe: and whilst the debate of the wind, which goeth and commeth, ouerturneth that which maketh head against her, be it that the remayneth enclosed, be it that she escapeth by narrow streights, she moueth Earthquakes & Thunders. *Strabo* is of the same opinion; a man who hath carefully addicted himselfe to this part of Philosophie, and hath diligently searched out the secrets of Nature. This is his opinion: Cold and Heate are two opposites, and cannot be together, the cold slippeth in thither where the heat is absent; as contrariwise, the heate entereth that place whence the colde is driuen. This that I speake is true; but that both are driuen contrariwise, by this it appeareth. In Winter time when the cold is vpon the Earth the Springs are warme, the Caues and all hidden places vnder Earth are hot, because the heate is retired thither, giuing place vnto the colde that possideth the vpper part. When the heate is thus entered into the lower parts, and hath insinuated it selfe as much as it may, the thicker it is the stronger it is. If a new heate come vnto it, the one being pressed by the other giueth place: the contrary happeneth, when as the colde becoming more powerfull slippeth into the Caues. All the heate which at that time was hidden therein, giuing place vnto the cold, retirith it selfe into some narrow corner, and is moued, and inforceth it selfe with great violence; for the nature of them both admitteth no concord, neither can they euer bide in one place. Flying therefore and struiuing by all meanes to get out, he ouerthroweth, ruineth and tosseth whatsoeuer hee meeteth. Therefore before the Earth is moued, men are accustomed to heare a kinde of whistling or murmure whilst the windes comate beneath; or otherwise, as our *Virgil* saith, could not

The firme opini-
on of Aristotle
and others, that
winde is the
cause of Earth-
quakes.

The Earth waue vnder feet, the Mountaines quake,

if the winde were not the cause hereof. There are likewise vicissitudes of this fight, and each hath his turne. The heate ceaseth to assemble it selfe, and to issue. Then is the colde repressed, and succedeth to re-inforce himselfe incontinently: when as therefore the force of heate and cold runneth and returneth often, and that the winde goeth and returneth here and there, then is it that the Earth trembleth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

The diuers causes of Earth-
quakes by the
motions of wind.

SOME there are that think that the earth is shaken by the wind, & by no other means; but they imagine another cause then *Aristotle* did. And heere what they say. Our bodie is watered and moistened with blood and spirit, which runne here and there, thorow those passages that are deputed to those offices. But we haue some more narrow receptacles of the soule, by which she doth nothing else but wander, some more open and spacious, in which she is gathered together, and from whence she diuideth her selfe into parcels. So this great bodie of the Earth is open to the waters that possesse the place of blood, and to the windes, which a man may well call the soule. These two encounter in some place, in some place stay. But as in the body, as long as it is in health, the continuall beating of the Artery is measured, but if the health thereof be altered, the pulse is frequent and high; the signes and violent respirations, are the signes that the bodie is wearied and afflicted. In like sort when as the waters and the windes are in their naturall receptacles in the bodie of the Earth, they haue no agitation about measure. But if there happen any disorder, at that time there is distemper as in a sicke bodie, the windes that breathed along pleasantly, if it be stopped in the passage, agitateth his veines. It followeth not therefore that the earth should bee as the bodie of a liuing Creature, as some doe pretend. For if it were so, it should be wholly agitated as a liuing Creature is. And we our selues feele that a Feuer afflicteth not some parts of the body more gently then other some, but that shee runneth thorow all equally. Consider therefore, if it be not true that the wind entereth into the Earth, replenished with Ayre round about, which as long as he hath free passage, stealeth along gently; if hee encounter with anything that stoppeth his passage, first of all he is charged by the Ayre that presseth after hard at his backe, afterwards hee flyeth secretly by some crany, and the more eagerly dislodgeth hee, the more straiter his passage is. This cannot be done without conflict, neither is there any combat without agitation. If hee findeth not any Clift to escape there, he gathereth himselfe together and beginneth to tempest, whirling vpwards and downwards, vntill such time as hee hath ouerturned and sunke that which resisted him: if hee be subtil, hee is wonderously strong, and if hee slideth thorow passages that are somewhat narrow, and that by his vertue he enlargeth and dissipateth all that where he entereth, then is the earth shaken. For either she openeth her selfe to giue passage to the wind, or after she hath giuen it, being destitute of foundation, shee seizeth and searcth her selfe in that cautie whereby she gaue him passage.

CHAP. XV.

The third opinion of Earth-
quakes by force
of wind.

SOME thus thinke: The Earth is perforated in diuers places, neither hath shee onely these first entrances and pores which shee receiued as vents from her beginning, but casualty hath bred many more in her. In some places the water hath enlarged all that earth which shee had ouer her, the torrens haue eaten away some portion, the greatest heates haue cleft another. The windes entereth betwixt both, which if the Sea hath included and driuen, neither suffered the floods to goe back-

CHAP. XVI.

MUST also speake something as touching that which diuers Authors appone, and where it may be they will be found to bee different. True it is that the Earth is not without Aire, and not onely this Aire which maintaineth the same, and tyeth the parts thereof together, penetrating likewise thorow stones and other bodies without life: but also this vitall Aire which quickeneth and nourisheth all things. If shee had it not, how should shee giue life to so many plants & seeds, which draw their vigor from no place else? How could shee entertaine & sustain so many diuers roots in her, the one of one fashion, the other of another; the one entertained in her vpper part, the others buried more deeper, if shee had not much soule which engendreth so many and so diuers things, and nourisheth them by her inspiration and vertue? Hitherto haue I set downe but coniectures. All the Heauens, that are enclosed & surrounded with Elementary fire, all these innumerable numbers of the Starres, all the celestiall bodies, and amongst the rest, the Sunne (shaping his course more neere vnto vs, and which is but twice as great as the Globe of the Earth) draw nourishment from the Earth, and diuide it amongst them, being sustained by nothing else but terrestriall vapours. This is their nourishment and feeding. But the Earth could not nourish so many Creatures, so ample and more greater then her selfe, if shee were not full of a soule, that day and night is spread thorow all her parts. For it cannot bee but that there remaineth very much in her, from whence there is so much both expected and gathered, and that which issueth forth should not bee bred in his proper time. Shee should not haue continuall abundance of spirit to furnish so many celestiall bodies, if these things had not concurrence amongst themselves, and were not grounded and changed in some other thing. Yet of necessitie shee must abound and be full, and must furnish her selfe with that, which shee hath in store. There is no doubt then, but that much spirit is hidden therein, and that within the entrailes of the Earth there is a marvellous abundance of Aire. This being so, that must needs follow, that that which is filled with a thing which is very moueable, should be oftentimes remoued. Euery one knoweth that there is nothing more inconstant, stirring, and fleeting then the Aire.

CHAP. XVII.

IT is conuenient therefore that hee exercise his nature, and that that which will alwayes be moued, should sometimes agitate and moue other things. When is this done? Then when his course is cut off and stayed. For as long as he is not intercepted, hee stealeth along quietly and peaceably; but if he be resisted or restrained, hee entereth into fury, and breaketh thorow all that which intercepteth him, euen as the Poet saith by the flood:

The fourth opinion as touching the trembling of the Earth by winds.

Seneca's opinion as touching the greatness of the Sunne.

A consequence drawne from the precedent Discourse, and a proofe that the wind is the cause of the trembling of the Earth.

ARAXES

Araxes that disdaines to beare a bridge.

As long as he hath an easie and free passage, he fleeteth along at pleasure; but if either by cunning or adventure some stones are gathered together which stay his course, hee taketh occasion hereby to doe much mischief, and the more stones are opposed against him; the more forces findeth he. For all these floods that come behind, and make the heape more high, beeing vnable to support themselves any more, overthrow all things in passing by, and flye along lending their streame with that they haue overthrowne, and those waues that fled before them. The same befalleth the winde: The more rigorous and swift it is, the more swiftly flieth it, and carrieth away with it, with greater violence, all that which either stoppeth or resisteth his passage. Thence commeth the Earthquake, but in that part vnder which this conflict was made. That this which I haue spoken is true, it appeareth by this that followeth. Oft-times when there hath bin an Earthquake, if any part of the same hath bene shattered, the wind hath issued forth, and blowne for the space of diuers dayes, as it fell out by report in that Earthquake, wherewith those of Chalcis were afflicted, which was described by *Alepiodorus*, *Posidonius* Scholler in his Book of Naturall Questions. You shall find in other Authours, that the Earth being opened in a certaine place: anone after, there issued a winde, which vndoubtedly had made his way in that part from whence it blew.

CHAP. XVIII.

Hus then the wind being by nature swift, & changing from place to place, is the greatest cause whereby the Earth is mooued. As long as this winde is impelled and lyeth hidden in a voyd place, it remaineth calme, and doth no euill to that which enuironeth it; when as any externall or superuenient cause solliciteth him and chaleteth him, and driueth him into a strait, yet for a while giueth hee place and wandereth; but when as all occasion of escape is taken from him, and hee is pressed on every side, then,

*With a mightie murmur of the Mountaine,
He furious runnes about his strait inclosure.*

And after he hath long time beat against the same, hee teareth and scattereth it in pieces, shewing himselfe the more violent, the longer that this debate hath lasted in his Prison and inclosure. Afterwards when as he hath searched every nooke of the place wherein he was restrained and could not escape, hee returneth towards that part, where he was most of all impacted and closed, and then slideth he away by certaine secret places, which the Earthquake hath a little opened, or passeth by some new breach. Behold how his extreme violence cannot be stayed and there is no restraint sufficient to retaine him: for he breaketh all bounds, and carrieth with him every burthen that is laid vpon him, and infused into those things that are more small and thinne, he prepareth himselfe a release and libertie by an inuincible power that is naturall vnto him, and running

*The wind can
neuer be stayed.*

*The conclusion
of all the prece-
dent Discourse.*

*In what sort the
wind causeth
the earth to
tremble.*

ning on head-long, establisheth himselfe in his rights. In a word, the wind is inuincible, neither is there any thing that,

*May keepe in awe, or else in Prison strong,
The struggling winds or tempest thundering long.*

Vndoubtedly the Poets, who haue discoursed in these tearmes, intended to speake of these couerts vnder ground, where the winds remaine inclosed. But they haue not comprehended, that that which is inclosed is not wind already, and that that which is the winde, cannot bee enclosed. For that which is enclosed remaineth still, and is a statue of the Aire. The winde appeareth not to bee winde, but when it flyeth. To these reasons a man may adde this also, which proueth that the winds is the cause of Earth-quakes, that is to say, that our bodies tremble not, except some cause doe shake the spirit, which being restrained by feare, weakened by age, the veines decaying and shrinking, is arrested by colde, or when the accesse approacheth is cast out of his course. For as long as he floweth without hinderance, and floweth according to his accustomed manner, there is no shaking in the body. But if any thing happen that hindereth him from performing his office, then being scarce able to beare those things which he sustayned by his vigor, in falling he shaketh all that which in his integritie he had supported.

*A comparison
taken from the
bodie of man.*

CHAP. XIX.

We must needs giue care to *Metedorus Chius*, that will haue his opinion stand for Law. For mine owne part I will not overslip those opinions I approoue not, when as it is far better to present all, and rather to condemne that which wee approoue not, then to passe it vnder silence. What saith hee then? Even as his voice that singeth in a tune, passeth and resoundeth in every place with a certaine Echo, and although it bee not high, yet filleth it alwayes the tune, not without noyse and rebound of the same: So the capacitie and vastitie of the caviities and holes that hang vnder ground haue their Aire, which as soone as another that falleth from aboue hath strooken, maketh a noyse, euen as the things that are void, whereof I haue spoken, haue a resound, when any one cryeth in them.

*The opinion of
Metedorus
upon this point.*

CHAP. XX.

Et vs now come vnto them, that haue said that all the Elements, or the greater part of those whereof we haue spoken, are the cause of Earthquake. *Democritus* letteth them not shewne all, but for the most part. For sometimes he saith that the wind is the cause, sometimes the water, and sometimes both; and this prosecuteth hee after this manner. Some part of the Earth is hollow, and in that there assemblith a great quantitie and abundance of water. Of this there is some part more subtile and liquid then the rest: This beeing reiecte by the waight that cometh vpon it, is beaten against the earth and shaketh the same. For it could not

float,

*The examinati-
on of their opi-
nion who thinke
that all the Ele-
ments together,
or the most part,
are the cause of
Earth quakes.*

float, except it shaked that against which it is beaten. That likewise which heretofore we haue spoken by the Aire, may be said by the water also, when as it is gathered into one place, and that it ceaseth to containe any more, the stayeth her selfe against somethings; then worketh shee an issue, first by her weight, secondly, by her violence, for she cannot haue issue, but by some hollow or bending place, hauing bene long time retayned; nor fall by measure in a right Line, or without shaking those things, by which, and vpon which she falleth. But if it so fall out, that hauing taken some motion, shee happen to stay in some place, and that this collection of water mounteth backe againe, and confuseth it selfe in it selfe; she is repulseth towards the firme Land, which shee shaketh towards that side where she dischargeth her selfe most. Furthermore, the Earth being sometimes steeped in water that hath entred into it, setleth a little lower, and the bottom thereof is shaken: which comming to passe, this part is pressed towards that, towards which the greatest abundance of water inclineth. Sometimes also the wind pulseth forward the waues, and if he insist with more violence then ordinary, he causeth that portion of the earth to tremble, into which he translated the waters that are gathered by him. Sometimes inclosed in straits, and seeking issue, he stirreth all those things which he enuironeth, but the earth is pory, and giueth passages for the wind, which is so thin and pure, that a man cannot containe it; and so strong, that nothing can resist his force. The Epicure saith that all these causes may bee, and hee searcheth out diuers others likewise, censuring those that haue maintained that both the one and the other causes aboue mentioned, proceed from the quaking of the earth; sure it is a thing almost impossible to maintayne certaine things to be certaine, which a man cannot comprehend but by simple coniecture. So then, according to his opinion, the water may shake the earth, if it hath washed and worne away some portions thereof, which being diminished and inclebed, cannot any more sustayne that, which they bare being in their entre. The impression of the Aire may cause an Earth-quake, and it may come to passe that the externall Aire shall bee agitated by another, that commeth to intermixe it selfe with it. It may be also that the earth being iustled by some part of it selfe that sinketh and falleth suddenly, is shaken likewise: Or else a portion of the same, being sustained by some supports, trembleth if either the supporters bend, or retire backe. Happily also some inflammation of the Aire being conuerted into fire, and like vnto Lightnings darteth forth and confoundeth all that which it meeteth withall. And it may be that some winde incenseth both the waters of Marishes and Pooles, where ce followeth an Earth-quake, because the shooke is violent; or else the agitation of the Aire, which encreaseth by motion and vgeth it selfe, moeth all things from the bottome to the top. But the Epicure can find no more certaine cause of Earth-quake then the winde.

CHAP. XXI.

His is my opinion also, that it is the winde that effecteth so great things: since there is nothing so strong and violent in nature, and without which, those things that are most vehement, haue not any vigor. The wind enkindeth the fire; take away the wind from the waters, they are sluggish and dead; but if the winde stirreth them, they flow violently. The wind can dissipate the greatest spaces of Coun-

Seneca according with Aristotle in his opinion, in as much as conceiveth Earth-quake.

tries, make new mountaines appeare and rise, place vncene Isles in the middle of the Ocean. Who doubteth but that the wind brought that Island of Thera into light, which in our time appeared in the Aegean Seas, in the presence of those Mariners that beheld the Miracle? *Possidonius* letteth downe two sorts of Earthquakes, giuing every one of them a severall name: the one is called Succussion, when the Earth is moued vpward and downward: The other is called Inclination, when the earth is shaken, and inclineth to one side like a Boat. But I think there is a third, which hath his denomination from vs, and our Predecessors haue called Earthquakes, and not without cause, because they differ the one from the other. For in these accidents there is not alwayes an agitation from high to low, nor an inclining on one side or another, but sometimes darting or pressing forward, which is the least dangerous; whereas on the other side the inclination is farre lesse dreadfull then the Succussion or shaking. For if in the inclination of the Earth, the opposite motion hasten not to redresse that which bendeth side-long, there necessarily followeth a dreadfull ruine. And as these motions are different in themselves, so are their causes diuers.

Three sorts of Earth-quake.

CHAP. XXII.

Herefore let vs first of all speake of the motion by succussion or shaking. If at any time, by change of diuers Chariots, men carrie great burthens, and that the wheeles being drawne with more then vsuall force, sinke into some place, you shall seele a shaking of the Earth. *Alepiodorus* reporteth, that when a stone fell from the side of a Mountaine that was broken, it shaked in such sort the Buildings that were neere, that they fell to the ground. The like may happen vnder earth, that some of those stones that hang over the Mountaine, being discolued, fall with some great weight and noise into the hollowes that are vnder earth; and the greater the weight is, and the higher it falleth from, the more violent noise is there made; and so all the couering of the hollow Vault is moued. And it is not likely that the Rockes are pushed downward, and driuen downe by their simple weight; but when as the Riuers flow and rage aboue them, the water continually minisheth the ioynts of the stone, riuing off (if I may so speake) the skin that incloseth it. This diminution increasing by succession of time, infecteth in such sort that which it hath eaten, by little and little, that such staves cannot any more sustaine the burthen. Then fall the stones through excessive weight, and this Rocke being cast downe head-long, shaketh all that which it hath driuen to the bottome, hauing found no resistance:

Of the Earth-quake by succussion.

And all things seeme to fall to sudden ruine,

As our *Virgil* saith. This should be the cause of this motion of succussion: now passe I ouer to the other cause.

CHAP. XXIII.

He earth is of a rare nature, and hath much void in it. Thorow these parts and rarities the wind is carried, which when it is entered in some quantitie and findeth no issue, it shaketh the Earth. This cause, if a troop of witnesses preuaileth any thing with thee, is pleasing vnto others, as I haue said a little before. This likewise doth *Calisthenes* approve, a man of no small reckoning. For hee was a man of a

Of the Earth-quake by inclination.

noble mind, and such a one as could not endure a Princes insolence. *Alexander* is defamed for euer, by putting this Philosopher to death, in such sort as neither his Vertue, neither his felicity in Warre can euer redeeme him. For as oftentimes as a man shall say, that hee hath defeated diuers thousandes of Barbarians: it will be opposed, and *Calisthenes* also. If any one saith, *Alexander* killed *Darius*, who at that time was the greatest King of the earth: some will reply, and *Calisthenes* too. When some shall allege that hee conquered all that which he met withall, as farre as the bounds of the Ocean, on which he rigged new Nauiques, extending his Empire from the one corner of *Thrace*, as farre as the furthest part of the East, it will be said that he slew *Calisthenes*. Although he hath surpassed all Princes, and precedent Capitaines: the wrong which hee offered *Calisthenes* was so great, that it blemisheth all his other Exploits. This Philosopher then, in his Bookes wherein hee describeth how *Helice* and *Buris* haue bin deuoured by the waters: and what accident was the cause why the Sea covered them, or why they were sucked vp, saith that which hath bin touched in the former part, that the winde entered the earth by some small and secret Conduits in all parts, yea vnder the Sea. Afterwards, when this course which it had held to enter, is stopped, and the water hath closed vp behind him all other passage, he turneth here and there, and returning himselfe into himselfe, shaketh the earth. And therefore is it, that the places that border vpon the Sea are oftentimes agitated: and the Poets haue assigned this power vnto *Neptune*, Whofoeuer vnderstandeth the Greeke Tongue, knoweth that *Homer* signifieth him *Neptune*, that is to say, earth-shaker.

Calisthenes opinion.

CHAP. XXIV.

E Or mine owne part I am of this opinion, that the wind is the cause of such an euill. I will only debate vpon one point, in what manner this winde entreth, whether it bee by pores, so strait that the eye cannot obserue them, or if they are more greater, and open, and likewise whether they rise from the bottome or aboue the earth. This is incredible: For in our bodies likewise, the skinner repulseth the wind, which hath not entered, except by those passages by which it is drawne; and being entertained by vs, cannot consist but in the most spacious part of the bodie, for it remayneth not amongst the nerues, & in the pulpe, but in the entrails, and the large retreat of our breasts. A man may think as much of the earth, especially by reason that the shaking happeneth not aboue, nor about the surface of the Earth, but from beneath, and proceedeth from the bottome. The proofe whereof is, that the deepest Seas are agitated, when as that whereupon they are spread is moued. It is therefore likely to bee true that the earth is agitated from the bottome, where the winde is formed in spacious Deances: Some will reply, that euill as after we are seised with great cold, a horror & a trembling succedeth, so the winde finding a passage outward, causeth the earth to tremble. But this is impossible. For first of all the earth should of necessity be subiect to this access of cold, to the end that the same might befall her as doth vs, who quier vpon an externall cause. I will not deny, but that there is something in the earth that hath some resemblance with that which happeneth in our bodies, but the causes are diuers. It must needs be some interior and deep agitation, that shaketh the Earth, as a man may gather evidently enough by this, because the earth

In what manner the wind entreth into the earth, to cause it to tremble.

haue bene opened by a very great and terrible motion, such opening hath sometimes swallowed and sucked vp whole Cities, which no man hath seene afterwards. *Thucydides* writeth, that about the time that the Warre was in *Peloponnesus*, all the Atlantique Island, or the most part thereof, was covered with waters. As much hapned in *Sidonia*, if thou beleueest *Possidonius*. This matter needeth no witnesses: for wee our selues remember, that the earth haue bene opened by an inward Earthquake, all the Countries were ruined, and the Champions perished: which I will now tell you how I thinke it hapneth.

CHAP. XXV.

When as the winde with great violence hath engulfed himselfe wholly in the cauities and void places of the earth, and that it beginneth to tempest in seeking an issue, it oftentimes beateeth against the sides and places, wherein he is restrained, vpon which sometimes whole Cities are situated. And these at sometimes are in such sort shaken, that the houses that are builded thereupon fall vnto the ground. Sometimes the agitation is so violent, that the foundations and wals that sustain all the rest of the building, fall into this conuulsie, in such sort as whole Cities sinke downe into a depth without end or measure. If thou wilt beleue it, it is reported that the Mountaine *Ossa* was ioyned to the Mountaine *Olympus*, & was torne away by an Earthquake in such sort, that the Mountaine, that before time was very thicke, was diuided into two: and that at that time, the River *Peneus* retyred himselfe, which dried vp the Marshes that were discommodious to *Thessalie*, and carryed with him those waters that were settled there without issue. Ladon a Riuer that is betwixt *Helis* and *Megalapolis*, was caused to flow by an earthquake; what proue I by this? That the winds are gathered in spacious Causes: for I can giueno other name to those void places vnder Earth. If it were otherwaies, the greater part of the Earth should bee shaken, whereas now the Earthquake extendeth it selfe neuer farther then two hundred miles about. That whereof all the World talketh hath not passed *Campania*. At such time as *Chalcis* was shaken, *Thebes* remayned in quiet. *Egeum* was violently tossed, and *Patras* that was neere vnto it, heard nothing of it. That vast conuulsie that opprest the two Cities of *Helice* and *Buris*, laid on the other side of *Egeum*, whereby it appeareth that the Earthquake had as much extent as vnder Earth those hollow places had, where the winde was enclosed.

How the earth is shaken by the winds.

The marvellous force of the winds.

How farre the Earthquake extendeth.

CHAP. XXVI.

I Could abuse the authority of great men to proue this, who write that *Egypt* hath neuer trembled. And the reason they yeeld hereof is this; That it is wholly gathered and composed of mud. For (if we may giue credit to *Homer*) *Phares* was so farre off from the Continent as a ship with full saile may reach in one daies iournie: but now it is adioyned to the Continent. For *Nilus* flowing with a troubled streame, and bearing along with him much mud, and heaping it afterwards on

The examination of their opinions who hold the Egyptians, and the Island of Delos were neuer shaken.

those other Lands, that are vnited together, hath from yeare to yeare enlarged the Confinnes of Egypt. Thence is it that it is a fat and muddie ground, without any openings, but of a continued thicknes: the mud being become dry; which hath stopped vp and cimented all that structure, and vnited all the parts of the same so well together, that no void may come betweene; considering that all wayes that which is soft and moist, loyneth it selfe with that which was solid. But I say that Egypt is subiect to trembling, and the Isle of Delos likewise, although that *Virgil* willed them to stand:

*Hee made th' Inhabitants this fauour finde,
Neither to feare strange Earthquakes, nor strange winde.*

These the Philosophers likewise (a credulous Nation, according to *Pindarus*) said to be exempt from trembling: *Thucydides* writeth, that before time it had not bene agitated, but that about the time of the Peloponnesian War it trembled. *Calisthenes* saith, that it was at another time. Amongst many prodigies (saith hee) which denounced the ouerthrow of Helice and Buis, there were two most notable, the one was a Pillar of fire, of immeasurable greatnes, the other the Earthquake in Delos. The reason why he thinketh that Delos is firme, is, that being in the Sea it hath many hollow Rockes & stones that are pierced through, which giue passage to the winds that are enclosed. Hee addeth, that by reason hereof the Islands are more assured, and the Cities also that are more nearer to the Sea. The Citie of Pompeias and Hercule haue felt, that this is false. Furthermore, all the Sea-coasts are subiect to agitation. So Paphos hath oftentimes bin ruined, and Nicopolis likewise too familiarly acquainted with this miserie. A deepe Sea inuironeth Cyprus, yet is it shaken, and so is Tyre likewise: Hitherto haue we examined the causes why the Earth trembleth.

CHAP. XXVII.

*A discourse upon
those Sheepe
which were
found dead in
that earthquake,
and of the causes
of this accident.*

BVt some particular accidents fel out in this Earthquake of Campania, whereof I am to set downe some reasons. For they say that six hundred flock of Sheepe were killed in the Region of Pompeias. Thou hast no cause to thinke that these Sheepe perished through feare; we haue said that alter great Earthquakes, there ordinarily followeth a pestilence: neither is this to be wondered at, because many pestilent things lye hidde in the depth. The Aire it selfe, that is imprisoned in eternall obscurity, either by the intermission of the Earth, or by his owne idleness, is pernicious vnto those that suck the same: either being corrupted by the malignitie of hidden fires, when it is sent from a farre off, it soileth and infecteth the other Aire which is pure, and breedeth new sicknesses in them who breath the same, when vnto they haue not bene accustomed. Furthermore, there are certaine vnprofitable and pestilent waters, hidden in the hollowes and secretes of the earth, and the cause why they are such, is, because they haue neither flux nor reflux, nor are beat vpon by any freer wind. Being then thus thick and couered with an obscure mist, they haue nothing in them that is not pestilent, and contrary to our bodies. The Aire likewise that is intermixed with them, and that lyeth amidst those Marishes when it raiseth it selfe, spreadeth a generall corruption, and killeth those that draw the same. But bruit beasts and cattell feelee

feele this least, on whom the plague, the more greedier they are, raigeth more fiercely. The reason is, because they remaine most often in open aire, and along by riuer sides, which ordinarily draw more contagion. As touching sheepe, which are of a more tender nature, and haue their heads almost daily inclining towards the ground, I wonder not that they haue bin attainted with this contagion, considering that they haue sucked and gathered the breath of the infected aire from the earth. Such an aire had done more mischief vnto men, had it issued in greater abundance; but before it issued or was sucked vp by any man, it was choaked by abundance of pure aire that breathed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THat the earth containeth many things both pestilent and mortal, thou maist know, because so many poisons issue from it, not scattered by the hand, but of their owne accord, the ground containing in it the seedes both of good and euill. And why? Are there not diuers places in Italie wherein by secret pores certaine venomous vapors are exhaled, that kill both man & beasts if they draw neere them? The birds also if they light vpon it before it be tempered with a better aire, fall downe in the very flight, and their bodies become blew and swollen, even as these humane bodies are, that are strangled. This spirit as long as it is contained in the earth, flowing through a small and slender passage, hath no more power to kill any, but those that looke into that, or willingly offer themselves vnto it. But when as for many ages it hath bene hidden in darknesse, & throw the malignitie and vice of the place hath gathered more corruption, the longer it stayeth there the more heauie it waxeth, and consequently the more pernicious is it. But when it hath gotten an issue, it spreadeth that eternall venom which it hath gathered in a duskie colde, and infernall night, & infecteth the aire of our region. For the best are ouercome by the worst. Then likewise that pure aire is translated and changed into euill: whence proceed sodain and continuall deaths, & monstrous sicknesses, as proceeding from new causes. The contagion continueth more or lesse, according to the continuance & vehemencie of the earthquake, and ceaseth not vntill the spacious extent of the heauens, and the agitation of the windes hath dissipated those venomous vapours.

CHAP. XXIX.

IF a particular and slight feare maketh those that are attainted therewith to become senselesse, and to rushe about like fooles and desperate men, we neede not wonder, if at such time as the world hath had an alarum, and Cities haue bene sunke, whole peoples swallowed vp, and the earth shaken, that some haue bene seene tormented with sadnesse and feare, destitute of consolation, and driven out of their wits. It is no easie matter to haue a good sence in prosperitie or aduersitie. And therefore the milder spirits haue bene attainted with such feare, that they haue swounded. There is no man afraid that hindreth not his health in some sort: and whosoever is attainted with feare, resembleth a mad man rather than any other; but some recover themselves sodainly, other some remaine

*It by the aire is
suing from the
hollow places of
the earth is pesti-
lent and mortal,*

*A consideration
of another acci-
dent as touching
those that haue
become insensate
and stupid in
these earth-
quakes.*

remayne troubled a longer time, and are as it were transported. Thence cometh it that during the Warre time there are found so many Fooles running about the streets; and neuer meet we with so many Diuines and Sooth-sayers, as when feare intermixed with Religion, attayneth and seizeth mens braines. I wonder not that during this Earthquake, a Statue was diuided into two parts, and that the Earth it selfe was rent from the top to the bottome.

*Some say that erst the fury of a storme,
(So much can Age and tract of many years
Transforme those things beneath in sundry sorts.)
Did separate two places, which at first
Were but one stile. The Sea pulst forth her wanes:
And headlong flouds by force surpassing measure,
Did rent the strong Sicilian shores perforce
From Italic and his faire Continent,
And scuered with a straight and flowing streame,
The fields and Cities, from their former bounds.*

Thou seest that there is nothing permanent in the Estates of Cities & Peoples, when as one part of nature is mowed by it selfe, or that a violent wind agitateth some Sea. For the effect of the parts as well as of the whole is marvellous. For although it rageth in some parts, yet is it caused by the forces of the whole. So hath the Sea diuided and torne Spaine from Africa: and by the same inundation, so much testified by the most famous Poets, Sicilie hath bene separated from Italic. But sometimes those things haue most violence which come from beneath, for that is most furious that inforceth his passage through streights: we haue sufficiently declared both of the effects of the Earthquake, and of the marvellous euents that haue succeeded them.

CHAP. XXX.



Why therefore should a man bee amazed for this cause, that the Brasse of one Statue, which is not solid, but hollow and thinne, is broken, when as haply the spirit that seeketh issue is included in the same? But who is hee that knoweth not this? we haue seene houses tremble, and the ioynts and the timbers of the same open, and afterwards close againe; contrariwise we haue seene some buildings that were not well grounded at the first, & which the Carpenters had carelesly ioynted together, which being agitated by an Earth-quake, haue vnited themselves together in a better fort. And if it rieth in two whole wals, and renteth whole houses, and shaketh the walls of whole Towers which are solid, and ouerturneth the foundations of the building, who is hee that can find any matter worthy of note, that a Statue hath bene rent from the bottome to the top? But why continued the Earthquake for diuers daies? For Capania ceased not to tremble continually, sometimes more mildly then at other times, but with great hurt: because the Earthquake shiuered that which had bene ouerturned and shaken, which finding no stay or resting place, fell, and broke it selfe anew. All the wals had not as yet gotten issue, but had only deliuered ouer a part whilst the stronger part, that remayned, laboured to find issue.

CHAP.

*How it may
come to passe
that a Statue
cleaueth in two
by Earthquake.*

*Why the quaking
contineth diuers
daies.*

CHAP. XXXI.



Amongst those arguments whereby it is proued that those things are done by the wind, thou maist without all doubt set downe this: when as there is a great earthquake past, whereby cities and countreys are destroyed, there cannot another follow the same that is equall with it, but after the greatest, the lighter motions follow, because the most violent haue giuen passage to those winds that encountered one another. The remainder of these winds cannot doe so much, and doe not beat one vpon another, because they haue their way already opened, and follow that way by which the greatest force is past. Moreover, I thinke that worthy memorie which a learned and honourable personage hath obserued, that being in the floue to walk himselfe, he vndoubtedly saw the paucements and stones, wherewith the house was paved, separate themselves the one from the other, and afterwards reunite themselves; and the water eating betweene the clefts, at such time as the tyles separated themselves one from another, boyled and foamed betweene them both, at such time as they closed themselves. I haue heard the same man report, that he had seene soft things tremble more gently and oftner, then those of hard and solide nature.

*Why the first
tremblings are
almost the most
violent.*

CHAP. XXXII.



And thus much, my Lucilius, the best of men, as touching the causes. Now come I to that which wil fortifie our minds, because it more importeth vs to become wise then learned. But the one is not done without the other. For resolution is no other waies planted in the minde then by good arts, and the contemplation of nature. For whom will not this accident fortifie and confirme against all others? Why then should I feare a man or a sauage beast? I am exposed to farre greater dangers. We are assailed by Rivers, by Lands, and by the greatest parts of nature: we ought therefore to prouoke death with a mightie courage, whether he inuade vs by an equall and vast assault, or by a daily and ordinarie end: it makes no matter with what maske he be couered, nor how mightie the engine is that he draweth against vs; that which he demandeth at our hands, is the least matter. This shall old age take from vs, this the paine of an care, this the corrupt abundance of humours in vs, this meate which the stomacke can hardly digest; this a foot but slightly offended. The soule in man is but a smal matter, but it is a mightie thing to contemne the soule. Hee that contemneth it shall with a quiet eye behold the enraged seas, although all the windes haue incensed the same, although the stream with some perturbation of the world, turne and arme all the Ocean against the earth. He shall securely behold the dreadful & horrid face of the lightning-heauen. Although the heauen breaketh it selfe, and mixeth his fires to ruine both himselfe, and all that is vnder him, he shall securely behold the yawning earth that rieth and renteth vnder him. Although those infernall Kingdomes should bee discovered, he shall dreadlesse stand in the face of this confusion, and haply shall skip into the Gulle, into which he should fall. What care I how great the meanes be, by which I perish, when as to perish is no great matter? If therefore we will be happy, if we would not be vexed by the feare of men, of gods, or any things: if we would dispise fortune that promisseth vs vnnecessary things, and threatneth vs with trifles; if we will liue quietly, and debate for felicitie with the gods themselves, we must

*What resolutions
we are to gather
from these earth-
quakes.*

*The principall is
a resolution and
assured con-
tempt of
death.*

carrie

carrie our soules in our hands: whether it be that ambushes would entrap, or sickness assault, or the enemies sword threaten, or the noise of falling fland, or the ruine of the earth, or these great fires that consume Cities & Countries doe inuiron her, she will lay hold on which fouer of these dangers she listeth: what else should I do, but exhort her in her departure, and to send her away with all her goods? Goe forth courageously, goe happily. Thinke it not strange to restore that which thou hast receiued. The question is not now of the things, but of the time. Thou dost that which thou oughtest to doe at another time: neither desire thou death, neither feare it, beware thou step not backe as if thou were to depart into some place of euil: Nature that made thee, expecteth thee, and a place farre better and secure. There the earth trembleth not, neither the windes combat one with another, and burst the clouds with thundring noise, nor fire desolateth whole Countries and Cities, nor the feare of whales Nauies sucked vp by shipwrack, nor Armies readie to giue battell, nor a multitude of Souldiers running in furie to murder one another, nor the plague, nor fires kindled here and there, to burne the bodies both of great and small, into ashes. This is but a small matter: what feare we? Is death a grieuous matter? rather let it happen once, then threaten alwaies. Shall I be afraid to perish, when as the earth perisheth before me, and those things are shaken which shake others, and attempting to doe vs mischief, offence themselves? The sea hath swallowed vp Helice and Buris wholly: shall I be afraid for one little bodie? Shippes saile ouer two Cities, yea two such as we knew, which are referred in our remembrance, by the means of that discourse which hath bene published of them. How many other Cities, in great number haue bene swallowed vp in other places? how many Nations hath either the earth or sea deuoured? Shall I refuse mine end, when as I know that I am not without end? yea when I know that all things are finite: shall I feare the last breath or sigh? As much as thou canst therefore, my *Lucilius*, animate thy selfe against the feare of death. This is he that maketh vs humble, this is he that disquieteth and confoundeth that very life which he spareth. This is he that maketh these earthquakes and lightnings greater then they be. All which thou wilt endure constantly, if thou thinke that there is no difference betwixt a short & long time. They are horres which wee lose: put case they be dayes, moneths, yeares; wee lose them because they must be lost. What importeth it, I pray you, whether I attayne to such a yeare or no? The time flecteth away, abandoning those that desire it so much: neither is that mine that either is to come, or hath bene. I hang vpon the point of flying Time, and it is a great matter that it hath bene but a verie moment. The wiseman *Laelius* answered very elegantly to a certaine man, that said, *I haue sixtie yeares of age*; Speakest thou (saith he) of these sixtie which thou hast not? Neither hereby vnderstand we the condition of incomprehensible life, nor the chance of time which is neuer our owne, because wee make account of the yeares that are past. Let vs fixe this in our minde, and let vs oftentimes say one vnto another, We must die: When? What carest thou? Death is the Law of Nature; Death the tribute and office of mortall men, and the remedie of all euils; whosoever feareth it, will wish for it. Setting aside all other things, my *Lucilius*, meditate on this onely, lest thou waxe afraid of the name of Death; Make him familiar with thee by continuall meditation, that if the cause require thou maist step forth and meet him.

The end of the sixth Booke of the Naturall Questions.

O F

Miserable effects
caused by the
over-great ap-
prehension of
death.

OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS,

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA,

Dedicated to LVCILLIVS.

The seventh Booke.

Wherein
He intreateth of Comets.

C H A P. I.



Here is no man so slow, dull, & brutish, that listeth not vp his thoughts to behold diuine things, and fixeth not his whole mind vpon them, especially when as some new miracle appeareth in the heauens. For as long as nothing appeareth but that which is ordinary, custom taketh away the greatness of things. For we are so compos'd, that those things which we daily meete withall, passe by, although they be worthy of admiration: contrariwise, we take a singular pleasure to behold the smallest trifles, if they haue any noueltie in them. This assembly therefore of Starres, whereby the beauty of this immeasurable body is distinguished, inuiceth not the people to beholde them; but when as any thing is changed in some extraordinary manner, all mens eyes are fixed on heauen: no man gazeth at the Sun, except it be in the eclipse: no man obserueth the Moone, except she be darkened. Then whole Cities cry out, and euery one being transported thorow vaine superstition, feareth in his owne bellic. But how farre greater things are those, that the Sunne (if I may so speake it) hath as many degrees as it hath daies, and finisheth the yeare by his course: that from the solstice he presently inclineth and giueth space vnto the nightes: that

Nouely vani-
sheth vs, ordinary
masters are con-
temptible vnto
vs.

The application
of this curioſitie
to the conſidera-
tion of Comets.

The modeſt ſearch
& examination
of thoſe fires is
laudable.

If Comets are
of the ſame condi-
tion as other
ſtars.

A Paradoxe of
the motion and
turning of the
earth about the
heavens, remi-
ned in our time by
Copernicus.

that he hideth the ſtars, that he burneth not the earth, being farre more greater then the ſame, but nourifeth it by reſtemperating his heat, by intentions and remiſſions; that he neuer filleth or obſcureth the Moone but when ſhe is oppoſite vnto him; yet reſpect we not theſe things as long as they continue in their order. If any thing be troubled, or appeare contrary to cuſtome, we behold it, we inquire of it, we ſhew it: ſo naturall a thing is it to admire at the newneſſe, and not at the greatneſſe of things. The ſame falleth out in Comets: if a rare fire appeare, and of an vnaccuſtomed figure, there is no man that is not deſirous to know what it is, and forgetting all other things, he queſtioneth vpon this new accident, not knowing whether he ought to admire or feare. For many there are that will enkindle ſcare in other men, and walke about and preſage that this fire threatneth ſome great miſchiefe. They enquire therefore, and would needs know whether it be a prodigie, or ſome ſtarre in the heauen. But truly no man may either ſearch after a thing more magnificent, nor learne a thing more profitable, then what the nature of the ſtars and planets is. Whether this contracted flame, which both our ſight doth affirme, and that light which floweth from them, and that heat that deſcendeth from thence; or whether they are not flaming Orbes, but certain ſolid and earthly bodies, which ſliding thorough ſerie tracts, draw their brightneſſe and colour from them, not being cleare of themſelves. Of which opinion many great men were, who beleueed that the ſtars were compaſt of a ſolid ſubſtance, and were nourifhed by ſerain fire: for their flame, ſay they, would ſlie away, except it had ſomething that reſtrained it, and detained it; and being gathered, and not vntoed to a ſtable bodie; vn-doubtedly the world by his ſhormineſſe had diſſipated it.

C H A P. II.

Or the better inueſtigation hereof, it ſhall not be amiſſe to enquire whether Comets are of the ſame condition as the Stars are. For they ſeeme to haue ſomething common with them, their riſing and ſetting, their reſemblance likewiſe, although they ſpread and ſtretch themſelves out longer: for they are as ſerie and bright as the other. But if all ſtars were terreſtriall exhalations, the Comets and ſtars ſhould be alike: but if they be nought elſe but pure fire, and continue fixe moneths, if the continuall turning and ſwiftneſſe of the heauen diſſolueth them not, they likewiſe may conſiſt of a thin matter, neyther for all this be diſſipated by the continuall courſe of heauen. To this point it appertaineth alſo to know if the heauen turneth the earth continuing fixed, or if the Heauen is vn-moueable, and the earth turneth. For ſome there were that haue ſaid, that it is we whom nature inſenſibly turneth about, and that the riſing and ſetting is not by the motion of the heavens, but that they riſe and ſet of themſelves. It is a thing worthy contemplation to know in what eſtate we are, if the place wherein we abide, be fixed or turned, whether God cauſeth vs to turne, or cauſeth all things to turne about vs; but it is neceſſary for vs to haue a collection & knowledge of the ancient riſing of Comets: for as yet their courſes cannot be comprehended, by reaſon of their raritie, neither can it be ſought out whether they obſerue their courſes, and ſome due order produceth them to their certaine day. This obſervation of celeftiall things is a noueltie, and but lately brought into Grece.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

DEMOCRITVS alſo (the moſt ſubtileſt amongſt all the ancient Philoſophers) ſaith, that he ſuſpecteth that there are diuers ſtars that runne, but neyther hath he ſet downe their number, nor their names, for as yet had he not comprehended the courſes of the ſixe Planets. *Endoxus* was the firſt that brought the doctrine of theſe motions out of Egypt into Grece, yet ſpeaketh he nothing of Comets; whereby it appeareth that this part had not bene ſufficiently laboured and fought into by the Egyptians, who had been the moſt curious obſeruers of the heavens. After him *Conon*, a diligent enquirer after theſe things, likewiſe gathered that theſe eclipses of the Sunne were obſerued by the Egyptians: yet made he no mention of Comets, which he would not haue forgotten, if they had any waies made mention or giuen knowledge of them. Two onely amongſt the Caldees, who are reported to haue ſtudied this ſcience, *Epigenes* and *Apollonius Myndius* a moſt cunning obſeruer of the works of nature differ amongſt themſelves: for the one ſaith that Comets by the Caldees are put amongſt the number of wandring ſtars, and that their courſes are well knowne. But *Epigenes* contrariwiſe ſaith, that the Caldees haue no aſſured knowledge of Comets, but that in their iudgements they are kindled by ſome ſtorme that is agitated and ſtirred in the ayre.

C H A P. IV.

Firſt therefore thou thinkeſt it meete, we will ſet downe their opinions, and reſell them: This man thinketh that the ſtarre of Saturne hath the moſt force vnto all the celeftiall motions. This when as he preſſeth the neighbouring ſigne of *Mars*, or that he paſſeth into thoſe that haue a vicinity with the Moone, or falleth into the beames of the Sunne, being by nature windie and colde, cloſeth and thickeneth the ayre in diuers parts. Afterwards, if ſhe hath gathered into her ſelfe the beames of the Sunne, it thundereth and lightneth. If *Mars* fauoureth her likewiſe, it lightneth. Beſides (ſaith he) the lightning haue one matter, and the fulgurations another; for the euaporation of the water, and all other things which are moiſt, doth nought elſe but moue the Meteors, which doe nought elſe but moue threatnings; neyther ſucceedeth there any other euill. But the exhalation that mounteth from the earth, as being more hote and more drie, produceth lightning. But thoſe beames and Torches which differ in no other thing amongſt themſelves but in greatneſſe, are made after this manner: when as ſome globe of the aire hath incloſed moiſt and earthly things in that which we call a ſtorme; whither ſoeuer it is carried, it preſenteth the forme of an extended fire, which continueth ſo long as the complexion of that ayre hath remayned, carrying in it ſelfe much moiſt and earthly matter.

G E E E

C H A P.

The ancient nat-
ural Philoſo-
phers ſeemed a-
mer curious in
obſerving comets

Epigenes opi-
nion as touching
the meteors of
fire.

CHAP. V.

An examination
and dissent re-
futation of these
opinions.

TO begin with the last lies: this is false that Torches and fierie beames are expressed by a storm: for a storme is formed, and rowleth neere vnto the earth; and therefore it pulleth vp shrubs by the roots, and whereloeuer it inclineth, it maketh the ground naked, laying hold in the meane space on woods and houlcs, for the most part lower then the clouds, and yet neuer higher. But contrariwise, the pillars appeare in the highest region of the ayre, and consequently they haue neuer resisted the clouds. Further more, a storm prestheth forward more violently beyond comparison about any other Cloud, and fulfilleth his course in a round. It likewise continueth not long time, but bursteth it selfe by his owne violence. But pillars of fire neyther come, nor rise ouer as Torches doe, but abide in one place, and shine in the same part of the heauen. *Charimander* also in that booke which he wrote of Comets, saith, that *Anaxagoras* obserued in the heauens a great and vnaccustomed light of the greatnesse of a huge pillar, and that it shined for many daies. *Calisthenes* testifieth that there appeared the like resemblance of extended fire, before that *Burisor Helice* were hidden by the Sea. *Aristotle* saith, that it was not a beame but a comet; but that by reason of the excessive heat it appeared not to be scattered fire, but in proceſſe of time, when as now it burned lesse, it presented it selfe in the forme of a Comet: in which fire there were many things that were worthy to be noted, and yet nothing more then this, that when it shined in the heauens, the sea presently ouerflowed *Burisor Helice*. Did not therefore *Aristotle* beleue, that not only that, but all other beames were Comets? This difference haue you, that in the one the fire was continuall, in the other scattered: for pillars haue an equall flame, neyther interrupted or failing in any place, and coasted in the vttermoſt parts thereof, such as that was whereof I spake of late, according to *Calisthenes* opinion.

CHAP. VI.

Two sorts of Comets, according to Epigenes, and of their causes.

EPIGENES saith, there are two sorts of Comets; the one on euerie side powre forth their heat, and change not their place; others extend their scattered fire in one place like haire, and traueſe the flars, whereof two such haue appeared in our time. These former are crinite, and euery waies likewise immouable, yet are they for the most part lower, & composed of the same causes, as pillars and torches are from the temperature of the troubled aire, which carries with it self many moist and drie exhalations that are raised from the earth. For the winde that slides thorow these straits may inflame the aire about, full of nutriment, fit for fire, and afterwards driue it backward from the place where it is calmest, for feare lest through some cause it should returne and grow faint, & anon after should come to raise it selfe, and enkindle the fire where it was. For we see that the winds after some certain daies, return vnto the same place whence they first issued. The raines also, and other kindes of tempests, return vnto their point and assignation. But to expresse his intent in a few words, he thinketh that Comets are made in the same sort, as fires that are cast out by stormes; this only is the difference, that the stormes fall from on high vpon the earth, and these fires raise themselves from the earth vnto the heauens.

CHAP.

VII.

MANIE things are spoken against these; first, if the winde were the cause, a Comet should neuer appeare without winde, but now it appeareth euen in the calmest ayre. Again, if it were caused by winde, it should fall with the winde: and if it beganne with the winde, it should increase with the winde; and the more fieri should it be, the more violent the winde was. To this adde that likewise: The winde impelleth many parts of the ayre; but a Comet appeareth in one place: the winde mounteth not vp on high; but Comets are seene verie high above the windes. After this, he passeth ouer to these, which, as he saith, haue a more certaine resemblance of flars, which goe forward, and passe the signes in the Zodiacque. These, saith he, are made of the same causes as the other that are lower: in this only they differ, that the exhalations of the earth, carrying many drie things with them, ascend to the higher part, and by the North wind are drinen into the vpper part of heauen. Again, if the North winde did driue them, they should be alwaies drinen to the Southward, against which the North winde bloweth. But they haue diuers stations, some goe towards the East, some towards the West, and all in turning, which way the winde would not giue. Again, if the violence of the North winde, lifted them vp from the earth vnto the heauens, Comets should not rise with any other windes; but they rise.

The winde is no
cause of Comets,
as Epigenes
thinketh.

CHAP. VIII.

BUT now let vs refell that reason of his (for he vseth them both.) All that which the earth hath exhaled, cyther drye or moist, comming to ioine in one, the discord that happeneth betwene these bodies, maketh the ayre become stormie. The vehemencie then of that turning winde enkindleth by his course, and rayseth vp on high, all that which it holdeth inclosed in it selfe; & the brightness of the fire that is inclosed dureth as long time as the exhalation, whereby it is entertained, which beginning to decrease, the fire decreaseth likewise. He that said this, considered not what the course of stormes & comets is. That of stormes is headlong & violent, and swifter then the winds: that of the Comets is more milde, and no man can discouer what way they make in foure and twentie houers. Furthermore, the motion of stormes is inconstant, scattered, and turning: that of Comets is certaine, and keepeth one settled course. Would any one of vs thinke that the winde carrieth away, or that the storme causeth the Moone to turne, or else the fixe wandering flars? Nothing lesse in my iudgement. And why? Because their course is neither troubled nor suspended. Let vs transſerre the same vnto Comets. They moue not confusedly or tumultuously, so as any man should beleue that they are impelled by turbulent and inconstant causes. And again, although these stormes might embrace the exhalations of earth & water, & afterwards lift them vp from beneath vpwards, yet should they not make them mount about the Moone. All their carriage extendeth no farther then the clouds. But we see that comets are intermixed with the flars, & slide along the superior parts. It is not therefore likely, that in so great space a storm of wind may continue, the which as it is most violent, the sooner takes it an end.

Stormes are not
the cause of
Comets.

Ggg 2

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The continuation
of the refutation
continued in the
former chapter.

Et him chuse which of these two he list: if it be a light storme, it cannot descend from so high; it is a violent & sudden storme, it wil break it selfe the sooner. Moreover, these lower comets mount not so high as some thinke, by reason that they haue more weightie matter then the rest. This weight hindreth them from mounting. Contrariwise, it must necessarily follow, that the Comets that are highest, and are of longest continuance haue a matter more solid then the lower. They likewise could not continue longer, except some more stronger nutriment maintayned them. I said not long since, that a storme could not endure long, nor raise it selfe above the Moone, nor as far as the stars: for a storme is raised by a conflict of diuers windes one with another. This conflict cannot be of long continuance: for an vncertaine wind having strugled with the rest, finally, the victorie remaineth to that which is the strongest. But no violent tempest lasteth long. The more headlong the tempests are, the lesse time and continuance haue they: when the winds are in their full force, they incontinently begin to decline, and it must needs be that by their more earnest vigour they should tend to their dissolution. So then no man euer saw a strong storme of wind continue longer then forty and twentie houres, no not an houre. The swiftnesse thereof is wonderfull, and no lesse wonderfull is the shortnesse. Besides this, he turneth with more greater violence & swiftnesse about the earth: if it be high, it is lesse headlong, by reason whereof it spreadeth it selfe. Adde hereunto now, that if it raised it selfe about the regions of the aire, towards the heauens and stars, the motion of them, which whirleth about the whole frame, would dissolve and dissipate the same: for what is it that turneth more swiftly then the motion of heauen? When the force of all the winds should be assembled together, and the solid and firme structure of the earth likewise, this motion could dissipate all that, and consequently in lesse then nothing, should make that parcell of intord and confused aire to vanish.

CHAP. X.

He continually
bewe prove, that
stormes of the
aire cannot be
the cause of the
enkindling of
Comets.

Furthermore, the fire carried vp by the storme, could not continue long, if the storme continued not likewise: but what is more incredible then that a storme should last long? For one motion is overcome by his contrary motion: for the place about the ayre hath his motion that carrieth the heauens:

*And drawes the higher Starres with swifter turne,
And whirles them round about.*

And if thou grant them some remission, which can hardly be done in any sort, what shall we say of comets that continue fixe moneths? Again, there should be two motions in one place, the one of them diuine & continuall, accomplishing his work without intermission; the other fresh & new, being shaken by the storme. Of necessity therefore, the one must be an impediment to the other. But the motion of the Moone, & the course of the other Planets which are above, alwaies obserue their time, neither stop they euer, or stay they, nor giue them any

CHAP. XI.



Et vs leaue *Epigenes*, & examin other mens opinions, which before I begin to expound, that is, first of all to be presupposed, that Comets are not seene in one part of the heauen, nor in the Zodiac only, but appeare alwell in the East as in the West, yea, and oft-times about the North. Their forme is not one; for although the Grecians haue made a difference of those whose flame hangeth downe after the manner of a beard, and of those which on every side of them spread their light as it were haire, and of those whose fire extendeth and poureth it selfe out, but tendeth towards a head, yet are all these of the same note, and are rightly called Comets, whose formes whenas they appeare after a long time, it is a hard matter to compare them one with another. At that very time when they appeare, all those that beholde them are not of the same opinion, in respect of their habitude, but even as each of them hath eyther a sharper or a duller sight; so saith he that they are either cleerer or redder, or that their haire is drawn inwardly or scattered on the sides. But whether there be any differences of them or no, yet mult Comets be made by the same reason. One thing must remaine resolu'd, that it is an extraordinary thing to see a new appearance of Stars, that draw about themselves a scattered fire. Some one of the ancients allow of this reason, when as one of the wandring Stars adioyneth it selfe to another, both their lights being confused into one, make an appearance of a longer Star: neyther doth this happen onely at such time as one Planet toucheth another, but also when they approach, for the space betwene them both is enlightened and inflamed both by the one and the other, and maketh a long fire.

Comets appeare
in diuers parts
of heauen.

Their qualities
are
iudged by the
obscure or
cleerest of
our sight.

CHAP. XII.



O these we will answer thus; that there is a certaine number of mouable Stars, and that at one time both they and Comets are wont to appeare; whereby it is manifest, that Comets are not caused by their coition and meeting, but are created of themselves. It oft-times hapneth that a star is found right vnderneath one of those which is highest, & sometimes *Saturne* is about *Iupiter*, and *Mars* beholdeth in a right line both *Venus* and *Mercurie*. But for all this course and incountry the one with the other, a Comet is not therefore made; otherwise they should be made euery yeare, for in euery yeare some stars meete together

An answer vnto
those that thinke
that Comets are
formed by the
app. and in
country of two
planets.

in one signe; if one Planet drawing nere or above another, did make a comet, it should cease to be in the same instant, for the Planets passe suddenly. And therefore is it, that the eclipse of the Planets dureth not long time, because the same course that brought them together carrieth them away swiftly. We see that in a very little space of time the eclipses both of Sunne and Moone take an end. Those of the other Planets likewise which are lesse, ought likewise to continue lesse. But there are certaine comets that endure fixe moneths, which would not come to passe, if they were produced by coniunction of two planets, which cannot long time subsist together; but that the Law of necessitie must needs separate them. Besides, these planets seeme nere neighbours one vnto another, yet are they separated by huge distances. How then may one Planet dart out fire vnto another, in such sort as both of them seem but one, when as there is so great a distance betwene them? The light (saith he) of two stars is intermixed, and present a forme of one; in no other sort: then when as by meeting with the Sunne, a cloud becommeth red, as the euenings and the mornings are yellow, and as sometimes or other we see the Arch of the Sunne. All these first of all are caused by great force: for it is the Sun that enkindleth these, the stars haue not the same power. Again, none of these appeare but vnder the Moone, and nere vnto the earth. The superior bodies are pure and sincere, & neuer change their colour. Besides, if any such thing should happen, it should not endure, but should be extinguished suddenly, as crownes are which begirt the Sunne or Moone, and vanish a little while after: neyther doth the Raine-bow continue long. If any such thing were, whereby the middle space betwene two starres should be confusd, they would as soone vanish out of sight, or if it continued, it should not be so long as the Comets endure. The planets shapeth their course in the circle of the Zodiacke, but the Comets appeare in all the parts of the heauen. As touching the time of their apparition, it is no more certaine then the place wherein they are confined.

CHAP. XIII.

THis is alledged by *Artemidorus*, against that which is said before, that not onely these fixe stars doe run, but that they are obserued alone, yet that innumerable starres, that are carried in secret, eyther vnkowne vnto vs by reason of the obscuritie of their light, or by reason of such a position of their circles, that then at length they are scene when they are come to their period or end. Therefore, as he saith, some stars run between, which are new vnto vs, which intermix their light with those that are fixed, and extend their fire farre more then other starres are accustomed: this is the slightest of his fictions, for all his discourses of the world are impudent lies: for if we beleue him, the heauen that we see is most solid, and hardened after the manner of a tyle, and of a deepe and thick bodie, and is made of Atomes cogel'd and gathered together. The next surface vnto this is fiery, so compact that it neither can be dissolued or vitiated, yet hath it some vents and windowes, by which the fires enter from the exterior part of the heauen, which are not so large that they may trouble it inwardly, whence againe they steale and slip forth. These therefore which appeared contrarie to custome, flowed and had their influence from that matter, that lay on each side of the world. To answer these questions, what other thing is it, then to exercise the hand, and to cast a mans armes into the winde?

CHAP.

An instance of
Artemidorus
to maintaine his
opinion, and the
answer to the
same.

CHAP. XIV.

Et would I haue this man tell me who hath laid such thicke plan-
chairs on the Heauen, what reason there is that we should beleue
him that the Heauen is of this thicknesse? What is the cause hee
should carrie so many solid bodies thither, and detain them there?
Again, that which is of so great thicknesse, must needs bee of a
great weight. How therefore may heauy things remaine suspended in the Hea-
uens? How commeth it to passe that this heauy burthen falleth not, and brea-
keth not himselfe through his weight? For it cannot bee that the force of so
great a burthen, as he setteth down, should hang and depend on so slight staies.
Neither can this likewise be spoken, that outwardly there are some supporters
that vphold it from falling; nor likewise that in the midst there is any thing
oppoed, that might entertaine or containe such an impendent bodie. No man
likewise dare be so bold as to say that the World is carryed and whirled about
infinitely, and that it falleth; but that it appeareth not whether it fall or no, be-
cause the precipitation thereof is eternall, hauing no end wherein it may termi-
nate. Some haue spoken thus of the earth, when as they had found no rea-
son why a weight should consist in the Aire; It is alwayes falling, say they, but
it appeareth not whether it fall or no, because that is infinite into which it fal-
leth. What is it then, whereby thou wilt proue that only fixe Stars moue not,
but that there are many, and in many Regions of the World? Or if it be law-
full to answer this without any probable Argument, what is the cause why
some man should not say, that either all the Stars are moued, or none? Again,
that troope of Stars that wander here and there, helpe thee nothing. For the
more they be, the oftner should they fall vpon others: but Comets are rare, and
for this cause are wonderfull. Moreouer, all Ages will beare testimonie against
them, who haue both obserued the rising of those Stars, and haue communica-
ted them with Posteritie.

An exact refu-
tation of *Arte-
midorus* his
Paradoxe.

Another Para-
doxe; in
anuersalI iudg-
ments.

CHAP. XV.

After the death of *Demetrius* King of Syria, the father of *Demetrius*
and *Antiochus*, and a little before the Warre in Achaia, there ap-
peared a Comet almost as great as the Sun. In the beginning it was
a Circle of red fire, sparkling with so great light, that it surmount-
ed the obscuritie of the night. Afterwards this greatnesse began
to diminish, and the brightnesse thereof to vanish. Finally, the Comet was
wholly spent. How many wandering Starres, thinke you, should haue beene
ioyned together to make so great a body? Although a thousand had beene re-
duced into one Masse, yet could they not reflect so much light as the Sun doth.
During the Reigne of *Attalus* a Comet was scene, which in the beginning was
but little, but afterwards it encreased, and extended, and lengthened out it selfe
as farre as the Equator, in such sort as it equalled (so long was the extent ther-
of) that part of the Heauen which the Astronomers call the Milke-white way.
How many wandering Starres should there haue beene gotten together, to oc-
cupie with a continuall fire so long a tract of Heauen?

CHAP.

Examples to ap-
proue that one
Comet c. not be
made of diuers
wandering stars.

CHAP. XVI.

The Stoic esteeme error and absurditie of some Philosophers, taxed, and namely of Attenuatorus,

Against Historians in this, and Lysers in eff. 11.



WE haue spoken against the Argument, now must we say somewhat against the witnesses: we need not labour much to empowerish the authoritie of *Ephorus*, hee is an Historian. Some men get commendation by relating of incredible matters, and excite the Reader by some Miracle, who would doe some other thing else, if hee were but entertained by ordinary matters. Some are credulous, and some negligent, some are circumvented, and some pleased with lies: the one auoid them not, the other desire them. And this is common to the whole Nation, who as he thinketh cannot approue his worke; neither that it will bee passable and vendible, except it hath some asperion of lyes. But *Ephorus*, a man of no religious honesty or faith, is oftentimes deceived, and oftentimes deceiueth: as in this place, because when as this Comet (which all the World obserued,) drew after it the euent of a mightie matter, when as vpon the rising thereof it drowned Helice and Buri, he saith that it diuided it selfe into two Starres, which besides himselfe no man telleth. For who is hee that could obserue that moment, wherein the Comet was dissolved, and diuided into two parts? And if any one hath seene a Comet diuided into two, may not another see two vnited in one? And why added he not into what Stars it was diuided, whereas it must needs be some one of the five Planets?

CHAP. XVII.

The estimation of Apollonius Perados, that there are many wandering Comets.



APOLLONIUS MINDIVS is of a contrary opinion, for he saith that a Comet is not made one out of diuers erratically Starres, but that many Comets are erratical. It is not a false appearance, nor an extended fire, by the vicinitie of two Planets, that maketh a Comet: her forme is not restrained in a round, but more high, and extended in length: yet hath it no manifest course, for it traueseth the highest part of Heauen, and when as she is at the lowest of her course, she is not seene. Neither are we to thinke that we saw the same in *Claudius* time, which appeared in *Augustus* dayes, nor that that which appeared vnder *Nero Caesar*, (which hath ennobled all the rest;) was like vnto that which appeared about the eleuenth houre of the day, when as men celebrated the sports of *Venus Iulius Caesars* mother, after he had bene murdered. There are diuers Comets of diuers sorts, of different greatnesse and dislike in colour: the one are red, without any cleer-nesse, the other white, and of a pure and cleere brightnesse; the other flaming obscurely, and enuironed with thicke smoke. Some are bloudie, hideous, which preface nothing else but Murders and Massacres. These either lessen or encrease their light, as other celestially fires doe; in descending and approaching more neere vnto vs, they shew more cleere and more great: lesse and more obscure in remounting, because they withdraw themselves further off.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.



ERECUNTO we forthwith answer, that the same falleth not out in Comets, that happeneth in other Celestiall fires. For Comets, the very first day they appeare are at the greatest. But they should encrease, the neerer they draw vnto vs: but now their first appearance continueth vntill such time as they begin to be extinguished. Again, that which was answered to the first, may be answered to this man likewise: if a Comet were a Planet, and had his course, it should be moued within the bounds of the Zodiacke, in which all other Planets shape their course. For neuer doth a starre appeare by a starre. Our sight cannot penetrate thorow a starre, to see thorow it, what is vnder it. But men see thorow a Comet, as thorow a cloud, that which is vnderneath; whereby it appeareth that it is not a Starre, but a light fire that is gathered in haste.

A difference betweene comets and other celestiall fires.

CHAP. XIX.



THE Stoique *Zeno* is of this opinion, supposing that the Starres doe rank themselves, the one of them neere vnto the other, and intermix their beames where there followeth an appearance of a long star. By this reckoning diuers thinke that there are no comets, but that by reuerberation of the stars, which are one of them neere vnto the other, or by the coniunction of them that entertaine one another, that is caused, which hath such or such appearance of a comet. Some maintaine that there are; but that they haue their particular courses, and at the end of certaine yeares they appeare. Some other accord also that there are, but deny that they ought to be called starres, because they diminish by little and little, and continue not long, and vanish, as it were, in an instant.

Zenocens opinion according with Apollonius.

CHAP. XX.



DIERS of our coat and sort are of the same opinion, neither thinke they that it repugneth against the truth: for we see diuers sorts of fires that are formed in the aife, and sometimes the heauen on fire, sometimes long streames of flame, then burning torches carried away swiftly, with a large fire: the lightning; also, although maruellously sudden, in an instant dazle the eyes, and leaue their fires proceeding from the aife, that is crushed and violently beaten together. Therefore resist they not, but being expressed, flow, and forthwith perish. Other fires continue long, & vanish not, except first of all that aliment that nourished them be consumed. In this ranke are those miracles that are written by *Possidonius*, burning pillars and bucklers, and other fierie impressions, notable by reason of their noultie, which would not altonish mens minds, if they appeared according to custome and nature. All men are amazed that behold these, and be it that any fire either shine or shoot, be it that pressing the aife, and by setting it on fire, it sublieth, and is reputed for some noultie, euerie one gazeth thereat, and suppose it to be miraculous. What then? Hath not the heauen sometimes opened,

Senecens opinion according with Apollonius.

ned, and a great cleere nesse hath broken forth of the cauitie? Thou mightest ex-
claim: What is this?

*I see the Heauen depart is selfe in waies,
And scattered Stars from thence shine forth againe.*

Which sometimes haue shined before the night was expected, and haue broken
forth at mid-day; but there is another reason hereof, why they appeare at an
vnusall time, and although wee see them not, yet every one knoweth that
they cease not to be. Wee see not many Comets that are obscured by the Sun-
beames, in whose Eclipse, as *Pesidonius* testifieth, there appeared a Comet,
which the neighbouring Sunne had hidden. For oftentimes when the Sun set-
teth, there are certaine scattered fires scene not farre off him: the cause is, because
the greater light is spread in such sort ouer the lesser, that it may not bee scene:
But Comets escape the Sun-beames.

CHAP. XXI.

SO then the Stoicks hold that the Comets, such as are Torches,
Trumpets, Pillars, and other such Wonders in the Heauen, are
created of thicke Aire. And therefore appeare they most often
in the North, because in that place there is found much weightie
Aire. Why then is not a Comet fixed, but goeth forward? After
the manner of fires, it followeth that which nourisheth it. For although by
nature the inclineth vpwards, yet when thee wanteth matter, the inclineth in-
to the Aire, according as the matter thereof tendeth or bendeth it, either to
the right or left part. For she hath no way, but such as the veine of that which
nourisheth her, and leadeth her, thither creepeth she; neither shapeth she her
course as a Starre, but is fed as fire is. Why then appeareth shee a long time,
and is not quickly extinguished? For that we beheld vnder the happie Govern-
ment of *Nero*, was scene for the space of six moneths, shaping a course alto-
gether opposit to that which appeared in the time of *Claudius*. For that rising
from the North vpwards, declined toward the East, alwayes more obscure.
This began in the same part, but bending towards the West, declined towards
the South, and then vanished out of sight. That in *Claudius* time had a quar-
ter more moist, and more fit for inflammation, which shee followed. That in
Nero's time had a more spacious and furnished extent. They therefore descend
thither, whither the matter that maintaineth them draweth them, & not their
way: which appeareth to be diuers in those two which wee beheld, whereas
the one moued toward the right hand, the other towards the left. But all Stars
haue their course in the same part, that is to say, contrarie to that of the Hea-
uens, which turneth from the East to the West, and the Stars quite contrarie:
they haue therefore a double motion, that of their owne, and that of the Hea-
uens, that carryeth them.

CHAP.

*That which the
Stoicks teach,
as touching Co-
mets.*

*Of two Comets
that appeared in
the time of
Claudius and
Nero.*

CHAP. XXII.

AM not of the Stoicks opinion, for I thinke not that a Comet is a
sudden fire, but that it is to be reputed amongst one of the eternal
workes of Nature. First of all, what I neuer the Aire createth, are of
short continuance, because they are made of a fleeting and muta-
ble subiect. For how can anything subsist long time in the same
sort in the Aire, when as the Aire it selfe neuer remaineth like it selfe? It doth no-
thing but turne and flow, and hath very little rest. In a moments space it is chan-
ged into another state then it was in before: now is it faire, now rainie, then in-
constant between both; for clouds are familiar with it, into which he gathereth
himselfe, and from which he is dissolued, which now assembe themselves, sud-
denly scatter, and neuer continue at rest. It cannot bee that a seled fire should
take his situation in a body so fleeting, and should cleaue vnto it so obstinately
as if nature had so appropriated it, that it should neuer bee separated from it.
Moreover, if it alwaies remained annexed to that which entertaineth the same,
it should neuer descend: for the neerer the Aire approacheth to the Earth,
the thicker it is, and neuer doth a Comet descend as farre as the lower Region of
the Aire, neither approacheth so neere vnto the Earth. The fire likewise moun-
teth thither, whither his nature carryeth him, that is to say, on high, or thither,
whither the matter to which it cleaueth, or that it feedeth, draweth him.

*The examination
of the Stoicks
opinion.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Ordinary and celestiall fires haue an oblique way. Circular moti-
on is the property of the stars, yet know I not whether any other
Comets haue done the like; two in our age haue done it. Again, all that which is kindled by a temporall cause, is quickly extin-
guished. So do Torches burne in passing by, so Lightnings haue
their force for a flash, so those Stars that are called transuerse and falling, flye
ouer and cut the Aire; no fires haue continuance but in their owne fire. Those
diuine Stars speake I of, which shall continue as long as the Heauen it selfe, be-
cause they are parts and the workmanship thereof. But these do something, they
goe, they infallibly follow their courses, and are equal. For they should every
other day become greater or lesse, if their fire were gathered and collected sud-
denly, & enkindled vpon some cause: for it should be lesse or greater, accord-
ing as it should be abundantly or sparingly entertained. I said of late that there
is nothing continuall which is inflamed by the corruption of the Aire: now
add I further, it neither can abide or stand by any means. For both a Torch,
and Lightning, and a shooting Starre; and whatsoeuer fire is expressed by the
Aire, stayeth not in a place, neither appeareth but while it is taller. The Comet
hath her siege, whence she is not so soone chased, but she finisheth her course
in measure, and is not extinguished suddenly, but wadeth by little and little:
if it were a wandering Starre, saith he, it should be in the Zodiacke. Who setteth
one limit for the Stars? Who driueth diuine things into a strait? The Planets
which thou only thinkest haue motion, haue diuers Circles. Why therefore
should there not be others, which might haue a way proper and peculiar from
that of the Planets? What is the cause that the Heauen is vnaccessible in some
place?

*The difference
betweene Stars
and Comets.*

*That which is
inflamed by the
corruption of
the Aire cannot
subsist.*

*Seneca seemeth
to encline in
some sort to this
opinion, that a
Comet is some
kind of wander-
ing Starre.*

place? If thou thinkest that no Planet may passe the Zodiack, I say that a Comet may haue his Circle so large, that in some place he may enter into the Zodiack. This is not necessary, but it may be.

CHAP. XXIV.

These reasons that moue him to produce this paradox.

Consider whether this becommeth not the greatnesse of Heauen better, that it be diuided into seuerall courses, then to imagine one only Circle wherein all the Planets haue their course, & that the rest remaine vnprofitable and idle. Beleeuest thou that in this so great and faire bodie, (amongst innumerable Stars, which by their diuers beautie adorne and distinguish the night, nor suffering the Aire to remayne void and inprofitable,) that there should be but only five Starres, to whom it should be lawfull to exercise themselves, whilest all the rest stand like a fixed and immouable multitude? If any man enquire of me in this place, why therefore is not the course of these as well obserued as of those five Stars? To him I will answer, that we grant that there are many things, but what they are we know not. All of vs will confesse, that each of vs hath a soule, by whose command we are impelled, and reuoked: but what this soule is which is the Ruler and Gouvernour ouer vs, euery man is as farre from telling thee, as hee is vncertaine where it is. Some will say that it is a spirit, another, that it is harmonie: That Man, a diuine thing, and like vnto God; This Man, a very subtil Aire, and that other; an incorporeall facultie: neither will there want some that will call it bloud; other some, heat. So that a man cannot know the truth of other things, who as yet hath not the perfect knowledge of himselfe.

CHAP. XXV.

That there is somewhat more in Comets then in other detectors of fire.

Why wonder we therefore that the Comets (which are a rare spectacle of Heauen) are as yet vnrestrained vnder certaine Lawes, and that neither their beginnings nor endings are knowne, hauing not their returne, but after a long space of time? There are not yet a thousand and five hundred yeares past, since Greece

Numbered and named the light some Starres:

One Age cannot know all things.

and many Nations are there at this day who know not the heauen but by sight, that as yet are ignorant why the Moone faileth, or suffereth an Eclipse: And these things amongst vs likewise haue bene lately reduced to a certaintie. The time shall come that these things which are now hidden shall be discovered by Time, and the diligence of future Ages. One Age is ouer-thort to seeke out these secrets, & a mans whole age is required to be spent in the contemplation of Heauen. Is it not a misery for vs that wee diuide this little time wee haue to liue, betwene serious and frivolous occupations? There shall bee diuers ages therefore that shall cleere these difficulties: The time shall come wherein our Posteritie shall wonder that we were ignorant of so manifest things: wee haue learned not long since in what time those five Planets, which we perceiue, doe rise and set, or stay; why they goe directly on, or recoile backward, and which hold-

holding so different courses, constrain vs to be curious. Not many yeares since it hath bin shewed vs, whether *Iupiter* riseth, or setteth, or is retrograde for so it is said, when he retireth. There haue bin some that haue said vnto vs: you erre, that iudge that any Star either suppresseth or turneth his course. Celestiall bodies haue their motion, neither can they be auerted, they all go forward as soon as they are sent, they goe. They shall bee no more when they cease to moue. This eternall worke hath irrevocable motions: which if they should at any time stay, the one should bee confounded in the other, whereas now the same tenure and equalitie conferueth them.

CHAP. XXVI.

Whence cometh it then that certaine Planets seeme to bee retrograde? The course of the Sunne imposeth on them this appearance of slow motion; besides, the nature and site of their courses. And Circles in such sort, that at sometimes they deceiue their sight that behold them. In this sort, Ships that saile with a fore-winde seeme not to stirre. The day will come when some one shall shew vs in what parts the Comets wander: why they obserue so different a course from other Stars, what and how great they are. Wee content our selues with those things that are found: Let those that succeed vs manifest the truth likewise for their parts. We see not, saith he, any thing that is vnderneath the Planets. Our eyes pierce the Comets. First, if this be so, it is not in that part where the Celestiall body is of a thick and solid fire, but there, where there is a brightnesse more rare, and in that part where the haire is scattered. Thou seest through the spaces of the fires, and not through them. All Stars (saith hee) are round, all Comets are extended, whereby it appeareth that they are no Starres: but who will grant thee this, that Comets are long? Whereas naturally according as other celestiall bodies are, they are formed round, but it is their brightnesse that extendeth it selfe. Euen as the Sunne spreadeth his beames farre and neere, and yet hath another forme then that which proceedeth from his beames: so the bodies of Comets are round, but their light appeareth more long, then that of the other Starres.

Of the retrogradation of certain Planets.

To maintain his opinion hee answereth to an objection that is made, that the Comets are more neerer the earth then the Planets and that they are of another forme

CHAP. XXVII.

Why (sayest thou?) Tell me first why the Moone receiueh a different light from that of the Sunne, when as she receiueh the same from the Sunne; whence is it that she is sometimes red, and sometimes pale? For what cause hath she a leaden and darke colour, when shee is excluded from the light of the Sunne? Make me vnderstand why all the Stars haue a different appearance the one from the other, and haue no resemblance with that of the Sunne. But as nothing hindereth them to be Stars, although they resemble not, so nothing hindereth the Comets from being eternall, and of the same condition that the Stars are, although they haue not the same appearance. And why? the World it selfe, if thou consider the same, is it not composed of diuers parts? whence is it that the Sun is alwayes burning in the Signe of *Leo*, and scorbeth the Earth with excessive

Another answer of Seneca to the Objection, that there is a difference between the light of the Comets and Planets.

H h h h

heat,

heat, and that in *Aquarius* he calleth on the Winter, and causeth the Rieers to freeze? All this is but one Sunne, although his nature and effects are diuers: within a short time after, he riseth in the Signe of *Aries*, and slowly fraileth on in that of *Libra*; yet both the one and the other Signe is of the same nature, although that in the one there is swift motion, and in the other slow progresse. Seest thou not how contrarie the Elements are the one vnto the other? They are heauie and light, cold and hot, moist and dry. All the harmonie of the world is composed of discords. Thou denyest that a Comet is a Starre, because the forme of the one is not answerable to that of the other. For thou seest how like that Starre is that fulfilleth his course in thirtie yeares, to that which finisheth his within the space of twelue moneths. Nature frameth not all her workes vpon one mold, but glorifieth her selfe in her varietie. Shee hath made some bodies greater, some more swift then others; some more violent, and some more tempered: There are some shee hath drawne from the troope, to the end they should march apart and in sight; other some hath she put into company: hee is wholly ignorant of the power of nature, that thinketh not that it is lawfull for her to doe that sometime which she doth often. Shee sheweth not Comets ordinarily, she attributeth vnto them another place, other times, & different motions from the rest: By these Comets she would embellish and beautifie the excellencie of her worke, and the face of the Comet is more faire, then that it should be esteemed casual: whether it bee we obserue their extent, whether their more cleere brightnesse, and more ardent then others. But their face hath some worthy and notable thing in it; for it is not refrayned and locked vp in a narrow roome, but is more large and spacious, and comprehendeth that which diuers Starres imbrace.

CHAP. XXVIII.



Omets signifie tempest, as *Aristotle* saith, and the intemperature of windes and raines. Thinkest thou then that that which prelageth a thing to come is not a Starre? For this is not in such sort a signe and preface of tempest as that is of raine, when

Where boyling Oyle doth cracke, and rotten mushrooms growes.

Or as it is a signe that the Sea will rage,

*When Moore-bens sport vpon the dryer Coast,
And leane the Marshes where they haunted most:
And th' Herne mounts vp and leanes the watry shroudes,
And soares aloft above the highest Cloudes,*

But as the Equinoctial prelageth heat or the cold of the yeare, that followeth, so the Chaldies say, that the Starre that gouerneth on the birth-day, seileth and prelageth the good or euill hap of men. But to the end thou mayest know that this is thus, the Comet threatneth not the Earth with winde and raine sodainly, (as *Aristotle* saith,) but maketh all the whole yeare suspected: whereby it appeareth that a Comet hath not suddenly drawne Prefages to reflect them vpon that which the meeteth withall, but shee hath them in referuation,

Prefage of Comets.

uation, and comprehended by the Lawes of the World: The Comet that appeared during the Consulship of *Paterculus* and *Vopiscus*, accomplished that which was foretold by *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*: For there were great and continuall tempests euery where. But in *Achaia* and *Macedon* the Cities were ruined by Earthquake. Their slow motion (saith *Aristotle*) sheweth that they are weightie, and haue much earthly exhalation in them: Their course likewise, for almost ordinarily they are pushed towards the Poles.

CHAP. XXIX.



Oth the one and the other is false: I will first speake of the former, why those things that are carried more heauily are more weighty? What then? Is the Planet of *Saturne*, which of all others hath his course more slowly, heauy? But it is a signe of leuitie in it, that it is aboue the rest. But the goeth about with a longer compass, and moneth not more slowly, but longer then the rest. Remember thy self that I may say as much of Comets, although their course be more slow. But it is a lye to say they goe more slowly, for this last hath trauesed the halfe of the Heauens in six moneths space: The former shapd his course in lesse time. But because that Comets are weighty, they are carried more low. First, that which is carried circularly, hath not a course in straight a Angle. Afterwards, this last began his motion in the North, and came by the West vnto the South, then raising her course vanished. The other vnder *Claudian* appeared first in the North, and ceased not to raise it selfe continually on, and vntill it was extinct. Hitherto haue I proposed other mens reasons, or mine owne, in respect of Comets: which, whether they be true or no, the Gods know, who haue the knowledge of truth. For vs it is lawfull to censure and coniecture vpon them in secret only, not with any confidence to find them out, but yet with some hope.

Senecaes opinion of that which is contained in the former Chapter.

CHAP. XXX.



RISTOTLE speaketh worthily, that we ought neuer to be accompanied with more modesty, then when we speake of the gods: if we enter the Temples with a good Countenance; if we approach the Sacrifice with abased eyes; if wee cast our Gownes ouer our faces; if wee compose our behaviour in the most humblest sort that may be: how much more ought we to doe this when wee dispute of fixed and wandring Stars, and of the nature of the gods; auoiding carelesly all rash, impudent, light, foolish, lying and malicious speech? Neither let vs wonder that those things are discovered lately, which lye hidden so deeply. It must needs concerne *Panetius*, and those that deny that a Comet is an ordinary Star, (affirming that it is but a vaine appearance) to intreat more exactly, if euery moneth of the yeare be equally apt to produce Comets; if euery Region of the heauens be fit to entertaine them, if they may be conceiued euery where, whereas they may wander: and other questions, all which are taken away, when I say that they are no casual fires, but interlaced in the Heauens, which they bring not forth frequently, but more them in secret. How many things are there besides Comets, that passe in secret, and neuer discover themselves to mans eyes? For

The use of the doctrine of Comets.

Senecaes answer to Panetius touching Comets.

H h h h 2

God

How God ought
to be considered.

God hath not made all things subiect to humane sight. How little see wee of that which is enclosed in so great an Orbe? Even he that manageth these things, who hath created them, who hath founded the World, and hath inclosed it about himselfe, and is the greater and better part of this his worke, is not subiect to our eyes, but is to be visited by our thoughts.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the weakness
of man's intelligence
in the consideration
and knowledge of celestiall things.



Here are many things besides, that are neere vnto the Diuinitie, and haue a power that approacheth neare vnto it, which are hidden, or happily which thou wilt more wonder at, haue filled our eyes, and fled from them; bee it that their subtiltie is so great, as the apprehension of human vnderstanding cannot reach therunto; or that so great a Maiesty remaineth hidden in so sacred a retreat, gouerning his Kingdome, that is himselfe, without suffering any thing to approach him, but the soule of man. We cannot know, what this thing is, without which nothing is; and we wonder if some small fires are vnkowne vnto vs, whereas God which is the greatest part of the World, is not subiect to our vnderstanding? How many liuing creatures haue we first knowne in this World? and many things likewise are there, that the people of succeeding age shall know, which are vnkowne vnto vs? Many things are reserved for the ages to come, when as our memory shall bee extinguished. The World is a little thing, except all men haue somewhat to obserue in it. Those things that are sacred are oftentimes taught. The Eleusians alwayes reserve some noueltie, to shew vnto those that reuise them. Nature discouereth not her secrets at once: we thinke that we are exercised in them, but we are but poore Nouices. Things that are so hidden, are not the subiects and objects of euery mans eyes: they are enclosed and shut vp in his most retyred Sacrarie. The ages wherein wee are shall see somewhat, the succedent another part: why, therefore shall these things bee brought into our knowledge. The greatest come slowly, especially when we cease to trauell after them. That which we wholly endeavour in our mindes, wee haue not yet effected, which is, to be most wicked: vices are but yet a learning: dissolution hath found some noueltie whereupon she may mad herselfe and dote. Impudicitie hath attracted some new thing to defame her selfe: The pompe and vanitie of this World hath inuented I know not what, more daintie and delicate then was accustomed, to confound it selfe: Wee are not as yet sufficiently effeminate, but extinguish by our disguises all that which remaineth of vertue; we will out-strip women in their vanities; we that are men, attyre our selues in colours like Harlots, which modest Matrons would be ashamed to thinke vpon: We Bride it in our walkes, and tread vpon tip-toe; wee walke not, but slip along. Our fingers are loaden with Rings, and there is not a ioynt that hath not a precious stone: We daily inuent, I know not what, to violate and vitiate manhood, and to defame it, because wee cannot shake it off. One hath cut off his members, another hath retyred himselfe into the most shameful and infamous place in the Theater, and being hired to die, is armed with infamie. The poore man likewise hath found a subiect, wherein to exercise his infirmities.

CHAP.

Disorders not of
Seneca's age
but ours, where-
in Pride warreth
no ornament.

CHAP. XXXII.



Underest thou that wisdom hath not as yet attained her perfection? Iniquitie is not yet wholly discouered. Shee is but new borne, and we bestow all our labour vpon her, our eyes and hands are at her seruice. Who is hee that seeketh after Wisdom? Who iudgeth her worthy any more but a superficiall knowledge? Who respecteth Philosophie or the liberrall studie thereof, but when the Playes and Pastimes are put downe or when it raineth, or when a man knoweth not how to lose the time? Therefore is it that so many Schooles of the Philosophers are emptie. The old and new Academie haue no Reader left them: Who is hee that will teach the Precepts of Pyrrhon? The Schoole of Pythagoras, (whose Scholars were so enuious) findes not a Master. The new Sect of the Sextians (more powerfull amongst the Romanes then any other,) hauing begonne with great vehemencie, is extinguished in his Infancie. Contrariwise, what care is there had that the name of some famous Stage-plaier should not bee obscured? The Families of Pylades and Batillus, two famous Players, continue by successions, there are diuers Schollers and a great number of Professors in those Sciences. Priuately through the whole Citie their Pulpit founderth: hither men and women trot. Both Husbands and Wives contend which of them shall bee neerer; afterwards hauing lost all shame, vnder their Maskes, they enter into Tavernes, caring in no sort what becomes of Philosophie. So farre are we there fore from comprehending any of those things which the Ancients haue left in obscuritie, that for the most part most of their inuentions are forgotten. But vndoubtedly, when we shall trauell with all our power after it, if sober and modest youth would studie this, if the Elders would teach this, and the younger learne it, yet scarcely should they find the depth of it, where truth is placed, which now we seeke with idle hands and about the Earth.

This conclusion is
such, that it
compleyeth of
the contempt of
Philosophie, and
the effluuie of
vanities, which
if it be not a mi-
sty of the times,
it is a curse of
man iudge.

The end of the tenth and last Booke of the Naturall Questions.

Hhhh 3

O P



OF
THE REST AND
RETIREMENT OF
A WISE-MAN:

Written by
LVCIVS ANNAEVS
SENECA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

I know not whether this be a Booke or an Epistle; yet is it to be severed from the booke of Blessed life, with which it hath no correspondence. Neyther know I when it was written; yet is both the matter and the handling thereof good and learned. The question was, Whether it were lawfull for a Wise-man to live privately and retired from the Common-weale? It was debated amongst the Stoicks, who by consent called men thereunto. He maintaineth the affirmative. And the beginning of this booke is missing, that which is extant intendeth thus much. He saith, by the example of the chiefest of the Stoiques, that this is both just and usuall, who although they sent some unto the Common-weale, yet themselves went not: But that some embraced honest repose, even from their youth; other some in their later dayes retired thither, like olde souldiers that had alreadye deserved their wages. But that honest repose is in the studies of wisdom, and contemplation of Nature. He addeth this, that these are pleasing both to the Stoicks and Epicures, but with some slight difference, because the one do purposely seeke out the Rest, the other upon occasion; Namely, if the Common-wealth be desperately corrupted, if a man have small authoritie and favour; likewise if he be infirme and sickly. He concludeth that even in retirement the Commonweale is handled; which he maketh double, the lesser and the greater; the one is concluded and comprehended in certaine bounds and Lawes, as the Athenian or Roman Common-weale: The other is the whole World it selfe, whereof Nature hath made vs Citizens. The greater, a Wise-man both manageth and handleth even in his rest and retirement, eyther by writing or teaching.

ing. This did ZENO, and CHRYSIPPVS, and more profited they mankind
then the labours and discourses of all active men.

Out of the XXVII. CHAPTER.



He Circi, by all mens consent, commend vices vnto vs. Although we attempt nothing else that is profitable for vs, yet shall it profit our selues in especiall, that we are able to retire our selues apart; and why is it not lawfull for vs to retire our selues to those that are the best men, and to chuse some patterne whereby we may direct our liues? which is not done in idleness. Then may a man build on that which is the best, when no man commeth betweene that may wrest the iudgement which as yet is but weake, by the assistance of the people. Then may the life march onward with an equall and setled pace, which we make vnprofitable by contrary deliberations: for among all other evils this is the worst, that we change our vices into other vices, in such sort, as we haue not that power ouer our selues to continue in one vice, which is already familiar vnto vs: we grow from one vnto another, and cause our selues to be tormented daily after some new manner. This likewise vexeth vs, that our iudgements are not onely deprauid, but slight and vaine: we fluctuate and comprehend one thing by another, we leaue that which we haue wished for, and runne after that which we haue forsaken. In brieue, there is a perpetuall turne and returne betweene our desire and our repentance. For we depend wholly on other mens aduice, and that seemeth the best in our iudgement, which is desired and praised by the most, and not that which we ought to desire and esteeme. Neither estimate we the good or euil way by it selfe, but onely by that which is most beaten, wherein euery one throngeth after another. Thou wilt say vnto me, What doest thou Seneca? Thou forsakest thine owne part. Truly the Stoicks say thus: We will be in action euen vntill the last terme of our liues, we will not desist to seeke out common good, to helpe euery one, to assist our very enemies, and to labour with our hands: we are they that giue not any vacation to our yeares, and who (as an eloquent man saith) hide our white haire vnder our helmets. We are they amongst whom it is so hard a matter to finde any tract of idleness before death, that (if the occasion offer it) euen in our death we employ our selues more then euer. Why talkest thou vnto vs of the precepts of Epicurus amidst the very principles of Zenos Doctrine? If thou be agrieved, and moued by following one partie, why forsakest thou them not honestly and courageously without betraying them? Behold what for the present I will answer thee; Requirest thou any more at my hands then this, that I endeavour to resemble my Masters and Conductors? What therefore wilt thou doe? I will tract that path which they leade mee, and not that way which they send me.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.



Ow will I approue vnto thee, that I forsake not the precepts of the Stoicks, for they themselves haue not departed from them, and yet might I be very well excused, although I followed not their precepts, but their examples. This which I say, wil I diuide into two parts: in the first I will shew how any man may from his infancie additt himselfe entirely to the contemplation of veritie, and seeke and exercise apart, the meanes how to order his life well. In the second, how in his olde age he may fashion other men, and make them vertuous. Herein wil I follow the custome of the vessall Virgins, which diuide and order their age in such sort, that they may learne first of all to vnderstand their ceremonies, and then to practise them, and finally, to teach them vnto others.

CHAP. XXX.



Will also shew that this is approued by the Stoicks; not that I am constrained to doe nothing that repugneth against the saying of Zeno or Chrysippus, but because the dispute permits mee to incline to their aduice; and to follow alwaies the opinion of one alone, is to offer iniurie to the rest. Gladly would I with it, that all things were already vnderstood, & that truth should be discovered & confessed by all men; we would not then change the opinions of the Stoicks: but now we seeke the truth with those men that teach the same. There are two great sects that differ in this thing, the one of the Epicures, the other of the Stoicks; but both of them send a man to his repose; but the truth is, that the waies are different. The Epicure saith, That a wise man shall not haue access to the Common-weale, except some accident happen that driueth him thereunto. And Zeno saith, That he shall not haue access to the Common-weale, except there be somewhat that retayneth him. The one seeketh repose of set purpose, the other vpon occasion and cause. But this cause extendeth very far, if the Common weale be so desperate as it cannot be helped, if it be possessed with mischiefs. The wise-man shall not labor in vaine, neither hazard himselfe, knowing that it will be but lost time, especially if he haue little credite and lesse forces, and that the Common weale be so sicke, that it neither can nor will giue him access or audience. Euen as a weak and consumed man will not enroll himselfe to go vnto the wars; and as no man will lanch a Ship into the Sea that leaketh, and hath wasting tymbers: so a wise-man will not cast himselfe into a way where there is neither entry nor any issue whatsoeuer. He then that hath all his commodities in their entire, may stay in the haue, and additt himselfe readily to good occupations, rather then make faile, and to go and cast himselfe athwart the winds and waues; in brieue, the disciple of vertues may embrace this happy repose, wherein the most peaceable men haue licence to maintaine themselves. This is required at each mans hands, that (if he may doe it) he profit diuers, at least wise som, if not his neere; or if he cannot, at least wise himself. For when he maketh himselfe profitable to others, he procures the common good. As contrariwise, he that makes himselfe worse, first of all hurteth himselfe, then all those whom he might assist had he bene a good man. So then he that behaueth himselfe well in his owne respect,

doth

doth hereby profit others, because he prepareth them the means whence they may reape profit.

C H A P. XXXI.

Et vs imagine two Common-weales, the one great and truly publique, the which comprehendeth both gods and men; wherein we cannot confine our eye within this or that limit, but wee measure the extent of the same with the Sunne: and the other, that where Nature hath caused vs to be borne. This shall be eyther Athens, or Carthage, or some other Citie, which appertaineth not vnto me, but to entertaine men onely. Some men at one time serue both these Common-weales, other some the lesser onely, and some other the great, and not the lesse. We may in repose serue this greater Common-weale, & I know not whether better in contemplation then in action; as if we enquire what vertue is, or if there be but one or diuers; whether it be nature or studie that maketh men vertuous: whether there be but one world that comprehendeth the seas, the firme lands, and that which is inclosed within them: or if God hath created diuers worlds, if the matter whereof all things are made, is continuat and complete, or in parcels: if there be void intermixed amongst those things that are solid: if God onely beholdeth his worke, or if he manage and gouerneth it: if he be spread about the same, and not inclosed, or if he be infused into all creatures: if the world be corruptible or incorruptible, and to be numbered amongst those things that haue end. What seruiceth he to God, that beholdeth and considereth these things? It is to that end, that the workes of God should haue such a man for a witnesse. Wee say vually that the foueraigne good is to liue according to Nature, which hath brought vs into this World, both for contemplation and action. Let vs now approue that which we haue said heretofore.

C H A P. XXXII.

This shall be well approued, if euery one aske himselfe how great desire he hath had to know vnknowne things, and how much he listeneth attentively to all fables that are recounted vnto him. Some trauell by sea, and expose themselves to the dangers of a long voyage, vnder hope to know some hidden things, and which few other men haue seene. The like desire assembleth the people in the Theaters. This compelleth vs to search out hidden things, and to seeke out those things that are secret, to turne ouer antiquities, and to examine the customes of forren Nations. Nature hath giuen vs a curious minde, and knowing the excellencie of her art and secret, hath created vs to be beholders of things so excellent. But she had bene frustrated of her intention, had she discovered in secret, workes of so great, so apparent, so exquisitely laboured, so proper, and of so diuers beauties. But to the end thou mayest know that the world would be beheld euery wayes, and not couertly or slightly, consider where she hath lodged vs. She hath placed vs in the midst of her selfe, and hath giuen vs the ouer-view of euery thing; and hath not onely created man vpriight, but also to the end he might

might behold the rising and setting of the stars, and carry his eyes on euery side; she hath raised his head, and planted it vpon his necke, which boweth and turneth at his pleasure. Afterwards, she hath produced fixe signes for the day, and six for the night, and hath left no part of her vndiscovered, to the end thereby that she might present them to the eye, and enkindle a desire in him to behold the rest. For we see not all things; and as touching those things which appeare vnto vs, wee see them not in their greatnesse: but our sight in searching them maketh way, and planteth the foundations of the truth, to the end that inquisition may passe from those things that are manifest to those that are obscure, and find somewhat more ancient then the world it selfe. As, where these celestiall bodies come, what was the estate of the world, before the parts therof were disposed, as now they bee: what reason hath discovered those things that were drowned and confused, who hath assigned places vnto things; whence cometh it, that those things that are waightie, are by their nature inclined downwards; and those things that are light mount vp on high? if besides the force & waight of bodies, some higher power hath imposed a law on all those things; if that be true, and which is more iustificable, that a man is a part of God, & that they are, as it were, sparkles which that holy fire hath caused to fall vpon the earth, and that remaine inclosed in this forren place. Our thought breketh thorow the bulwarkes of heauen; neither is contented with that which is shewed vnto it. I search, saith he, that which is beyond the world, whether it bee a deepe void, or some great extent inclosed, yet notwithstanding within certaine bounds. What is the habitude of those things that are excluded from our world, if they be informed and confused: if in euery part they haue equall place, if they be ordered to some vse, if they are belonging to our world, or far estranged from it; and whirle about in the void: if they be indiuiduall, whereof all things created are to be made, or if their matter entertaineth them, and is euery way mutable: if the elements are contrarie the one vnto the other, or if they be not at discord, but by diuers means entertaine one another. Being borne to seeke out these things, consider how small a time man hath receiued, although he employ himselfe wholly herein, although he permit no man to distract him, and were carefull to husband well euery minute of an houre, without losing one: although he liued longer then any other, without touch of any crosse or disaster whatsoeuer, yet is he ouer mortall, & of too small continuance to attaine vnto the knowledge of eternal things. So then I liue according to Nature, if I addict my selfe wholly vnto her, and admire and reuerence her. But her will is that I should intend to contemplation and action. I do both the one and the other, for contemplation is not without action. But we must see (sayest thou) if thou hast disposed thy selfe thereunto, to this end onely, to reape the pleasure without searching any other thing, then a continual contemplation and without issue; for this contemplation is a sweet and verie attractive thing. To this I answer thee, that it importeth as much as to demand, with what affection thou addichest thy selfe to a politique and actiue life? Is it to trauell alwaies, and without ceasing, in such sort as thou neuer raisest thy selfe from the consideration of humane things to diuine? Euen as it is vnlikely that a man can desire ought, or doe any work, except he first of all haue some science in his soule, and some loue of vertue (for these things desire to be mixed together, and compared the one with the other) so vertue, which is idle and without action, is an imperfect and languishing good, which neuer maketh shew of that which she hath learned. Who wil say that a vertuous man ought not to assay in actiō how

how much he hath profited? Dare any man maintaine that he ought to meditate only on that which he ought to do? Is he not tied also to exercise his hand sometimes, and to bring that which he hath meditated to a true effect? What if the delay be not in the wiseman himselfe, if there wanteth not an actor, but such things as are to be acted? What, wilt thou permit him to be with himselfe? With what mind doth a wife man retire himselfe? To the end he may know that he will act somewhat by himselfe that may profit posterity. Vndoubtedly we that are Stoicks doe maintaine that *Zeno* and *Chrysippus* haue done more in their solitude, then if they had conducted Armies, exercised publique charges, established lawes: for they haue proposed worthy lessons, not only to a Common-weale, but to all mankind: why therefore should not such repose become a good man, by means whereof he gouerneth the ages to come, and instructeth not only a small assembly of people, but teacheth all men that are living at this day, and that shall come hereafter into the World? In briefe, I aske if *Cleantes*, *Chrysippus*, and *Zeno*, haue liued according to their precepts? I assure my selfe that thou wilt answer me thus, that they liued so, as they said, men were to liue; but none of these gouerned a Common-weale. But, thou mayest reply, that they had not either the means, or qualities that were requisite in them that are admitted to the government of publique affaires. And I say for all that, that they liued not without doing somewhat, but haue found the means to make their solitude more profitable vnto mankind, then other mens ende-uours and labours. So then they haue done much, although they haue done nothing in publique. Besides, there are three sorts of life, amongst which, there is a question which is the best. The one intendeth pleasure, the other contemplation, the third action. First of all, laying aside all contention, and that irreconcilable hatred that we haue denounced against those who are of a contrary opinion to ours: let vs see if these three manners of liuing, do not iump in one, although they appeare vnder diuers titles. He that approueth pleasure is not without contemplation, and he that is contemplatiue enioyeth some pleasure; and he that addiceth himselfe to the actiue life, hath not wholly forsaken the contemplatiue. There is a great difference (sayest thou) whether that be one thing which a man proposeth, or a dependance of some proposition: vndoubtedly a great difference, and yet the one cannot be without the other. Neither is he without action, who is contemplatiue, neither doth the other doe any thing without contemplation. The third likewise, whom ordinarily we make worst account of, appeareth not an idle pleasure, but that wherein he confirmeth himselfe by reason. So this voluptuous sect likewise is in action. And why should it not be in action? When as the Epicure himselfe saith, that hee will sometimes retire himselfe from pleasure, and long after paine, if eyther penitence attend pleasure, or a lesser grieue bee taken for a more grievous. Whereto tendeth this discourse? To shew that a contemplatiue life is pleasing vnto all men. Some seeke after the same, it is our place of rest and not our part. Adde hereunto now, that, according to the precepts of *Chrysippus*, a man may liue without trauell, not to addicte himselfe vnto idleness, but make choyce of a commodious repose. The Stoiques maintaine, that a wife-man will beware lest he meddle with affaires of estate. But what skilleth it how a wife-man come vnto repose, is it because the Common-weale forsaketh him, or he forsaketh the Common-weale? If the Common-weale should leaue euery one there (as the searcheth not those who seeke her in despiight.) I aske you to what Common-weale a wife-man should retire himselfe? Shall it be to Athens?

Three sorts of life; the one of pleasure, the other of Contemplation, the third of action.

thens? In which *Socrates* is condemned, and from whence *Aristotle* fled, for feare he should be condemned? where Envy smothereth all Vertues? Thou wilt grant me this, that a Wiseman should not retire thither: if he should goe & liue in that of Carthage, troubled with continuall seditions, enemies of their libertie who are good men: where Equitie and Goodnesse are basely prized, where enemies are rudely and cruelly intreated, and where Citizens themselves are pursued as Enemies. He will flee that place likewise. If I should represent other vnto thee, I should not find one that might support a Wiseman, or be supported by a Wiseman. And if we find not this Commonweale, which we imagine, the repose beginneth to be necessary for all; considering, that that alone which might be preferred before repose, is found in no part. Put case that some one say, that it is good to embarke, but that we must not make faile vpon that Sea, wherein Ships are drowned ordinarily, and which is agitated with sudden gulls, which carry away the most expert Pilots out of their course: I thinke that such a one forbiddeth me to weigh Anchor, although he prayeth Navigation.

The end of the Booke of a Wisemans Rest and retirement.

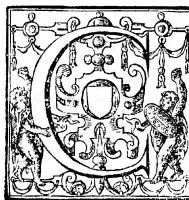
III

CER.



CERTAINE COLLECTIONS
GATHERED OVT OF
SENECAES
BOOKES.

Of Pouertie.



Contented Pouertie, as the Epicure saith, is an honest thing; but it is not now Pouertie, if it bee content. Hee that agreeth well with his Pouertie is a rich man: he is poore that desireth much, not hee that hath little; for what profiteth it a man to haue much in his Coffers, to hoord vp much in his Barnes, to feed much cattell, and lend much vpon vsury, if hee thirsteth after another mans fortunes, if hee desire not those things which are gotten, but such as are to be attained? Askest thou me what measure there is in riches?

First, to haue that which is necessary, secondly, that which is sufficient: no man can be possessed of a peaceable and contented life, that tormenteth himselfe much about the enlargement thereof. There is no good whatsoever that profiteth him that possesseth the same, except that which wee are addressed and willing to lose. By the Law of Nature the greatest riches are but a composed Pouertie. But knowest thou what bounds the Law of Nature hath allotted vs? Not to be hungry, not to bee at last, not to be cold. To satisfie and assuage thy thirst thou hast no need to attempt the Seas, nor follow the Warres: the thing that Nature desireth is easily gotten, & readily set before thee. We sweate for superfluities. They are those that weare out our apparell, that compell vs to waxe olde, that driue vs vpon forreine forces: it is at hand that may suffice vs. If a man suppose not that which he hath to be ample enough, although he be Lord of the whole World, yet is he miserable. Wretched is hee that iudgeth not himselfe to be most blessed, although he command not the whole World: he is not happy that thinks not himselfe happy. We haue nothing which may be taken from vs, that may profit them greatly that lye in waite for it: let there be very little in thy bodie that may be taken from thee. There is no man, or very few at leastwise, that thirst after Mans blood for Murther-like onely.

The Thiefe passeth by the man that is naked, the poor man hath peace in a way beleagred with Theeues. He hath most fruit of his riches that wanteth least. If thou liuest according to nature, thou shalt neuer be poore; if according to opinion, neuer rich: Nature desireth a little, opinion a great deale. If thou bee laden with as many goods as diuers rich men possesse, if beside these particular riches

riches Fortune raise thee to honours, couereth thee with Gold, clotheth thee in Purple, bringeth thee to such a height of delights and riches, that thou couerest the Earth with Marble Pillars, that thou not only handiest Gold & Silver, but treadest vpon it; that besides all this, thy Chambers be garnished with Statues and Pictures, and all that which cunning could represent, either rare or exquisite in Gold or Silver: these things will teach thee to desire more greater. Naturall desires are finite, they that spring from false opinion haue neither end nor measure: for falsitie hath no limit, truth hath some end; error is infinite. Retire thy selfe therefore from these vanities, and when thou wouldst know whether thou hast a naturall or vaine desire, behold if it stay in any part or no: if hauing gone farre onward thou alwaies findest somewhat farther off to be achieved, know that this is not naturall. That pouerty which is expedite, is secure. When the allarum is sounded, the knoweth that thee is not sought after: when the Armie is commanded to dislodge, the seeketh how to issue, not what to carry with her. But if she must make saile, the Hauen hath no noyle in it, the shores are not pestered with many Attendants. A troope of men attend her not to nourish, when the need not with for the felicitie of forreine Countries: it is an easie matter to feed a few bellies that are well gouerned, and desire nought else but to be filled. Hunger is satisfied with a little, but Excesse with much: Pouertie is content to satisfie her instant desires: well aduised is that rich man that hauing great store of riches, possesseth them as things that may bee taken from him. What moues thee then to refuse such a one for thy companion, whose manners a discrete Wiseman doth imitate? If thou wilt gouerne thy minde well, either thou must be poore, or like vnto a poore man. Thou canst not study any thing that may profit thee except thou haue a care of Frugalitie, and this Frugalitie is a voluntary Pouertie. Whole Armies haue diuers times bene destitute of all things, the Souldiers haue fed vpon Rootes and Hearbes, and haue suffered Famine too loathsome to be spoken. And all this haue they suffered for a Kingdome, and which thou wilt wonder at more for another man: Is there any man that will doubt to endure Pouertie to deliuer his minde from these furious passions? Many in obtaining worldly riches, haue not seene the end of their miserie, but only the change. Neither wonder I herat. The fault is not in the riches, but in the mind it selfe. That which made Pouertie seeme tedious vnto vs, will make our riches burthen some likewise. Even as it skillerth not whether you place a sicke man in a wooden or golden Bed; (for whither soeuer you shall carry him he beareth his sicknesse with him:) so it matters not whether a sicke mind bee in Riches or in Pouerty, for his mischiefe followeth him. We haue no need of Fortune to liue securely: for whatsoever is necessary she will giue, although she be displeased. For feare thee find vs vnprepared, let Pouertie be familiar with vs: we shal be more securely rich, if we know how easie a thing it is to bee poore. Begin to accustom thy selfe to Pouertie:

*Be bold my Guest to set thy wealth at naught,
Resembling God in nature and in thought.*

There is no man more worthy of God then hee that hath condemned Riches. And therefore I hinder thee not from the possession of goods, but this would I effect, that thou shouldst possesse them without feare, which thou shalt attaine vnto by this one meane, if thou hopest that thou likewise shalt liue well without them, and beholdest them as things that are transitorie. Let him passe who

followeth not thee, but something that is in thee. For this cause onely is pouertie to be beloued, because it discouereth by whom thou art esteemed: it is a great matter not to be corrupted with the fellowship of riches. Great is that man who is poore in his riches. No man is borne rich. Whosoever entereth into this world, is commanded to content himselfe with bread and milke. From the beginning Kingdomes attend vs not. Nature requireth bread & water. He that hath these is not poore; and if he boundeth his desires in these, he shall contend with *Iupiter* in felicity: felicity is a disquiet thing; she tormenteth herselfe, she discompereth the braine in more then one sort. She prouoketh some to braue it, some to counterfeit grauity, some she maketh proud, other some she humbleth. If thou wilt know how little euill there is in pouertie, compare the countenance of a poore and rich man, one with the other: the poore man laugheth more often, and more heartily; he is shaken with no care, he is above the tempests of this world. His care passeth ouer like a slight cloud: their mirth (who are called Fortunes minions) is fained: this mans grieuous and intollerable pride, although not openly, yet is inwardly his torment, and so much the more grieuous, because that sometimes they haue not liberty to be publicly miserable. But among those disgusts that torment and swell vp their hearts, they are enforced to counterfeit their happinesse; riches, honours, powers, and such like, which draw vs from the right, which in mens opinion are precious, but in effect vilde. We know not how to praise those things, whereof we ought not to determine according to common report, but according to the nature of the things themselves. These things haue nothing magnificent in them, that may allure our minds vnto them, except this, that we are accustomed to admire them. For they are not praised because they are to be desired, but because they are desired. This precedent cause haue riches: they change the minde, they breed pride and arrogancie, they draw on enuie, they so farre estrange the mind that the same of the money delighteth vs, although it be harmfull vnto vs. All good things ought to be without fault, they are pure, they neither corrupt nor sollicit the minde, yet they extoll and delight mens mindes, but without any pride. Those things that are good make men confident, riches make men audacious. Those things that are good, giue vs greatness of minde, riches insolencie.

OTHER



OTHER COLLECTIONS.

Of the remedies of casualties.



Although thou art fully possessed with all the flowers of Poetrie, yet debated & resolu'd I with my selfe at length to dedicate this little Worke vnto thee, concerning casuall remedies, which tho the precedent times speake not of, Posteritie shall respect. From whence therefore shall we first take our beginning? If thou thinkest it fit, from death. What, from the last? Yea, from the greatest. Hereat Muskeade doth most especially tremble; neither without cause, in thy iudgement, do they so. All other feares leaue some place after them.

death cutteth off all things. Other things torment vs, but death deuoureth all things. The issues of all that which we feare & are affrighted at, after they haue long time followed vs and attended vs, haue their period in this: yea, even those who thinke they feare nothing, yet notwithstanding are afraid of death. All other things which we feare may find some redresse or solace. So therefore forme and conforme thy selfe, that if any man threaten thee openly with death, thou mayest delude all his threats and slight feares.

Thou shalt dye: This is mans nature, and not his punishment. Thou shalt dye: vpon this condition entred I the World, that I must leaue it. Thou shalt dye: it is the Law of Nations to restore that which thou hast borrowed. Thou shalt dye: life is but a Pilgrimage, when thou hast travelled long, thou must returne home. Thou shalt dye: I thought thou wouldst tell me some newes; to this end I came into the World, this I doe euery day conducteth me thereunto. Nature when I was borne forth with prefixed me this limit: why should I be displeased herewith? I am sworn to obey her. Thou shalt dye: it is a foolish thing to feare that which thou canst not auoyde. Hee escapeth not death that deferreth it. Thou shalt dye: neither the first nor the last; many haue gone before me, and all shall follow me. Thou shalt dye: this is the end of all that I ought to doe; what old man would not be glad to be exempted from seruice? Whither the World passeth thither shall I passe. To this end are all things created. That which begonne must haue an end. Thou shalt dye: nothing is grieuous that happeneth once. I know that I must pay that which I owe. I haue contracted with a Creditor that will not lose his debt. Thou shalt dye: there can be no better newes, or more happy threat to mortall men.

But thou shalt be beheaded: what care I whether I dye by the stroake, or by the stab? But thou shalt haue many stroakes, and thou shalt see diuers Swords

vnheathed against thee. What matters it how many the wounds; there can no more but one be mortall.

Thou shalt dye in a strange Country. The way to death is in euery place. I am ready to pay that which I owe. Let the Creditor see to it, where hee will arrest me. Thou shalt dye in a strange Country. There is no Earth that is strange to him that dyeth. Thou shalt dye in a strange Country. Sleep is no more grievous abroad then it is at home. Thou shalt dye in a strange Country. This is to returne into a mans Country without prouision.

But thou shalt dye yong. It is the best that may befall a man to dye before he witheth it. This is the only thing that concerneth the yong, as well as the old. We are neither cited according to our reuenewes or yeares. The same necessity of destiny constraineth both yong and old. It is best for a man to dye, when he hath a desire to liue. Thou shalt dye yong. Whosoever commeth to the last period of his Destiny, dyeth old. For it killeth not what the age of man is, but what his terme is. Thou shalt dye yong. It may bee that Fortune retyreth mee from some great mishap, and if from nought else, at least wife from old age. Thou shalt dye yong. It killeth not how many yeares I haue, but how many I haue receiued. If I cannot liue longer, this is mine old age.

Thou shalt lye vnburied. What other thing shall I answer thee, but that of Virgils?

Slight is the losse of sepulture.

If I feele nothing, I need not care whether my bodie be burned or no; and if I be sensible, euery sepulture is a torment.

Heauen conuers him that hath no pointed Tombe.

What matters it whether fire or wilde beast consume me, or the earth which is the sepulture of all things? This to him that hath no sense, is nothing, and to him that hath feeling a burthen. Thou shalt bee vnburied. But thou shalt bee burned, but then drowned, but then imprisoned, and locked in a Tombe; but thou shalt rot, and be embowelled and sowed vp, or cast into the hollow of a stone, which shall consume and dry thee by little and little. There is no sepulture, we are not buried, but cast out. Thou shalt not be buried. Why art thou afraid amidst thy most securitie? This place is out of feare and danger. We are indebted much vnto life, to death nothing. Sepulture was not inuented for the dead sake, but for the liuing, to the end that our bodies, which in sight and smell are most lothsome, should be hidden from our eyes: some the Earth ouerwhelmeth, some the flame consumeth, some are shut vp in stone, that will returne nothing but bones. We spare not the dead, but our owne eyes.

I am sicke. The time is now come wherein I must make prooue of my Vertue. A confident man not onely discovereth himselfe vpon the Sea, and in the Battell, but Vertue approueth her selfe euery in the Bed. I am sicke. This cannot continue for an Age. Either I shall leaue mine Ague, or mine Ague will leaue me. We cannot be alwaies together. The question is betwixt mee and sicknesse, whether it will be conquered, or I overcome.

Men speake euill of thee. But euill men. It would moue me, if Marcus Cato, if Lelius the wiseman if the other Cato, if the two Scipios spake these things. In this time it is a matter prayse-worthy to displease the wicked. That sentence can haue no authority, where hee that is condemned doth condemne. Men.

speake

speake euill of thee. It would moue me, if they did it vpon iudgement, but now they doe it vpon infimtie. They speake not of mee, but of themselves. Men speake euill of thee; they doe it therefore because they cannot speake well: not because I deserue it, but because they are accustomed vnto it. For there are some Dogges; of that nature, that they barked rather vpon custome then curtnesse.

Thou shalt be banished: thou art deceived: when I haue done all that I may, I cannot passe out of my Country. All men haue one Country, and out of this no man may wander. Thou shalt be banished, I am not forbidden my Country, but the place. Into whatsoever Country I come, I come into mine owne. I can be banished into no place, for it is my Country. Thou shalt not be in thy Country. That is my Country wherefoeuer I liue well. But to liue well is in the man, and not in the place: In his power it is what his fortune shall be. For if he be wife, he trauelleth; if a Foole, he is banished. Thou shalt be banished: thou sayest thus; Thou shalt be a Citizen in another Citie.

Sorrow is at hand; if it be slight, let vs endure it, patience is an easie thing to support. If it be grieuous, the glorie is the greater. Let paine extort cries, so he expresse not secrets. A man cannot resist paine, neither paine reason. Paine is a tedious thing, nay rather thou art effeminate. Few men could endure paine. Let vs be one of the few. We are weak by nature. Defame not Nature, she created vs strong and valiant. Let vs flye paine. And why? Knowest thou not that he followeth those that flye from him?

Pouertie is grieuous vnto me, nay, thou vnto pouertie. The error is not in pouertie, but in the poore man. She is ready, ioyfull, & assured. I am poore. In opinion, but not in truth. Thou art poore, because thou thinkest thy selfe so. I am poore. The Birds want nothing. Tame beasts liue their time, wilde beasts find food in their solitude.

I am not powerfull, be glad, thou shalt not be impotent. I may receiue an iniurie. Be glad, thou canst not doe any. He hath great store of mooney. Iudgeth thou him to be a man? it is his meanes? Who enuieth a treasure or full Coffers? And this man, whom thou supposedst to be Master of this Mooney, is but the bag that shutteth it vp. He hath much. Whether is he couetous or prodigall? if couetous, he hath nothing: if prodigall, he shall haue nothing. This man, whom thou supposedst to be happy, is often sad, doth often sigh. Many accompany him. Flies follow after Honey; Wolves after carrion; Ants after Wheate. This troope followeth their prey, and not the man. I haue lost my Mooney. It may be it would haue lost thee. I haue lost my Mooney, but thou haddest it. I haue lost my Mooney. Thou shalt be no more in so great danger. I haue lost my Mooney, how happy art thou, if thou hast lost thy couetousnesse with the same? But if thee remayne with thee, yet art thou happy in some sort, because thou hast neither Wood nor Oile to cast into so horrible a fire. I haue lost my Mooney. And thy Mooney hath lost and spoiled an infinite number of men. Thou shalt be now more light to walke on thy way, and more assured in thy house. Thou shalt neither haue nor feare an heire. Fortune hath disburthened thee, if thou conceivest the same, and settest thee in a more secure place. Thinkest thou it to bee thy wrong? It is thy remedie. Thou weepst, thou waylest, thou cryest, as if thou wert vn-done, because thy riches haue bene taken from thee. It is thine owne fault that this losse doth torment and touch thee so neere. If thou hadst possessed them as things that might perish, thou wouldest not torment thy selfe thus. I haue lost my Mooney; another had lost it before, to the end thou shouldest haue it.

I haue lost my sight. Night and obscurity haue their pleasures. I haue lost my sight. From how many desires art thou exempted? How many things shalt thou want, which rather then thou shouldst see, thou thy selfe wouldest pluck out thine eyes. Knewest thou not that bodily blindnesse is a part of innocence? The eye discouereth vnto one man an adultery, to another locest, to this man a house which he desireth, to that man a Towne; in briefe all sorts of mischiefs. Vndoubtedly, the eyes are the flings of vices, and the guides of wickednesse.

I haue lost my children. Thou art a Foole to bewaile the death of those that are mortall. Is this a noueltie, or a thing to be wondered at? Is there any house exempt from this accident? Callest thou a Tree miserable, whose fruit falleth to the ground whilest his branches mount aloft? Thy child is thy fruit. No man is exempt from these strokes, vntimey Funerals are led as well out of the Artificers shop, as the Kings Pallace. Destinie and age haue not the same order. A man departeth not out of the World in the same sort as he entered. But why art thou vexed? What hath happened contrary to thy hope? Those that ought to dye are dead. Yet could I haue wished that they might haue liued. But no man promised thee thus much. My Children are dead. They had them who had greater right vnto them then thou? They were **only** lent thee. Fortune left thee them to bring them vp, shee hath retayned them, and hath away nothing but her owne.

I haue suffered shipwracke. Berbinke thee not what thou hast lost, but what thou hast escaped. I came naked to the shoare. But thou gottest to land. I haue lost all: but thou mightest haue bene drowned with the rest.

I fel into the hands of Theeues. But another man hath met with Detractors, another with Theeues, another with Coozeners. The way is full of dangers. Complainenot thou that thou hast met with them, rather reioyce that thou art whole and in saferie. I haue greivous Enemies, Even as thou seekest out means to defence thy selfe against the fury of sauge beasts, and the venome of Serpents: so see thou fortifie thy selfe with some succours against thine Enemies, by meanes whereof thou mayest repulse them or repress them, or which is more assured and better, make thy selfe gracious in their eyes.

I haue lost a friend. It is true then that thou hadst one. I haue lost a friend. Seeke out another in some part where thou mayest find him. Seeke amongst the Liberrall Sciences, amongst those occupations that are iust and honest, in the shops of Artificers. This treasure is not fought out at the table. Seeke out some one that cares not for good cheere, but is frugall. I haue lost my friend. Shew thy selfe to be a braue fellow, if thou hast but lost one, blissh; if an only friend: why trustedst thou to one Anchor in so great a tempest?

I haue lost a good Wife. Didst thou find her good, or make her good? If thou foundest her by chance, thou mayest hope to light vpon the like. If thou madest her good, hope well: the patterne is lost, but the Craftesmaster is liuing. I haue lost a good Wife. What allowedst thou in her? Her chastitie? How many women are there found, that hauing maintained their honor a long time, haue lost it at last? Was it her modesty? How many haue bin numbred in the ranke of most honest Matrons, that afterwards were Scolds and railers? Wert thou delighted in her loyalte? How many of the best Wiues haue wee scene proue naught, of the most diligents, the most dissolute. The minds of all vnskillfull persons, especially women, is subiect to incōstancy. If thou hadst a good Wife, thou couldest not maintaine that shee would alwaies remaine in that estate. There is not any thing so inconstant and vnassured as the will of women. We know the diuorces

of

of ancient Matrimonies, and the brawles of married couples, more hateful then Diuorces. How many are there that hauing affectionately loued their wives in their youth, haue forsaken them in their age? How oftentimes haue we laughed at the Diuorces of old and married folkes? How manies nored loue, hath been changed into more notable hatred? But this was both good, and would haue continued good had she liued. Death is the cause that thou mayest boldly maintaine this. I haue lost a good Wife; if thou seekest none but a good Wife thou shalt find her. Study thou not about the antiquitie of her race, or the Nobilitie of her Ancestors, or on her worldly Possessions, which men prize now a daies more then Nobilitie. These together with her beautie will much trouble thee; more easily shalt thou gouerne a mind that is not puffed vp with vanitie. A woman that is too proud of her selfe, will make small reckoning of her Husband. Marrie with a Maid, that is well brought vp, & not tainted with her Mothers vices. A Maid that beareth not her Fathers & Mothers bequest at her eares, that is, not loaden with Rings and Jewels, nor clothed in such apparell, as cost more then she brought vnto her Marriage. Nor that causeth her selfe to be drawne in her Coach thorow the Citie, and to behold the people as boldly, and on both sides, as shee would her Husband. Nor such an one for whom thine house will seeme too little to containe her carriage and Equipage: Thou shalt worke that maiden according to thy minde, which hath not as yet bene corrupted by those dissolutions that are in publike request. I haue lost a vertuous Wife. Art thou not ashamed to weep, & to call thy losse intollerable? This only thing wanteth, whether thou bewailest thy Wife or no. In remembering thy selfe that thou art a Husband, remember also that thou art a man. I haue lost a good Wife. A man cannot recouer a good Mother or a good Sister, but a woman is an accessary good, and is reckoned amongst those which euery one cannot meet with but once in his life time. I haue lost a good Wife. I can name thee many men, that hauing bewailed a good Wife, haue met a second farre better then the first.

Death, banishment, paines, sorrowes, are no punishments, but tributes which wee must pay vnto this life. Destinie sendeth no man out of this World, without giuing him some stroke. Happie is he that esteemeth himselfe such, and not he who is esteemed such by others. But

consider that this happines is rare in this World.

It hath neere vnto it misery, and sorroweth something of it.

The end of SENECAS Workes.



ATable wherein *Senecaes* Paradoxes and other Stoicall vanities
are set downe, to the end that such as are of weakest iudgement
and apprehension, may both know, and be more cir-
cumpect in iudging of them

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|--|--|
| <p>1 <i>It is a thanksgiving for a benefit when a man receiveth it with a good will.</i></p> <p>2 <i>The vertuous child doth more good unto his father, then he hath received from him.</i></p> <p>3 <i>Of the names of God, & if so many presents as he bestoweth on vs, should be as many names as a man might bestow upon him.</i></p> <p>4 <i>Thou art not to think that there are but seven wandering stars, & that the rest are fixed.</i></p> <p>5 <i>The wicked and the foolish man is not exempt from any vice.</i></p> <p>6 <i>Of the power of God.</i></p> <p>7 <i>That sometimes we ought not to recompence the good turne which we have received.</i></p> <p>8 <i>The Wiseman satisfieth the rich man for the Gold and Silver he offereth him by one refusal.</i></p> <p>9 <i>Whether a man may give unto himselfe, & requite himselfe.</i></p> <p>10 <i>That no man is good, wicked, or ungratfull.</i></p> <p>11 <i>All men are ungratfull.</i></p> <p>12 <i>If a Wiseman may receive a benefit, and pleasure from another man, considering that he is Lord of all things.</i></p> <p>13 <i>Of divers sorts of benefits.</i></p> <p>14 <i>Of the resemblance and difference betwixt God and good Men.</i></p> <p>15 <i>If Iupiter would give his eyes upon the Earth, I thinke that hee might not see any thing more faire, then Cato was at such time as he slew himselfe.</i></p> <p>16 <i>Of fatall Destinies.</i></p> <p>17 <i>One and the same necessity chaineth both Gods and Men.</i></p> <p>18 <i>Death is in the power & will of a man to kill himselfe, & to depart out of this World when he thinketh fit, without expecting the good will and pleasure of God.</i></p> | <p>19 <i>The rich man cannot be rich except he be poore.</i></p> <p>20 <i>Remedies against divers accidents of this life.</i></p> <p>21 <i>Our infirmities may be healed, & nature which hath created vs to tend unto good, aideth vs when we desire her to become better.</i></p> <p>22 <i>Why mournest thou? on which side sooner thou turnest thy selfe, there is the end of thine evils.</i></p> <p>23 <i>Mercy or compassion is an imperfection of the soule of affections.</i></p> <p>24 <i>If a Wiseman pardoneth.</i></p> <p>25 <i>Of happy Life, and of perfect Vertue.</i></p> <p>26 <i>Wherein consisteth the souveraigne good.</i></p> <p>27 <i>The praise of that Epicure who cut his own throat.</i></p> <p>28 <i>That a Wiseman ought not to intermeddle with affaires of Estate.</i></p> <p>29 <i>Of an imperfect and perfect Wiseman.</i></p> <p>30 <i>Death is neither good nor evil, for that may be either good or euill, which is something, but that which is nothing, & reduceth all things to nothing; neither subiecteth vs to good or to euill.</i></p> <p>31 <i>Of the purgation of the soule above vs, where she maketh a little stay to cleanse her selfe from the spots that remaine in her.</i></p> <p>32 <i>Of the end of the World, & of the resolution of soules into their ancient Elements.</i></p> <p>33 <i>Of the Creator of all things, and of the immutable succession of things that are chained the one within the other.</i></p> <p>34 <i>Death is not a punishment, but the ordinance of Nature.</i></p> <p>35 <i>Iupiter after the consumption of the world, all the gods being deriued into one, and nature reposing</i></p> |
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PARADOXES.

reposing her selfe a little, shall content himselfe with himselfe, and shall governe his thoughts.
36 It is a great misery to be constrained to live, it is no constraint to be constrained to live; there is no man that may be hindered from forsaking this life.

37 Dying we are worse then we were when we were borne.

38 Of two sorts of Wisemen.

39 God dwelleth in every good man, but we know not what God he is.

40 I thinkest thou for the present what I call a good man? He which is imperfectly: for the other which is perfectly wise appeareth not but by chance one time in five yeares, as the Phoenix; & we ought not to be abashed, if the generation of great things requireth a great distance.
41 Of the source of disorder which is in the soule.

42 The short life of a Wiseman hath as much extent for him as the long life of God. There is likewise something wherein a Wiseman marcheth before God, which is, that God is wife by the benefit of nature, & not by imitation & diligence.

43 We deceiue our selves to thinke that life followeth death, when as death had gone before, and life followeth it.

44 If the soule of a man being hidden under the ruines of a Tower or Mountaine, cannot be deliuered from the body, nor find issue, but spreadeth it selfe incontinently thorow all the members, because she hath no free issue.

45 If by reason of continuall paine it be lawful for a man to murder himselfe.

46 Of perfect Vertue in this life.

47 Of the equalitie of Vertues, and wherein lieth their difference.

48 Of reason and the souereigne good.

49 Of the behaviour of a Wiseman in death.

50 If it lyc in our owne power to dispose of our liues as we please.

51 Of the Stoicks Wiseman.

52 Iupiter can doe no more then a Wiseman.

53 Three sorts of Philosophers.

54 Stoicall inductions to perswade a man to murder himselfe.

55 The estate of the soule before it entrench into the body, and after it hath left it.

56 That no man but a Wiseman can requite a good turne which is receiued.

57 If a Wiseman be without passions or no?

58 Of happy life and the chiefeest good.

59 A happy man is perfectly happy.

60 Of the golden Age and the first men.

61 Of the inuention of Arts and Occupations.

62 That the firmity and felicity of a Wiseman (imagined perfect in this present life) is in himselfe.

63 The souereigne good is in this life, & cannot receive increase.

64 This World wherein we are contained, is one, is God, whose members and companions we are.

65 A dead man is no more.

66 That which we call good is a body.

67 Vertues and other things, yea, these accidents which are without subiect and forme, are Animals and bodies.

68 If it bee better to haue moderate affection, or to haue none at all.

69 Wisdome is a good thing, to be wife is not.

70 Nothing seemeth more dishonest then to wish for death. It is in thine owne power to dye when thou wilt.

71 God is the soule of the World: it is all that which thou seest, & all that which thou seest not.

72 Of the vniuersall deluge by water which shall ruine the World.

73 Of the end of the World by an vniuersall deluge.

74 If the Heauen turneth, and the Earth standeth still, or if the Heauen be immouable, and the Earth turneth. If the Heauen falleth continually, vnperceiued, because it falleth into that which is infinite.

75 Of Comets.

76 The nourishment of the flesh is a sauaige life and beastly.

77 There is nothing good but that which is good.

78 Vertue is sufficient for her selfe, to liue well and happily.

79 Sins are equal, and vertuous actions likewise.

80 All imprudent men are mad.

81 All Wisemen are exempt and free: contrariwise, all imprudent men are vicious & slauish.

82 No one but a Wiseman is rich.

83 The summe of certaine dangerous Paradoxes of the Stoicks.



AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE, CONTAINING ALL THE PRINCIPALL THINGS MENTIONED IN THIS WHOLE VOLUME.

A	Pag.	Many examples to proue it, 502.
Accidents: Why wee esteeme extraordinary accidents, 867.		Great mens afflictions should consist vs, 707. Examples thereof 708. The vse thereof, 709. Afflictions that are scene, are sleight, 720. Others afflictions should make vs diligent ours, and examples thereof, 724, &c. an excellent courage must cast off affliction, 741.
Accidents in Earthquakes, 883		Africanus, his Country-house, 353
Achilles, no Coward, 82		Age, one age cannot know all things, 900
Accius, the Poet, 3		Agrippa, the sonne, did honour to Agrippa the father. 59
Academicks, consulted touching true happinesse, 297, to 300		Aire, what it is, 782. Aire a necessary part of the World, 783. The forme of aire, 784. How aire is mixt, 785. The situation of the aire, 786. Why it is mutable, <i>ibid.</i> Three things in the aire, 787. Whether it draw fire, or be inflamed, 788. The Stoicks opinion of the inflammation, <i>ib.</i> How the aire is effectually in Thunders, 794. Ayre conuerted to water, 815. The lowest region of the aire most darke, 845. More of the aire, 852. Why the aire is pestilent and mortall, 883
Action, laudable actions ought to be continued without exception, 3		Alexander, his scorn to the Corinthians, 13. His indiscretion, 27. His boast, 97. His vanitie, 860
Good actions not to bee deterred by any occurrents, <i>ibid.</i> How to dispose actions, 193, &c. Actions crowned by the intent, 76. what a man doth, 245, &c. The fruit of vnworthie actions, 686		Alexandrian Eclete, 320
Admiration, accompanied with Detraction, the strange effects, 80, &c.		Ambition, to flie ambitious persons, 252, &c.
Adulterie, thought honest, 9. More frequent then any vice, 10		
Adulterius Liberalis, his character, 94		
Aeneas, his loue to his father Anchises, 62		
Aeschines, his loue vnto Socrates, 8		
Affaires, which be to be omitted, 199. They are no hindrances to a good minde, 273		
Afflictions honorable and profitable, 499. Proued by examples and similitudes, 500. It turneth to the good of the vertuous, and the reasons, 501.		

THE TABLE.

<i>Amphimachus</i> ,	63	<i>Artimedorus</i> , his opinion of the
<i>Anaprus</i> ,	63	raine-bow, 768. Objections against
<i>Anaximenes</i> , opinion of the mo-	871	him, 769 His opinion of Comets. See
ving of the earth,		<i>Comets</i> .
<i>Anger</i> , described, 512. That it is		<i>Aclepiodotus</i> , his opinion of the
hurtfull, proued by examples, 513.		Thunder, 794
The differences of anger, and whe-		<i>Astages</i> , his crueltie, 565
ther it be naturall, 515. Proued by si-		<i>Astronomie</i> , 362
militudes, 516. Anger not profit-		<i>Astutus</i> , his opinion of light-
table, proued by similitudes, and a		ning, 803
remedie for the difficultie, 517. The		<i>Anarice</i> . See <i>Conetousness</i> .
vse of anger, 518. The increase of an-		<i>Auditors</i> , which to bee esteem-
ger vnprofitable, 521. Of the hearts		med, 175
anger, and an objection of <i>Theophras-</i>		<i>Ausidius Bassus</i> , his Storie, 221
<i>titus</i> , 522 The delignes of anger, 524.		<i>Augustus</i> , did honour to his father
An example to proue it, 525. More of		<i>Octavius</i> , 59, 60. <i>Augustus</i> is much per-
the force of Anger, and whence it		plexed for want of good Counsaillers,
springs, 530. There is no great thing		135. <i>Augustus</i> nature and dispositi-
in anger, 536. No generous thing		on, 591, 592
in anger, 538. Remedies against anger,		<i>Ancients</i> , their vanities in writ-
540. The source of anger, & whence it		ting, 240
springs, <i>ibidem</i> . Appearances of an-		
ger, according to the habitude of per-		
sons, 541. More remedies against		
anger, 547, 548, 550. Another de-		
scription of anger, 551, 556. An-		
ger incident to all ages, and people,		
554. The euills that come of An-		
ger, 582		
<i>Anthonic</i> , vngratefull, 105. His		
resolution, 116. <i>Anthonic</i> , a patterne		
of misfortune, 709		
<i>Antigonus</i> , his answer vnto <i>Dio-</i>		
<i>genes</i> , 27		
<i>Apollonius</i> , his opinion of Co-		
metes, 896		
<i>Archelaus</i> , his refusal of money, 31		
<i>Arceflaus</i> , his secret bountie, 22		
<i>Arguments</i> , why they are raised,		
and their vse, 115		
<i>Aristotle</i> , confuted touching the ne-		
cessitie of anger, 519. More urged a-		
gainst, 555		
<i>Ariflon</i> , the father of <i>Xenophon</i> , 59		
<i>Aristides</i> , not vniu'd, 82		
<i>Arts</i> , a deuision of them, 362. vnto		
368. Arts are profitable, 373, vn-		
to 379		
<i>Artizans</i> , the recompence due vn-		
to them, 126		

B

B *Aia*, 150, &c.
Banishment, no euill therein, 743.
 It is but the change of place, & proves
 thereof 745 &c. Considerations in Ba-
 nishment, 746, 748. Banishment
 hath no torment. 751. Contentment
 of minde in banishment, 758
Baseness, in birth not to be contem-
 ned, 238, &c.
Behavior, what behavior to vse, 172
Benefits, The nature changed by the
 vse, 3. No benefit lost that is rightly
 giuen, *ibidem*. Benefits doubled ani-
 mate the vngratefull to satisfaction, 4.
 How men are obliged that receiue
 benefits, 6. Where benefits lodge,
 and their perpetuities, 7. What they
 are that vsurpe the name of benefits,
ibidem. What a benefit is, and where-
 in it consisteth, *ibidem*. The severall
 kinde of benefits, 11, 12. Benefits
 must not be vulgar, 13. The manner of
 giuing, makes the benefit good or bad,
 21. Benefits to be imploied two waies,
 22. Benefits must be done secretly,
ibidem.

THE TABLE.

ibidem, &c. Who must forget, who
 remember Benefits, 23. Proportion to
 be vsed in Benefits, 27. From whom, &
 not from whom to receive a Benefit,
 28, 30, 31. Whence Benefits pro-
 ceed, 30. Benefits to be receiued
 with glad countenance, 32. Whe-
 ther an interioir thanks may satis-
 fy a Benefit received, 37. Benefits
 haue a threefold profit, 38. What
 a Benefit signifies, 39. How a Bene-
 fit is requited, 40. It is hatefull not
 to giue thanks for Benefits, 41. Re-
 membrance of Benefits to be placed
 with the greatest pleasures, 43. Be-
 nefits lost by redemanding, 44. Hard
 to know what Benefits are, 46. The
 qualitie of Benefits, and their estima-
 tion, 48. Benefits and outrages inter-
 mixed are hard to iudge of, *ibidem*.
 On Benefit may be greater then ano-
 ther, 61. Whether to giue a Bene-
 fit and restore it, be things to bee re-
 quired, 65. The end of doing Be-
 nefits, 66. The content a willing
 Benefit yeeldeth, 72. Thankes gi-
 uing for Benefits is honest, 75. The
 gaine of acknowledging a Benefit, 76.
 Whether it be a shame to be over-
 come in Benefits, 94, 96. Whether
 a man may bestow a Benefit on him-
 selfe, 98. Benefits haue relation
 both to the giuer and taker, 101.
 Whether Benefits done to particu-
 lar men, be done to parents; and the
 answer, 107, 108. Certaine doubts
 resolued touching Benefits, 109. Whe-
 ther a Benefit may be taken away,
 116. Whether a man may acknow-
 ledge a Benefit, and reuenge an out-
 rage done him by one and the same
 person, 118. The former question
 answered, 119. Benefit must be accom-
 panied with good will, 121. Of Mer-
 cenarie Benefits, 123. Whether hee
 that buyeth, receiue a Benefit from
 him that selleth, 124. Of benefits re-
 ceiued in publike, 126. How men
 are tyed to benefits done to their
 Countrey, 127. Of benefits from the
 celestiaall bodies, *ibidem*. Benefits are
 in heart to be acknowledged, 133. It
 is better not to receiue a benefit, then
 to requite out of season, 139. The
 meanes to bee obserued in acknow-
 ledging benefits, 140. Extremities to
 be auoyded in the meanes, 141. To re-
 quite a benefit out of season, is as ill as
 not to requite at all, *ibid*. Other sorts
 of benefits, 154. The duties of such
 as giue or receiue benefits, 157. Be-
 nefits not to be redemanded with re-
 proach, 159
Benefactor, a good benefactor hath
 his memorie refreshed with satisfacti-
 on, 4. He ought to preuent him hee
 intendeth to pleasure, 18. What
 termes belittle a benefactor, 19. The
 conditions of a good benefactor, 28
 Not to disgrace benefactors, 33
 VVho giues to receiue, is not worthe
 the name of a benefactor, 74. It is
 not ill to exhort a benefactor to for-
 get benefits he hath done, 158
Bion, confuted, 148
Blessedness, who is blessed, 240
Blushing. See *Shamefastness*.
Body, three things in the bodie to
 bee feared, 189. The body a bur-
 then, 427. to 431
Bookes, not many bookes, but good
 bookes attayne wisdom, 239. &c.
 Bookes not applied for study are a
 mockerie, 646. The benefit of good
 bookes, 705
Bondmen, whether they can doe
 benefits, 51. all their benefits are but
 duties, 52. Bondmen may do friend-
 ships, 53. Bondmen may doe more
 then they ought, *ibid*. Notable exam-
 ples of bondmen, 54-45.
Bountie, the arguments by which
 to know true bountie, 8. Faults in
 bountie, *ibid*. Bountie delaied, loseth
 the merit, 17. The signes of bountie,
 18. Bountie must bee accompanied
 with loue, 24. A limitation in boun-
 tie, 26. Bountie limited by circum-
 stance, 88. Bountie redoubled to the
 wortheie benefactor, 94
 K k k k 2
 Bro.

THE TABLE.

Brothers, whether for sauing a brothers life, hated by his brother, both bee tied to acknowledge the benefit, 109. A reply vpon the question, 110
Brutus, whether hee might accept pardon from *Caesar*, 30
Businesse, how to be discharged, 205

C
Caligula, bloudie, 85. His cruelty, 567, 569, 710
Cains Marius, vngratefull, 105
Calpurnius Epicurus, a merrie storie of him, 256
Camillus, not forsaken, 82
Cambyfes, his crueltye, 568
Capitoll, a place dedicated vnto *Iupiter*, 148
Care, to what to be applied, 189
Carybdis, 328
Casuall things, where they are, and how called, 157, to 363
Casualties, a buckler against them, 307, 308
Cassiline, ingratefull, 105. His crueltye, 567
Cato, compared with *Xylffes*, and *Hercules*, 661
Cauillers, an inuention against them, 239. Casualtie an encouragement against them, 186. More against cauelling, 245, &c. 341, 342, 343, &c. 435
Cause, what it is, 277
Caesar, his insolence, 24. His gratitude to a souldier, 112
Cains Caesar, how hee executed the sonne of one *Pastor*, 544. Other cruelties of his, 567
Calius, the Oratour, 560
Charitie, exprest in a Pagan, 108
Chastity, an argument of deformity, 50
Chastize, a man may chastize without anger, 522. Order in chastizing, 523
Chastizement, how it profits more then rigor, 601
Chasmata, what it is, 776. See lightning

Children, whether they may doe more good to their parents then they haue received from them, 57. The childes benefit the greatest, 58, 59. How to remedie childrens angers, 541, vnto 544. What Tutors they should haue, 542. How children should be fedde and clothed, *ibid.*
Choller, vnneccessary, 550. Choller to be restrained, 552. It is an extreame euill, *ibid.* The effects, 563. See Anger.
Chrysippus, his triuiall subtilties, 6.
His opinion of thankfulness, 38. His idle question of God, 438
Cirrus, his anger, 569
Cinna, why Confull, 84
Clarus, his description, 280
Cleantes, his prooue of ingratitude, 104. His fending for *Plato*, 121
Clemencie, what it is by a similitude, 588. The effects of Clemencie, 589. Clemencie represses offences more then cruell punishments, 601. The excellencie of Clemencie, 603. The definition of Clemencie, 607
Clodius, his Adulterie, 413
Clouds, whether fire be referred in them, 787. Why they thicken on mountaines, and yet no Thunder, 793
Cneius Pompeius, vngratefull, 105
Cneius Lentulus, an example of couetous ingratitude, 34
Coach, the impediments in breeding wearinesse, 257
Communication, to take heed with whom to communicate, 199, 388
Comets, there diuers sorts, 777. Where they appeare, 893. How Comets are not made, and the Examples, 895. Other opinions of Comets, 898, 899, 900. What Comets signifie or presage, 902. The vse of the Doctrine of Comets, 903. A consideration of Comets, and the feare thereof laudable, 888. The conditions of Comets, *ibidem*. See Meteor.
Companie, to be auoided, 175
Com-

THE TABLE

Complaints, how they are vnneccessary, 412
Complexions, Whence they proceeded, 540
Comfort, see consolation.
Conceit, what to conceiue, 182
Conscience, a man mult liue constantly and wisely, 228. Examples of conscience, 651. The profit of it by Examples, 663. Conscience of minde to bee tryed in aduersitie, 718. The condition of our life inuities vs to conscience, 727. Conscience can and may resist griefe, 741
Consolation, an Epistle to that purpose, 418. vnto 422. Against mourning, 696. vnto 711. Examples for Consolation 715-716. We must giue care to Consolation, 718. Consolations of those things are left vs, should ease the griefe for those things which are taken away, 726. Other Consolations, 864
Content, it is not in corruptible things, 663
Contempt, to be auoided, 190
Conscience, a good Conscience condemneeth oppression, 77. A good Conscience is a comfort in aduersitie, *ibid.* What is feared in the Conscience, 207. &c. The force of Conscience, 413 vnto 415
Conuersation, 199. Conuersation with euill men, how euill, 559
Coriolanus, vngratefull, 105
Couetousnesse hinders thankfulness, 34. What Couetousnesse wants, 49. The euils which proceed from Couetousnesse, 150. A detestation of Couetousnesse, 151. The chastizement of Couetousnesse, 371
Counsaile, where good counsaile wants, there impatience breeds hurt, 135. How counsell is to be disposed, 193, &c.
Court, good to forsake it, and the troubles thereof, 199
Courtiers, the miserie of old Courtiers, see Court.
Cowardise, what a Coward is, 82

Crisfall, how made, 825
Creatures, whether euerie one haue a sence of his constitution, proued by reasons and examples, 482. vnto 485
Crematius Cordus, his constancie, 734
Crocodiles, their combats, and properties, 819
Crueltie, the effects of crueltye, 589
Crueltie not to bee vsed, 600. The danger of crueltye, 603. The definitions and kindes of crueltye shewed by Examples, 607
Curiositie, the dangers to bee curious, 600. The curiositie of the ancient Philosophers, 889
Curtellie, how Curtellie is lost by much craving, 19. If it bee enforced it hath no Merite, 21. The care to be vsed in doing courtesie, 26. Respect of persons in courtesies, *ibid.* Why courtesies are forgotten, 47. Whether a man may doe courtesie to the vngratefull, 81
Cusumes, to be eschewed, 541

D

D
Danger, what is the best assurance against danger, 865. Reasons not to feare dangers, 866
Death, who die children, 205. death to bee contemned, and how by the examples of great men, 299. &c. Examples of slaues for the former purpose, 210. We are borne to grieue at death, *ibid.* Death not to be wisht nor feared, *ibid.* 211. 256. what death doth shew vs, 214. &c. We must meditate on death, 215. To be prepared for death and examples of it, 220. With what to despise death, 229. Preparation for death, 256. Death not to be resented, 264. vnto 268. What we are to thinke of death, 272. Death is the Hauens of troubles, 293. vnto 297. What an honest death is like, 298. vnto 300. Death is easie, 509. They that with death haue not liued long, 690.
The

THE TABLE

The aduantage of a prosperous death
703. All men must die, 704. Why
death spareth none, 709. The commodi-
ties of death, 731. Opinions of
death, 732. Examples thereof, *ibid.*
The contempt of death, 807. The
miserable effects of the apprehension
of death, 886

Dead, Why not to mourne for
the dead, 702. Those which wee
call dead are liuing, and the liuing
dead, 703. That there is no occa-
sion to bewaile the dead, 723. The
dead not ablent; not to weepe for
them, &c. 730. No man dyeth too
soone, 732

Debts, may be demanded, 49. How
a man is indebted to himselfe, 99.
What debt wee owe our Physicians,
and Tuiours, 124. 125. Debts are
not paid by his death to whom they
were due, and proued by a merrie
Tale, 157

Decias, valiant, 82
Delays, why and in what sort to be
vsed, 546

Delight, the vaine studie thereof
disputed and approued by examples,
442. vnto 447

Deluge, The description of a De-
luge, 826. and 830

Demetrius, his praise, 273. An ex-
cellent saying of his, 144

Demaratus, no Flatterer, 134
Democritus, compared with *Hera-
clitus*, 652

Desire, to bee diminished, 224.
Desire neuer satisfied, 35. What
one man ought to desire for ano-
ther, 132

Destinie, to bee acknowledged, 210
No man knoweth his Destinie, 733
What Destinie is, 797. The meanes
to the end of Destinie, 798

Diet, how to be vsed, 172. A
thinne Diet best, especially for rich
men, 488

Dietie, how it was attributed to
Starres, &c. 80

Diogenes, his request to An-

tigonus, 27. His contempt of Ri-
ches, 96

Discretion, how it is to be vsed in
giuing, 12. 25

Disorder, a description of the dis-
orders of the times, 534

Disollution, whence it grew, 780

Distraktion, to be auoided, 292

Dinorice, the vse and abuse of Di-
uorces, 30

Drinking, The nature thereof, 486
&c.

Drunkennesse, a Prophecie of drun-
kennesse, 10. Against Drunkennesse,
and Examples thereof, 343. vn-
to, 346

E

Earth, What it is, 783. Whe-
ther the Earth may bee drow-
ned, 829. That the Earth is made
to bee drowned, 831. Of Earth-
quakes, 863. All Countries are ex-
posed to Earthquakes, 865. The na-
turall causes of Earthquakes, 867
Diuers opinions of Earthquakes, 868
Three sorts of Earthquakes, 879. 880
Earthquake, why the first shake
is most violent, 885. See more in
Earth,

Eclipse, how discovered, 775

Effeminacie, an Inuectiue against
Effeminacie, 250. &c. More of Effem-
inacie, 338. to 342

Elements, how they are simple,
782. Transmutation of Elements, 815

Eloquence, How it is some-
times pleasing and sometimes dis-
pleasing, 458. vnto 463. Against
ouer-curious Eloquence, 463

End, of the common end, 215

Endeuour, Whether a man that
endeuours to requite a benefite, doth
requite it, 152. That endeuours are to
be accepted, 153

Ens, or *Being*, how manifolde it
is, 263

F^{or} e,

THE TABLE

Enuie, how it hinders Gratiuitie, 35
Enuie to be auoyed, 190

Epicurus, their blasphemous opi-
nions, 66. 67. Epicures confuted, 68

His opinion of pouertie exami-
ned, 169

Epigenes, his opinion of Me-
teors, and a Conutation there-
of, 889. 890

Errours, in giuing, 2. 10. They
should not extinguish Vertue, *ibid.*

remedies against the Errours of vn-
thankfulnesse, 35

Etna, diuers notable things of that
Mountaine, 250. 329

Euils, not to bee feared, 209.

Euill may come by occasions, 237

Euill men were from the begin-
ning, 413

Example, how Examples should
stirre vp our mindes, 232

Excesse, The nature of Excesse,
485. More of the euils of Ex-
cesse, 820

Exercise, How it belongs to the
bodie, and the vse thereof, 191. It
maketh the dangers slight, 505.

Exile, see *Banishment*.

Externall, that we must not labour
in externall things that are incommo-
dious, 137

F

Fabius, not rash, 82

Fabius Persicus, why hee is pre-
ferred, 84

Faby, how they were slaine, not
conquered, 95

Faith, not to be sought for amongst
Infidels, 169

Fatt, see *Fortune*.

Fauour, an ouer-hasty returne
of Fauours doth deface the Bene-
fices, 91

Feare, how it belongs vnto God,
Feare to bee tempered with Hope,
187. What Feares are, 209. &c.

No man ought to feare what must
necessarily happen, 704

Feight, Buffet-Feight forbidden
by the Lacedaemonians, 93

Felicitie, to bee sought for, 223

Examples thereof, 224. Felicitie a
dependant on Wisdome, 230. Felici-
tie to be euer in our eyes, 257. The de-
finition of Felicitie, 474. Perpetuall
Felicitie is attended by sudden mis-
fortune, 505

Fier, how it may issue from water,
792. If fire bee the cause of Earth-
quake, 871. Other opinions that
fire is the cause of Earthquakes, 872

Fish, 819. Of pestilent Fi-
shes, 821

Flatterers, a man must neither flat-
ter himselfe nor his Neighbours, 99

How Flatterers and Flatterie con-
found vs, 270

Flatterie, how it is taxed in the
Authour, 697. 701. 706. More of
Flatterie, 834. How to entertaine
Flatterers, 835

Folly, All Fooles are mad, 40

Force, when it is scene and appeares
most, 214

Fortitude, what it is, 39

Fortune, her inconstancie, 171

Fortune not to bee elcemed, 193
&c. 246. To assent to Fortune, 412

Wee must neyther require any thing
of Fortune, nor yet depend on
her, 473. Great Fortune, great
Care, 703

Friends, what true Friends are,
and where to bee sought and
found, 136. 137. Hee that re-
jects a Friends miserie to the end
to helpe him is ingratefull, *ibid.*

Generall faults in Friends, the
duetie of a Friend, and how to
maintayne Friendship, 169. It is
a Vice not to know what Friend-
shippe is, 170. Friendes to bee
present and euer in thy minde,
257. See more in Friendship and
Amitie.

Friend-

THE TABLE

Friendship, the Lawes of Friend-
ship, 29. To whom to shew Friend-
ship, 72. Friendship scarce, 136.
Friendship described 213. How to
deale with Friendship, *ibid*. No man
is a friend but to a good man, 228.
What is excellent for friends, 245. the
benefits of Friendship, and the marks
to know a friend by, and who not to
be entertained for a friend, 643. See
more in Friends.

Frugalitie, the frugalitie of the an-
cient Romanes, 749

Furie, a description of publike fu-
rie, 555. Furie to be auoyded, 581

Ennius, his Answer to *Cæsar*, see
Cæsar.

G

Genius, that each man hath a *Ge-
nius*, and the qualitie, 450

Geometrie, 362

Gluttonie, a description of Belly-
gods, see Excellence.

God looks for no requirall of Be-
nefits, 71. How God is beneficiall to
the wicked, 83. Things to come are
of God, 187. 188. God dwelleth in vs,
235. All goodnesse in God, *ibid*. We
must assent to obey God, 412. Gods
Ordinancce limiteth life, 721. God
knoweth when it is expedient for vs
to dye, 733. *Senecaes* opinion of God,
746. Diuers names of God 70. How
man is bound to God, 67. A notable
contemplation of Gods Benefites, 68
All good comes from God, 69

Good men, His dutie shewed by ex-
ample, 73. How wee should present
a good man to our knowledge, 183.
A good man is nothing without God
235. Good men how they are afflicted
for the good of others, 506

Good deeds not to be done for affe-
ctation, 73. They are to be desired for
themselves, 80

Goods, the differences of goods, 281
Whether euery good bee to be with

for 288. All goods are equall, and the
contempt differeth not from honour,
297. &c. Examples thereof, 298. vnto
300. In what goods consist, 491

Grace, How it is produced by
Prayer, 18

Graces, what they be, 4

Grammer, 362

Gratitude, gratefull acceptance is a
kind of satisfaction 39. The vertue of
gratefulnesse, 80. The gratitude of
the gods, 81

Gracinus Iulius, his refusal of gifts, 31

Griefe, many remedies against it,
324. 328. See Sadnesse.

Greatnesse, all greatnesse is transito-
rie, 117. The ruine of greatnesse by
Flatterers, 134

Grillus, the father of *Plato*, 59

Guifts, how to bee adorned, 21

Circumstance to be vsed in guifts. 27

H

Habit, how to vse it, 172

Haile, how haile is made, and
opinions of it, also difference betwixt
it and Snow, and why it haileth not in
Winter, 842. 843. Of such as foretell
haile, and the reason thereof in their o-
pinions, 844

Hale, what it is, 764

Happinesse, we ought to know hap-
pinesse, and the meanes to it, 612.
The diuers definitions of happinesse,
614. A confutation of some opinions
touching happinesse, 615. 616. 617
Chiefe happinesse is peace of Consci-
ence, 618. A happy life consists in ver-
tue, 623. 631. See Felicitie.

Hatred, to be auoyded, 190. 161

Health, a dependant on Wise-
dome, 230

Hecaton, his opinion of Bondmen
reproued, 51

Heluia, her Sisters vertues, 757

Hercules, his Vertues, 13

Hipocritise, how to reprove it, 836

Historians taxed, 896

Honour

THE TABLE.

Honour, the excellencie and how it
inflames good spirits, 84

Honestie, the onely good, 307

Hope neuer satisfied, 34

Hottus his monstrousnesse, 778

F

Ignominie, ioyned with Pouertie is
odious, 752

Ignorance, what it is to be ignorant
of true life, 206

Incapabilitie, what is incapable of
forme, 765

Inconstancie, taxed, 6. 208. More
of Inconstancie, 308. vnto 383

Why men are inconstant, 744. No-
thing assured vnder Heauen, 864

Indiscretion, in giuing is a cause of
Ingratitude, 1

Infants, not to be angry with In-
fants, 545

Infirmities, of the infirmities of the
minde, 635

Ingratitude, whence it proceedeth,
2. The great vice of Ingratitude, 10

33. The causes of Ingratitude, 34

Who is Ingratefull, 42. What makes
men Ingratefull, *ibid*. Whether Ingra-
titude be to be punished by the Laws,

44. Why Ingratitude is left vnpunish-
able, 45. No man is a competent Iudge
for Ingratitude, *ibid*. No man knows
when to condemne an vngratefull
man, 47. If Ingratitude were punished
few would receiue Benefits, 48. How
Ingratitude is punished, 50. The mi-
serie of Ingratitude, *ibid*. The differ-
ence betwene the Ingratefull and
the gratefull, 51. Ingratitude neither
feareth nor oweth 76. Ingratitude
destroies humane societie, *ibid*. What
good a man may refuse to doe to the
vngratefull, 84. How a man may doe
good to the vngratefull 86. How no
man is vngratefull, and the confuta-

tion thereof, 102. 103. How all men
are Ingratefull, and the Examples of
it, 104. 105. 106. The Ingratitude of
Common-wealths, and the Examples
106. He is ingratitude that yeelds satisf-
faction to the end he may be more
beholden, 137. Proofoes thereof by
Examples, 138. With what heart to
censure the vngratefull, 159. No
wonder that many are vngratefull,
160. No man is exempt from Ingra-
titude, 161. How a benefite to an vn-
gratefull man should bee vnderstood,
ibid. A man must bee liberal to the
vngratefull, to approue his owne
worth, 163. VVhether a man may be
grateful to him that first doth vs good
and after hurt, 333. vnto 337

Iniquitie, what a burthen it carry-
eth, 81

Iniurie, not to requite one Iniurie
with another, 549. How to endure In-
iuries, 517. 2. VVhat Iniurie is to a
VVilfeman, 665. VVho they are that
cannot beare Iniuries, and the folly
thereof, 669. VVhat Iniurie is, 671.

Of imaginarie Iniurie, *ibid*.

Innocence, the goodnesse of Inno-
cence, 77

Insolence, diuers remedies against
Insolence, 548

Intemperance, an Inueticue against
Intemperance, 748. 749

Intention, a good Intent is a kinde
of satisfaction, 2. To desire a benefite
covertly, is a signe of an ill Intenti-
on, 32

Joy, what true Joy is and where
bred, 207. &c. 281

Iudgement, is to be ioyned with Li-
beralitie, 14. Not to be suddenly cre-
dited, 236. Those Iudgements are
wicked that esteeme not things accord-
ing to their values, 450. &c.

Jupiter, why they attribute Light-
ning vnto him, 801. VVhether he dart
Thunder himselfe, 802

LIII

Kings,

THE TABLE

K

Kings, see *Greatnesse* and *Princes*.
Knowledge, how to know a mans owne finnes, 217. The knowledge of the minde, 238. How the knowledge of Goodnesse came, 478

L

Laping, how it isto bevsed, 191
Libertie, is a dependant on Wife-dome, 23. Libertie to bee fought by spurning our desires, 331-332
Liberal Studies, 362
Liberalitie, it is impatient of delay, 20
Life, it is short, 18. The Ignorance of the true Life, 205. &c. Not alwaies to begin to liue, 208. How life is tosted, 254. A blessed Life is like a Circle, 398. vnto 313. a mans life must be like his words, 313-314. We must liue as if God still lookt on vs, 342. By what to measure Life, 389. Long Life is a good Life, 389-390. Life is commonly short, 676. How men shorten Life, *ibid*. Wee must not accuse the shortnesse of Life, 677. The cause of the shortnesse of Life, 678. Who wil haue long Life, must learne to die, 681. In what long Life consisteth, 682. 683. We can account of no part of Life but that which is past, and the reasons thereof, 684. What a dying Life is, 685. The miseries of Life, 722. Of three sorts of Lives, *uid*. Of Pleasure, of Contemplation and Action, 912
Lightning, whence it proceedeth, 776. How Lightning is made, 777. The difference betwixt it and Fulguration 789. Diuers opinions of Lightnings, 790. How it growes, 791. The effects of Lightning, 795. 804. It hath relation to three things, 796. Diuers sorts and manners of Lightning, 799. Why it makes things blacke, 800. O-

pinions of the same, 801. Of Lightnings that haue significations, 804
Lions, a Citie burned, 379
Linus, her Wildome, 591
Linus Drusus, a notable Example of him, 680
Logicians, their follies, 247
Loue, haue loue betweene Prince and Subjects, maintaines Estates, 587
Lucillius, his Booke iudged and prayfed, 241
Lucius Sylla, vngratefull, 105

M

Magnanimitie, what it is, 549
the effects of Magnanimitie, 558
Magistrates, not to be angrie, 526
Malice, the Malice of Men, 431 &c.
Man, how to fashion him to acceptance, 14. Men ought to shew fauour, 19. Mans inordinate desires, 36. Hee that is vnthankfull to God, can neuer bee thankfull to man, 37. What man most complains of, hee most exerciseth, 41. Two sorts of men not vngratefull, 76. A miserable man excuseth, 97. No man giues himselfe a benefit, 100. 101. Men are slow in recompensing Benefices, 111. Men must flye extremities, *ib*. Whether men are indebted to those that doe good vnawares, 119. The contrarie proued by Reasons and Similitudes, 120. Of men that benefit others for loue of themselves, 122. No man should desire his Neighbors hurt, *ibid*. How poore men may profit great men, 136. One mans pleasure is another mans preiudice, 139. How the Giuer and Receiver of Benefices should be affected, 154. Men may acknowledge courttesie in what state soeuer they be, 191. What man is, and how to be handled, 597
Marcellinus, very incorrigible, 218
Marcia, her vertues, 711. Her contempt of Consolation, 715
Mat-

THE TABLE.

Matter, what it is, 277
Mecenas, his absurd vow, 426
Mecenas a Counsellor to *Augustus*, 135
Mediocritie, is a good thing, 213
Mediocritie is Content, 750
Mercie, Examples thereof, 570. The profit of the Examples, 571. All men benefit by Mercie, 585. The effects of Mercie, 592. Mercie is the best vertue in a Prince, 598. How it differs from Meeknesse, 608
Metranastes, the Philosopher his death, 388
Meteors, 762. A reason for Meteors, 763. The effects of Meteors, *ibid*. The diuers sorts of Meteors, 776
Why the questions of Meteors are intermixt, 781
Metrodorus Chius, his opinion of Earthquakes, 877
Minde, A fetled Minde what it intends, and the Examples, 259. The Minde to be beautified, not the Bodie, 331. The Minde is not changed with the place, 207
Mindirides, 544
Mirrors, the vse of Mirrors, 779
Miserie, of humane Miserie, 170
The Miserie of dissolute persons, 847
Mockers, see *Scoffers*.
Moderation, how requisite it is, 584
Motions, all Motions not in our power, 262
Mountaines, whether they haue lesse sence of the Sunnes heate then the Valleys, 845
Multitude, the Multitude not to be followed, 613
Musique, 362
Mutius, no Traytor, 82

N

Naples, the horror of the *Neapolitan* Vault, 261

Nature, What it is, and the difference betwixt it and God, 69. Nature to bee taken for God, 70. Nature desires but a little, 195. &c. The scope of Nature, 132. Nature to bee harkened vnto, 271. Nature seekes not superfluitie, 475. &c. The profit that riseth by searching into Nature, *ibid*.
Nero, compared to *Augustus*, 593. An excellence in *Nero*, 605
A preface of his Clemencie, 606
The prayse of *Neroes* first yeares Reigne, 870
Niggardise, the signes of Niggardise, 18
Nilus, the increase of *Nilus*, 837
840. The Cataracts of *Nilus*, 838
The Mouthes of *Nilus*, and the Maruailes, 839
Nobilitie, without Vertue there is no Nobilitie nor Libertie, 56. It is most noble to do them good that cannot requite it, 98. See more in *Honour*.
Nomenclators, what they ate, and their Office, 5
Nouelitie, how Noueltie rauisheth mens mindes, 837

O

Obedience, the effects of Obedience, 587
Occasion, see *Opportunitie*.
Ocean, the Creation of the Ocean, 822
Offences, multitude of Offences, make Princes seeme lesse, 50
Opinion, to bee despised, 194. An examination of Opinions touching the Earthquake, 877. 878. Opinions examined that hold Egypt and the Island Delos were neuer shaken, 881
Opportunitie, how to take Opportunitie to requite Benefices, 140
LIII a
Opor-

THE TABLE.

Opportunite not to bee let flipt, 105
&c.
Old-age, what Old-age should
bee, 184. 185. What it is, 214
&c. Old-age not to bee wilft for,
264

P

Paine, how it is feared, 209. &c.
Against Paine, 251
Papirius Fabianus, the Philoso-
pher, a iudgement of him and his
Writings, 422
Paracome, what it is, 39
Parables, to bee esteemed, 269. &c.
Parents, their benefite toward their
Children, 47. Preferuence of Reue-
rence vnto Parents, 62. The excel-
lencie of Obedience to Parents, 63
The happincesse to bee borne of good
Parents, 85
Parelia, what they bee, 774. Of
double Parches, 775
Passions, A distinction of them, 531
Motions in Passions, 532. Not to dis-
guise Passions, 755. Remedies against
Passions, 756 &c.
Patience, what it is, 281. vnto 288
The minde must be confirmed in Pa-
tience, 415. vnto 417. Patience, how
requisite in aduersities, 565
Peace, how Peace is to bee wilhed
for, 259. &c. The goodnesse of Peace,
582. Against the disturbers of humane
Peace, 868
Pensueneffe, see *Sadnesse*.
Perfection, a perswasion vnto per-
fection, 227
Persecution, as of Burning, Sick-
nesse, Whipping, &c. And how to be
indured, 288. 289
Peripateticks, their Opinions dis-
prooued, 466
Perseruance, how necessary it is in
Philosophie, 170
Philip of Macedon, a braue Exam-
ple of his feueritie to an vngratefull

man, 89. The commendations of *Phi-
lip*, 90. An Obiection against *Philip*,
ibid.
Philosophie, perseuerance to bee v-
sed in Philosophie, 170. Not to vse o-
stentation in it, 172. Philosophie gi-
ueth true libertie, 177. Philosophie
necessarie for life, 193. &c. What Phi-
losophie teacheth, 194. &c. Philoso-
phie not to be deferred, 195. &c. Phi-
losophie is in dedes not wordes, 201
&c. True splendour is in Philosophie,
203. &c. Philosophie giues perpetuall
fame, 204. Philosophie diuersly writ-
ten of, and how Examples thereof
should inflame vs, 232. Philosophie
makes vs equal with God, 255. Phi-
losophie not slightly to bee studied,
269. &c. Philosophy affects not wordes,
313. A fault to neglect Philosophie,
315. vnto 320. Philosophie only
makes men free, 363. vnto 368. The
difference betwixt Philosophie and
Wisdome, 368. The prayse of Phi-
losophie, 372. vnto 379. Whether the
teaching or exhorting part in Philoso-
phie bee more profitable, 390. to 400
Difference betwixt Philosophie and
other Sciences, and which is naturall,
which morall, 759. &c. Supernaturall
Philosophie, 762. Dismissiion of Phi-
losophie, 781. Against the contempt
of Philosophie, 805
Philosophers, most faithfull vnto
Princes, 305. 306. How to reade them
heare them & elect from the, 442. &c.
Phisicion, Tis a great disgrace for a
Phisicion to with businesse, 138. The
difference betwixt a Phisicion and a
Magistrate, 516
Pithagoras, how hee pacified An-
ger, 560
Play, what a man playes, 245. &c.
Plays, or *Interludes*, the vse, 175
Place, how to make any place plea-
sant, 217. Places not to bee changed,
292. To continue in one place is a to-
ken of a stayed spirit, 168
Placcus, his excellencie, dearth, and
the consolation for it, 273. &c.
Planet,

THE TABLE.

Planet, of the retrogradation of Pla-
nets, 901
Plato, his memorable answer to a
Ferry-man, 126
Pleasure, how men are excused
from satisfiing pleasures done, 117
Pleasures either hurt vs or fallily helpe
vs, 215. &c. Against Pleasures, 251
Pleasures are of no moment, 383. &c.
No content in Pleasure, 618. The
praise of Pleasure is pernicious, 620
The difference betwixt Pleasure and
Vertue, 621. 622. Time imployed in
Pleasures is not life, 687
Poets, their vanities, 5
Pompey, the sight of the *Pompeyes*
recalled time past, 293. Why the *Pom-
peyes* were preferred, 84
Poore, the poore to be imitated and
how, 202
Pouertie, how it is subiect to the bo-
die, 189. 190. Pouertie to bee tryed,
197. &c. Pouerty not to be feared, 202
Praslers, to bee eschewed, 252. &c.
Precepts, more profitable vnto wil-
dome then disputes, and how they
keale vpon the minde, 231. Precepts
whence they flow, 401. vnto 411
Short and profitable Precepts, 437
Pride, in Courtiers, 20. The folly
of Pride, 25. The effects of Pride, 34
Pride the Errour of this Age, 243. &c.
Princes, the conditions of Princes
may alter Counsels, 91. Princes must
be mercifull, 589. The care of Princes,
593. Difference twixt them and Ty-
rantes, 594. They must keepe measure
in Mercie, 595. What Princes must
doe before they bee angry, 596. How
ill Crueltie is in a Prince, 597. All
things not lawfull for Princes, 598
Princes not to bee mastered with the
passion of Reuenge, 600
Profit, how to bee respected, 11
Profit preferred before honestie, 49
Proficiency, the goodnesse of it, 227
The degrees of Proficiency, 314. vn-
to 315.
Promise, wee ought to promise no-
thing to our selues, 424. How pro-

mise is to be considered, 88
Providence, why diuine Providence
spareth the wicked, 85. The immu-
tability of diuine Providence, 128
Providence proued, 498
Punishment, assures not good men,
602

Q

Questions, of Wisemen, 378. 379
448. Questions of Philosophie,
401. Questions of Renowne, 427
Questions of God, 439. Questions
of Vertue, 454. Questions of Wil-
dome, 468. Questions of Providence,
498. Questions of Anger, 539
Quintus Sextius his prayse, 275

R

Raine, see *Waters*.
Raine, how, the cause, Colour
and forme of it, 766. 767. Why it ap-
peareth opposite to the Sunne, 768
The Authours opinion of the Rain-
bow, 770. Prognostiques opinions of
the Rain-bow, 771. Examples why
the Rain-bow seemes greater then the
Sunne, 772. Of Triangles of Glasse
that represent the colours of the
Rain-bow, *ibid*. Why the Arch is but
halfe a Circle, 773. Of imperfect Ar-
ches, 774. Whether the Rain-bow
be but an appearance, 777
Reason, how it should accompanie
Liberalitie, 14. 29. Perfite Reason the
best good, 235. &c. How Reason ru-
leth in man, 383. vnto 388. The de-
signes of Reason, 524
Reading, many Authours is hurt-
full, 168
Recompence, a will to recompence,
redeemeth want, 95
Refusal, is better then incertainty,
20

THE TABLE.

Regulus, a captiue, but not conquered, 95

Reposé, is to be ioyned with Philosophie, 290. Repole the greatest affaire, 291. &c. How repole hath bene vied by the Romans and others, 654. Repole is to be desired, 679. Of a Wife mans repose, 908, vnto 913

Recreation, or Rest. See *Reposé*.

Restitution, the method of Restitution, 71. Whether a man shall make restitution to him that misapplies that restored, 155. Whether a man shall make restitution to a Tyrant, *ibidem*. In what case a man is dispensed from Restitution, 156. How to make Restitution vnto a wicked man. *ibidem*.

Resolution, a resolute mind, the best part of vs, 207, &c.

Retirement, how it differs from idleness, 176, 177. Retirement praised, 228

Renenge, it onely belongs vnto God, 673

Riches, the true propertie of Riches, 96. True riches is content, 168. Who is rich, 194, &c. To whom Riches are burthenous, 195. Where the defect of Riches is, 196, &c. Riches not to be loued, 202. Riches are a Natural pouertie, 215, &c. An inuictiue against badde Rich men, 366, vnto 371. How we may desire and enioy Riches, 475. Reputed Richmen are commonly poore, 479, 477. Why a vertuous man despiseth riches and the vse of them, 627. That Riches are honest, *ibidem*. VVhat a good man accounts Riches, and why he would haue them, 629. The vanitie of Riches, 703. To consider those Riches wee enioy, with those wee must redeliuer, 705. All Riches are giuen to be restored, 721. The desire of Riches is insatiable, 750. The more excellent Riches are, more willingly to be restored, 723

Riot, an inuictiue against Riot, 353, vnto 356. Riot chastized, 371

Rising, the nature of Rising, 486, &c.

Riuers, why dried vp, 816. Why Riuers increase in Summer, and other accidents, 825. How Riuers purge, 826. Riuers vnder ground, 856. *Rumour*, publisheth all things, 238. *Running*, how to be vied, 191, &c.

S

Sacredge, what it is, and what it is not, 148

Sadnesse, to be cast off, 217

Scaurus Mamerus, vnchaste, and wicked, 85

Scilla, his crueltie, 567, 329

Scipio, how he laued his Father in a battaile, 60

Scoffes, are patiently to be endured, 624. Of inconsiderate Scoffes, 672

Sea. See *Waters*.

Selfe-loue, the causes of selfe-loue, 34

Seneca, his frugalitie, 356

Sentences, or short Lessons not to be gathered from the Stoicks, and the reasons therefore, 225

Serapion, his profuse speech, 233

Seruants, a man must liue familiarly with them, 242

Seruitude, hath no power but ouer the bodie, 52

Shame. See *Ignominie*.

Shamefastnesse, the vertue thereof, 182, 183

Sheepe, of Sheepe found dead in an Earthquake, 882

Shewes. See *Playes*.

Sicilie, a description of a voyage thither, 727, and the application of the same, 729

Sicknesse, how it is subiect to the bodie, 189. Remedies for sicknesse, 324

Sighing, the effects thereof, 256

Silence, how it is to be wished for, 259, &c.

Simili-

THE TABLE.

Similitudes. See *Parables*.

Sinne, all sinnes are equall, 42. A man must know his owne sinne, and then he is safe, 217

Sleepe, the nature of sleeping, 486, &c.

Sloth, is the mother of desires, 260, &c.

Snow, in what region of the ayre it is made, 844. The reasons to proue it, 845. Why Snow is soft, and the reasons and opinions for the same, 846

Socrates, an excellent example of him, 159. *Socrates* introduced for the figure of a Wiseman, 631, 632

Solitude, for whom it is good, 181. The praise of solitude, 224, &c.

Good to enterayne happie solitude, 692

Sophismes, disallowed, 348

Sorrow, no profit to them for whom wee sorrow, 696. How sorrow seemes to lessen our griefe, 697.

Not to sorrow for things past helpe, 698. How those wee sorrow for, sorrow not for vs, 699. The greater a man is, the lesse should he shew sorrow, 700. Exercise of worthie things will ease sorrow, 702. Wee must not sorrow to pay God his debt, 704.

What measure to be vied in sorrow, 711. Sorrow must not be perpetual, 717. Why to reframe sorrow, 719.

Too much sorrow shewes cowardice, *ibidem*. Time exingulsheth sorrow, 720. Other remedies for sorrow, and a confirmation of them, 754, &c.

Soule, of the immortalitie thereof, 262, 427. The soule imprisoned in the bodie desires freedom to heauen, 735. The soule is the man, and not the bodie, 736

Souldiers, the life of a Souldier not easie, 230

Speech, the vncomeliness and the comeliness of Speech, 233, 234

Splendor, of false Splendors, 205, &c.

Statues, why they haue bene clo-

uen in Earthquakes, 884

Stones, why Stones floate in the water, and other Examples, 824

Stormes, that they occasion not Comets, 891, &c.

Studie, not to studie to please the people, 218. Wholsome studie to bee applied, 292. The studie of goodnesse not to be deferred, 303.

How man is addicted to idle studies, 688. The profite of vertuous studies, 689. Studie mittigateth sorrow, 701, 711

Subtilties, what vse there is of subtilties, 264. Vnprofitable subtilties to be detested, 448, vnto 450

Sufferance, we must suffer that wee doe not amend, 440, &c.

Sunnes, of the circle about the Sun, and the Moone, 764. And *Senecas* opinion of the greatnesse of the Sunne, 875

Supper, the nature of Supping, 486, &c.

Suspition, How to bee eschewed, 543. Euill occasioned by Suspition, *ibidem*.

T

Tale-bearers, not to bee credited, 543

Tempests. See *Stormes*.

Temperance, how requisite it is, 559. Examples of temperance, 751

Tennise-play, and the application, 38

Thales, his opinion of waters, 817. His opinion of earthquakes, 888

Thankefulnesse, to whom to bee thankiull, 107

Theophrastus refuted about Anger, 520

Thoughts, Good thoughts a good purchase, 625. Good thoughts the beginning vnto good workes, 626

Thunder, how it is caused, 789, 805. Of difficulties of Thunder, 793.

Con-

THE TABLE.

considerations of Thunder, 805. The definition and opinions of Thunder, 806, &c.

Tiberius, excused, 21
Time, not to be let slip, 167. The use of time, *ibidem*. Time not to be stolne away, 225. The shortnesse and swiftnesse of time, 247

Tirans, their miserie, 595
Titus Manlius, his loue to his Father, 63

Tranquillitie, the difference betwixt it and the troubles of the minde, 637, 638. Remedies by which to gaine tranquillitie of minde, 639. How to effect the remedies, 642. Other remedies, 643, vnto 654. Tranquillitie of spirit, is better then worldly dignitie, 693

Trauaile, a discourse vpon trauaile, 432, &c.

Treason, the treasons of men amongst themselves, 431

Truth, the incertaintie thereof, 252

Trust, in what especially for to trust, 415

Tuscans, what they thinke of thunder, 796. Their opinion confuted, and the reasons, 822

V

Vaine-glorie, the vaine-glorie of such, as to satisfie, doe with hurt to those haue done them curtesie, 130. An answer to the former obiection, 131

Vanitie, how wilth for, and how feared, 451, &c. The description of vanitie, 761

Vaticus, of the man, and his Manor, 257

Virtue, not subiect to pleasure, 66. It keepes a man vnto tranquillity, 95. The reward of virtue is selfe, 18. Virtue alone bringeth forth solid ioy, 215, &c. Virtue onely enableth, 230.

Virtues are vnted, 289. Virtue is to be aspired vnto, 305, 306. The image of vertue confirmed by examples, 662. Vertuous men, not to bewaile their deaths, 735. Why vertuous men loue not the worlds goods, 759. The content a vertuous man receybeth, 833

Vices, how vices disagree, 10. Vices are as hatefull at home as abroad, 99. Vices to be acknowledged, 173. Men blinde in vice, seeke a cloake for them, 249. Vices to be enquired of and amended, 291. Olde vice in olde age, hardly reformed, 454. There is no euill but in vice, 508. How profitable a firme resolution is against vice, 537. Vices not to be flattered, 623

Violence, how it is subiect to the bodie, 189

Vnderstanding, many things delight the vnderstanding, and few things conquer the will, 144

Voluptuousnesse, no voluptuous man is wise, or hath part in a blessed life, 619. His pleasures are follies and furies, *ibidem*. What the voluptuous mans pastimes are, 691

Vowes, precepts of vowes, 781, 182. The vowes of the common people, to be despised, 223. All vulgar vowes to be contemned, 225

Vrbaneitie in Heathen, greater then in Christians, 18

W

Waters, the cause of waters, how furnished, their effects and take, 812. The situation, whence they issue, if the earth giue it, and of raine, 813. If water issues from vnder the earth, 814. The true cause of raine, 817. Of diuers humidities, 818. The difference of waters vnder the earth, 820. The sauiours of waters, and the examples, 821. Whence

THE TABLE.

the effects of waters issue, 822. Of hot waters, venomous waters, and the examples, 823. In what season the seas are greatest, 830. Water thought the cause of earthquake, 869. Abundance of water vnder the earth, 870

Will, the will to be awakened, lest it languish in error, 113

Winde, what it is, 849. How composed, and opinions and consultations thereof, 851. Whence winds proceed, 852. The nature of windes, 853, vnto 856. Of the foure principall winds, 857. Their names, and of other winds, 858. If winde cause the earthquake, 872. Opinions to proue the Winde causeth it, 873. The causes why the winde makes it, 874. The winde can neuer be slayed, and how it causeth the earth to shake, 876. It is proued by a comparison of mans bodie, 877. How the winde enters into the earth, and shakes it, 880

Wifemen, receiue not wrong, 40, 661. They know to whom and how to doe good turnes, 87. In what a wiseman is not bound to doe another pleasure, *ibidem*. No wiseman is ambitious, 146. VWhether a wiseman may receiue a benefite, *ibidem*. How a man may giue to a wiseman, and the answer, 147. All things are a wisemans, 149. What a wisemans thoughts are, *ibidem*. A man may giue something to a wiseman, 151. A wisemans counsaile is effectuell, 174. Example thereof, *ibidem*. A wiseman is content with himselfe, 178. His behaviour, 177. A wiseman must sometimes spare and resemble the poore, 198. A difference betwene wisemen, and men studious, 299, 300. 647. External things neyther adde nor detract from a wiseman, 303, 304. Wisemen are equal amongst themselves, 319. VVifemen ought to want affections, 348, vnto 353. VVifemen doe profit wisemen, 448, vnto 450. The description of a wiseman, 481. If a wiseman ought to be moued, 524.

VVifemen not subiect to the motions of anger, neither can they be moued with disorder, 533. VVifemen cannot intangle themselves with miseries, 535. A wiseman needs not anger to performe his ductie with, 538. A fuller description of a wiseman, 609. VWhether he pardoneth, *ibidem*. A wiseman in condemning others fautes, begins with his owne, 624. The iniquitie to doe other wise, *ibidem*. The difference betwene a wiseman and a foole, 650. The priuiledges of a wiseman, 661, vnto 668. The cause why wisemen endure young mens insolencies, 668. Why wisemen are patient, 670. A wiseman cannot be miserable, 742, &c.

Wish, a wicked wish, a wicked crime, 138. To wish one good, to anothers preiudice, is vaine-glorious, 139

Wisdom, what fruits proceed from wisdom, 145. How it doth instruct, 192. Wisdom the conueniencie of our will, 201, &c. How to perseuer in wisdom, 230. How to obtaine Wisdom, *ibidem*. The Authors of wisdom are venerable, 276, &c. An exhortation to wisdom, 347. The best wisdom is to be constant against troubles, 673

Women, their strange thoughts, 9, &c.

Wonders, how the worlds wonders are discovered, 904

Words, not to be neglected, 269

World, the frailtie of it, 696. All worldly affaires are trifles, 761, &c.

Work, the difference betwene a profitable worke and a benefite, 84

Wrath, it assisteth madnesse, 197. The description of wrath, 551. The prevention by learning mens natures, 553. How hurtfull wrath is, and three remedies thereof, 557. Other remedies, 560, 161, 562, 563, 573, and so vnto 579. The vanitie of wrath, 577. That wrath is a passion of the minde, 760

Writing, It is the Image of the minde,

THE TABLE.

minde, 233. VVriting and Reading
to bee turned into a nourishing sub-
stance,

346

Xerxes crueltie, 566. Also his va-
nitie, 860

X

X^{Enophon}, the sonne of A-
riston,

59

Z

Z^{Eno}, his small care hee had of
losse,

655

Ff N I S.



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